

HISTORY
OF
THE FOUNDATION AND THE RISE
OF THE
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE
1517-1550

BY

HENRY DE VOCHT

DR. PH. & LITT., DR. PHIL. TARTUENSIS AD HON.
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

PART THE SECOND : THE DEVELOPMENT

published with the generous help of the Belgian
FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE



LOUVAIN
LIBRAIRIE UNIVERSITAIRE

UYSTPRUYST, publisher
1953

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VIDES QUAM LATE SESE PROFERANT
CUM PIETATIS TUM BONARUM LITERARUM STUDIA
QUIBUS TU SPIRITUM AC VITAM REDDIDISTI

GOCLENIUS TO ERASMUS

December 10, 1526

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PREFACE

This second volume describes the earliest fruits of the harvest sown in the bitter trouble and the almost hopeless anxiety ¹⁾ of which an account has been given in the first part. The Institute by which Jerome de Busleyden wanted to generalize, and to perpetuate in his native country, the benefit of literature and study which he himself enjoyed, had incidentally been devised as a help towards the revival of a College which was declining fast. The adversaries of the projected foundation, considering that grafting as indispensable to its own existence, refused the proffered help, and even induced the University not to accept it as a new independent College. Very soon, however, the stone which the builders rejected became the head of the corner ²⁾. Not only was the *Trilingue* the most popular institute amongst the students: it also turned out to be the glory of the University: by applying the principle of the return to the sources, and by directing the enriching of the mind towards the perfecting of Man and the welfare of Mankind, it made Louvain take the lead of civilized Europe in the search of Truth and in the pursuit of Knowledge on all the fields of Intellectual Activity.

Indeed, in the perfect peace introduced for the *Trilingue* by the wise and prudent management of its Presidents, clever Professors applied the Method set forth in the *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ* by Erasmus, whose spirit wholly animated the new School. Familiarized with its beneficent principles by the exceptionally apt teaching of languages, their students adapted them in later studies: thus, there proceeded from the Brabant University a brilliant series of wise councillors and provident ambassadors, like Viglius, de Schepper and Dillft, who took to heart the interests of their countrymen and the welfare of Humanity; there also worked a noble cluster of men, like Mudæus, Bernaert and Hasselius, who brought more to the bench, the desk or the pulpit than the ready replies of the *Summæ* to all objections, or the distinctions and solutions for all juridical cases proposed by the *Glossa*; to crown all, Louvain produced the splendid group of Gemmas, Thriverus' and Mercators, who realized a giantlike progress in sciences which, since the days of Galen, Euclid or Ptolemy, had hardly moved one foot forward.

* * *

Applying in my turn the principles of the admirable Institute in the elaboration of this second part of the *History of the Trilingue*, I have used, as I did for the first, all the available original documents about that College: I discovered most of them amongst the Records of the

¹⁾ Psalm cxxv, 5.

²⁾ Psalm cxvii, 22.

old Louvain University in the Brussels Archives of the Realm, when, during the first World-War, I put in order that precious and most considerable collection ¹⁾. Amongst them is the highly important account of Busleyden's executors, 1517-1525, including the organizing of the *Trilingue*; further the original inventory of the deeds, 1542; also the accounts and the manuals of the first Presidents, as well as the authentic copies of several momentous writings, and, above all, the *Motivum Juris*, or circumstantial memoir drawn up by the 'Provisores' in 1547, to answer the exorbitant claims of Rescius' heirs ²⁾, by which was concluded, thanks to historical arguments and original documents, the dishonouring suit introduced by the Greek professor, which had threatened the Institute with unavoidable ruin. For the use of those and many other monuments of Louvain University in the xviith century, I express my deepest gratitude to the 'Archiviste Général' of the Realm, Dr Camille TIHOX, and his staff.

The ample intelligence provided by the University records in the Belgian Archives, has been enriched by the information supplied by other documents, such as the rough draughts and manuscript notes of Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, 1537-51, which I was most fortunate in bringing to light ³⁾; and by abundant details gathered, e. g., from the correspondence of John Dantiscus and other protectors of the Institute, found amongst the treasures of Basle and Uppsala, East Prussia and Poland ⁴⁾. It is most generously offered in the following pages; it has made it possible to complete and correct biographies ⁵⁾, as well as to adjust wrong identifications ⁶⁾, inexact dates ⁷⁾ and erroneous judgments ⁸⁾, which have been generally accepted and repeated as unobjectionable. That rectifying does not merely apply to unsuspecting authors and over-confident editors, like Gregorius Majansius, who, in Vives' *Opera Omnia* (1782-90), reproduced the name *Opentæ* for *Oxonix*, probably also *Londini* for *Louanii* ⁹⁾, and accepted dates for letters which

¹⁾ FUL, *Préface*.

²⁾ *Rek.*; *MotJuris*; cp. *List*, pp 639, 645-47.

³⁾ Cp. *ValCar*, *ValE*, and *NanOF* (pp 177-78).

⁴⁾ Cp. *DantE*.

⁵⁾ E. g., about Busleyden's family (p 129), and President Wary, p 635 (against VAnd.), Nicolas Everardi, President of Mechlin Council, pp 431-32 (against Gestel, II, *BruxBas.*, Allen, IV, 1092, *pr*), Peter van der Vorst, p 373 (against *Anima*, 362, Pastor, V, 59); Dolet, p 578 (against *Dolet*, 58); de Schepper, pp 169-70 (against *BB*, I, 34); Steynemolen, pp 432-5 (against Crane, 11); Vulcanius, p 183 (against *VulcE*, 274, 490); Dantiscus, p 401 (against *EraSpain*, 658); Dillft, p 174 (Allen, VIII, 2251-54, *Cran.*, 139, d, e).

⁶⁾ E. g., John Tausen, p 135 (Keussen, II, 515, 19).

⁷⁾ E. g., editions, pp 9 (Iseghem, 288-9, S, 22-3), 121 (Paquot, XI, 227-8), or the start of the lecture of Anatomy, pp 536, *sq* (VAnd., 222, 232).

⁸⁾ E. g., Gemma's esteem of Copernic, p 558 (Prowe, II, 392-95).

⁹⁾ Cp. p 308: *VivE*, 220; *MonHL*, II, 43-58; Allen, X, 2777, *pr*. In the letter of Vives to Budé of the latter half of October 1524, *luem* is read *lucem*, and *Lensi*, *Leusi*: *VivE*, 219; cp. pp 406-7.

are evidently wrong ¹⁾. It also extends to authorities whose excellence I deeply revere, and whose inapproachable wealth of information even allowed me to bring forth my work; in so far that gratitude for the help provided by the admirable *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi*, would prevent making any remark, if it were not surpassed by the paramount love of truth. The minute study of the details of University life in Louvain, hitherto ignored, allowed to solve a great number of problems about personages whom Erasmus met in Brabant: such as the clever physician of the Lily, James van Castere, of Hazebroeck, future 'archiater' of Antwerp ²⁾; also the 'non sacerdos' friend of Goclenius, and the Bruges Official Zwynghedau ³⁾, and several others ⁴⁾. It also explained obscure allusions, such as Rescius' *abesse*, and his *pubes* ⁵⁾; also *Joannis Calvariam*, and the evidently wrong suspicions about Ceratinus and Talesius ⁶⁾, besides many more details which clear up mistaken concepts about personages or things ⁷⁾; it even provided unknown particulars about the training of the great English Prelate and Statesman, Founder of Corpus Christi, Richard Fox ⁸⁾. Some letters are shown to refer to facts which evidently contradict the dates, according to which they had been placed, long ago, in the order of the collection by P. S. Allen ⁹⁾. That applies especially to two letters, about which full evidence was given after his decease. One, a letter from Vives, was shown to contain undeniable contradictions, for which a most plausible explanation was offered; yet that letter was kept at the date which had been assigned to it half a century ago ¹⁰⁾. The second, from Goclenius to Erasmus, '*idibus Octobris*', was placed in 1527 (Allen, vii, 1890), although, in the light of recent research, all the facts referred to prove absurd for that year, but adapt themselves most admirably to 1524 ¹¹⁾.

* * *

¹⁾ E. g., that of Vives to Budé, p 407, and the one to Malvenda, pp 412-13; also that from Valdaura to Joannius, pp 406-7, 412, 415; *Viv Vita*, 73, 197, 209-10; *VivE*, 218-21; Bonilla, 642-43.

²⁾ Cp. pp 82, 88, 526-27: Allen, iii, 932, 54-56, v, 1355, 11.

³⁾ Cp. pp 100, 351, 87: Allen, v, 1292, 1296, 1-11, 1355, 12.

⁴⁾ Cp. pp 81 (Allen, iii, 616, 16-17), 86 & 210 (Allen, iv, 1209, 4, vii, 2027, 20), 251 (Allen, iv, 1059), 495 (Allen, viii, 2264).

⁵⁾ Cp. pp 319, 333: Allen, vi, 1768, 64-65, vii, 1882, 46-48.

⁶⁾ Cp. pp 329, 492, 500: Allen, iii, 622, 31, vii, 1966, *pr*, viii, 2113, 3^a.

⁷⁾ Cp. pp 398 (Allen, ix, 2500, *pr*), 462 (Allen, vii, 1859, *pr*), 494 (Allen, viii, 2244, *pr*); — 250 (Allen, iii, 1165, 12), 608 (*ErAllen*, 161).

⁸⁾ Cp. p 42, and FoxE, xi.

⁹⁾ E. g., pp 303 (letter to Chieregati: Allen, iv, 1144), 490 (letter from Mountjoy: Allen, vii, 1816) and 492 (from Warham: Allen, vii, 1965).

¹⁰⁾ Viz., the letter from Vives which Allen places unconditionally in 1533: Allen, x, 2777, although it is evident that its latter half cannot possibly have been written later than 1525: cp. p 308; *MonHIL*, 43-58.

¹¹⁾ Cp. pp 171-2, 301-10, 489.

On the threshold of the second part of this *History*, I am happy to acknowledge with gratitude the many and manifold precious encouragements given me on various occasions by my Most Reverend Rector, Monseigneur VAN WAEYENBERGH, which have lightened and facilitated the long and arduous labour of seeing this volume through the press. So has also the sympathy and active interest with which several of my colleagues, and especially the too soon departed and deeply regretted Professor Canon Albert DE MEYER, inspired me in my efforts, and even forestalled my daring wishes. That this book has the fortune to be published, is due to the efficient and highly welcome assistance granted by the Belgian FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE, who, with their characteristic generosity, did not raise the least objection to its expensive bulk : to the most worthy President and the Advisers of that lofty-minded and beneficent Institution, — and to all who helped me in my work — I offer the expression of my deepest gratitude.

* * *

In a thankful desire to rouse an interest in the pitiful state of the remains of the once so glorious School, I have been admirably encouraged by the delicate offer of the fine sketches which, along with the medal-shaped portrait of the Founder, facing the title, adorn this second part of my *History*; since, once more, efficient generosity insists on discreet anonymity, my gratitude is the deeper and my debt the larger.

In the tedious and restless labour of checking the text, the notes and the numerous references when reading the proofs, I have enjoyed the precious assistance of my secretary, Miss Charlotte SCHAEPMAN, whose patient devotion I cannot thank to the full desert. Neither is it possible to express adequately my gratitude to my very erudite colleague and dear friend, Canon René DRAGUET, who so often laid aside his own most interesting Oriental texts, and the reports of his admirable and continuous finds, to examine aptly, patiently and minutely the endless series of pages of my book, and who constantly kept at my disposal the ample treasures of his experience, as well as the acute discrimination of his judgment, whilst cheering me on, all the time, in the wearying sameness of my protracted task.

Louvain, February 11, 1953.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF
COLLEGE LIFE

1. ACTIVITY IN THE FIRST YEARS

A. ORGANIZATION UNDER DIFFICULTIES

Although Busleyden's Foundation came as a providential help to the University of Louvain at one of the most momentous turning-points in the history of civilization ¹⁾, it found but a scanty welcome amongst the officials and leaders of that intellectual commonwealth. No Pedagogy, no Faculty offered any lecture hall to the new Institute, which was compelled to start its teaching in an empty house, and in the refectory of a convent ²⁾. The provident suggestion of a means to save a college from utter ruin, was scornfully rejected by its '*provisores*', though their conscience was operated with the duty to see to its welfare and preservation ³⁾. And when, notwithstanding all difficulties, the Institute did start, continuous trouble was created by those who were blindly

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 238-40.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 251-53, 295, 315, 361, *sq.*, 454, *sq.*

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 287-91.

addicted to tradition and to the old prejudice against all study of languages ¹⁾).

At the head of the opposition there were members of the religious Orders ²⁾, and some of the most influential and bustling amongst the Theologians, such as the systematical enemy of all innovation, Nicolas Baechem ³⁾, and the renegade James Latomus, who, from a teacher of Latin, became an avowed antagonist of all study of languages, declaring them perfectly useless ⁴⁾. They attacked the incipient Institute in their lectures and their sermons, and endeavoured to prevent that it should be incorporated into the University. Fortunately circumstances brought the Alma Mater, already solicited by the advice of her illustrious protector Cardinal Adrian of

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 271, sq; Allen, iv, 1006, 334, 1033, 238-40.

²⁾ On Aug. 11, 1519, Erasmus urged James of Hoogstraeten to dissuade his 'confratres' and all theologians from railing either in chair or pulpit at the study and teaching of languages: Allen, iv, 1006, 328, sq, 1046, 4, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 461, sq; in the *Apotheosis Capnionis*, Brassicanus refers to him when he declares: ego Lovanii Camelum quendam audiavi concionantem, fugiendum quidquid esset novum, &c: EOO, I, 689, f.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1225, 92-98. In his *De Trium Linguarum... Ratione*, Latomus wanted to prove the utter uselessness of the study of languages for theologians: cp. before, I, 325, sq; Allen, iii, 934, 3, 936, 36, 948, 36. Yet he taught Latin in the Porc, and he was even praised by some humanists: Clenardus wrote several letters to him as he was his old pupil: *ClenE*, 3-54; Alard of Amsterdam, Livinus Crucius and even Mosellanus expressed their obligation to him in their writings: *Cran.*, 96, e, 288, b; Allen, iv, 1123, 16-19, 1225, 92-98. — By his will of Febr. 11/12, 1543/4, he had founded four scholarships for students of divinity in Holy Ghost College, as also four in the Porc for the preparatory studies of Latin and the *Artes*. When in the xviith century languages were not taught any longer at the Porc, the Holy Ghost College wanted to annex Latomus' scholarships, but by a decision of the Academic authorities of 1683, sanctioned by royal decree in 1710, they were transferred to the newly founded Holy Trinity Grammar-School of the Faculty of Arts, so that for years the foundation of Erasmus' opponent was exclusively used for studies which, in 1519, he considered obnoxious, or at least superfluous: FUL, 1101, 1666, 2079, 4481. By another strange whim of fate his nephew James Latomus, of Cambron, *clericus Cameracensis*, Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity, who was nominated to the first vacancy at the disposal of the Abbot of St. Peter's, Hainaut: *LibNomI*, 345, — was also poet: at least his verse in honour of Albert Pigge is kept: *DelPoBel.*, iii, 99; *Cran.*, 97, i.

Utrecht ¹⁾, and by the interference of her glorious student Cardinal William of Croy ²⁾, to the granting of the *nuda acceptatio* of Busleyden's Foundation, on March 12, 1520.

The ill will and hostility which, even after the final admission, still smouldered in many a mind, was particularly felt by Erasmus when he heard from his friend Vives that he had been heartily welcomed in Paris on his visit in May 1520, although, quite recently, he had bitterly criticized the spirit of that University in his famous *Liber in Pseudodialecticos*, addressed to his friend and countryman Juan Fuertes, on February 13, 1520 ³⁾. The difference struck Erasmus: *Huius Academiæ procures, he wrote to Vives, non ferunt Trilingue Collegium, gratis adiuuans publica omnium studia, gratis ornans non solum hanc scholam verum etiam vniuersam Principis ditionem* ⁴⁾. In that and in another letter to Vives of the same time, May-June 1520, Erasmus recalls the patience which was shown in Paris to a Fausto Andrelini, and the welcome given in Oxford and in Alcalá, in Germany and in Italy to any one who offers to lecture on languages ⁵⁾; he sadly puts in contrast what happened to Busleyden's Institute: *Louanii quibus tumultibus obstitere procures ne quis quamlibet honestam disciplinam profiteretur vel gratis! Quibus modis conspiratum est aduersus rem magno et vsui et ornamento futuram, non solum Academiæ, sed toti regioni! Pro-dita est noua vetus constitutio, — namely, the yearly *resignatio* and *supplicatio* ⁶⁾. — Adhibita est totius Academiæ*

¹⁾ Erasmus to Barbirius, Aug. 13, 1521: *subuersuri fuerant rem tanto ornamento futurum... ni conatus illorum cohibuisset reuerendissimus dominus Cardinalis Dertusensis*: Allen, iv, 1225, 33-36; cp. bef. I, 525, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 526, sq; *VivNam.*, 39-41.

³⁾ The letter is dated from February 13, 1519 in VOO, III, 37-68; still as Vives refers to that pamphlet as very recent in his letter of June 4, 1520, and as he expected that displeasure would have been shown by those whom he had criticized, it is certain that 1520 is meant. The letter is the last item in the undated *Opuscula Varia*, printed by Th. Martens, of which all the others belong to 1519; it was reprinted in 1520 by Laz. Schürer, in Schlettstadt: Iseghem, 302-3; Bonilla, 750-51; *VivEst.*, 86, 90. Vives was in Paris before May 14, having arrived on or after May 2; on June 3, he had returned to Bruges: Allen, iv, 1108, *pr.*, 7-12, 1111, 5, sq.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1104, 18-20.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1104, 10-17, 1111, 33, sq, 59.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 446-59, &c.

autoritas, — the question was discussed on November 29, 1519, in the full Academical Senate ¹⁾, — imploratum est præsidium aulæ regiæ, — that of the Duke of Brabant in his Council ²⁾. — Acciti sunt auxilio magistratus prophani, — that is to say, the Brabant Councillors, although the University was beyond all jurisdiction ³⁾. — Postremo ad lictores ventum est — namely in the proceedings against Rescius ⁴⁾. — Nullus, Erasmus continues, non est motus lapis, nihil intentatum relictum est. Ipse, he reminds his friend, huius tumultus non tantum testis, sed et pars aliqua fuisti ⁵⁾. Nec aliud agebatur tanto rerum molimine quam ne quis politioribus literis adiuuaret Academiæ studia, præsertim quum et honestissima essent quæ docebantur, et professores tam sanctis essent moribus et tam caste profiterentur vt aliquoties in concionibus audiantur minus ad bonos mores facientia. And after another reference to what is done in Paris, Rome, Milan and other places, Erasmus despondently concludes : Nos Trilingue Collegium ex munificentia Buslidianorum institutum, non minus vtilitatis allaturum omni generi studiorum quam ornamenti toti huic ditioni Cæsareæ, sic machinis omnibus oppugnaui- mus vt maiore studio fieri non potuerit ⁶⁾.

Those complaints brought out three months after the *Trilingue Collegium* had been duly incorporated as part and parcel into the University, show that the animosity against the new study and method was still rankling, as they were naturally connected with the cause of their great promoter Erasmus. All the difficulties and the trouble aimed at him, had their repercussion on the Institute that was the object of his tenderest solicitude. The hostility of Lee and his faction gave constant annoyance ; in the first days of May further attacks had been dreaded ⁷⁾, when it suddenly ceased by the end of the same month ⁸⁾, for as much as Lee himself was

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 446-55.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 460, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 463, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 471, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 526, sq.

⁶⁾ Allen, iv, 1111, 47-67.

⁷⁾ Cp. Allen, iv, 1097, 1098, 13, sq, 1099.

⁸⁾ Erasmus published a new edition of his *Annotationes Leei* at Froben's, as Burer announced to B. Rhenanus on May 25, 1520 (RhenE, 225), from which all the bitter parts were omitted and only the matter-of-fact critical arguing was kept : Allen, iv, 1037, pr, 1100, 1090, 1097. In July 1520 the two old foes met seemingly as friends at Calais : Allen,

concerned; for in the place of the old foe, two others renewed the onslaught. One was Lee's 'confrater' Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph ¹⁾; the other, the Carthusian John Batmanson ²⁾. Although their obloquy chiefly harmed Erasmus' fame in England, it must have influenced some of the Louvain divines and their disposition towards the College. At any rate, on June 21, 1520, the Humanist wrote to Melanchthon that the 'conspiracio sceleratorum aduersus vere Christianam doctrinam ac bonas litteras non cessat' ³⁾, and about June 25, Erasmus represented that new difficulty in his letter to Richard Pace, as a fresh device: Theologi nouum *μυγάνημα* commenti sunt aduersus *Collegium Trilingue*, and referred him to their common friend Thomas More, to whom he had explained the renewed trouble: 'Id (viz., the *μυγάνημα*) cuiusmodi sit ex Mori literis cognosces' ⁴⁾. Unfortunately that letter does not seem to have been preserved, so that it is impossible to state exactly what the *μυγάνημα* was. The fact that More was taken as confident implies some connection with the English continuators of Lee's opposition; still it is quite probable that the new discontent was caused by the

iv, 1132, 18, 1118, *pr*; *Spongia*: EOO, X, 1649, c; HUtE, II, 289 (§ 169). Lee entered Henry VIII's service as ambassador in 1523; he was made Archbishop of York in 1531 and died in 1544: *DNB*.

¹⁾ The Franciscan Henry Standish, Doctor of Divinity, gained Henry VIII's favour by sustaining his views against the Convocation in 1515, and was rewarded in 1518 by the See of St. Asaph. In 1524, he was sent as ambassador to Hamburg, and in 1535 he renounced the Pope's jurisdiction in favour of the King: he died on July 9 of that same year. Standish was from the beginning one of Erasmus' bitterest antagonists; he also opposed Colet and More: cp. Wood, 36; *DNB*; Allen, III, 608, 14; Blunt, I, 396-9, 145; *PollHen.*, 130, 234-6, 259, 269.

²⁾ The Carthusian John Batmanson, who promoted M. A. in Oxford, 1491-92, studied law in Cambridge in 1492-93, and became LL. D. by 1495. He was employed by the Royal Court for several legal missions and offices until he became prior of the Charterhouse of Hinton in 1523, and of that of London in 1529. He died in 1531. He wrote against Fisher's *De Tribus Magdalenis*, and, on Lee's entreaty, against Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*, as well as against Luther: cp. *DNB*; Wood, 23-24; Allen, IV, 1099, 17; Bale, 181-82.

³⁾ Allen, IV, 1113, 3-5: Latomus was *pars præcipua huius mali*, and he still is: *ibid.*, 12-14.

⁴⁾ Allen, IV, 1118, 11-12.

bad results of the evil disposition of some divines. For they were constantly harping on 'hæreses, schismata et Antichristos, in nugis atroces tragoedias excitantes' ¹⁾, and they threw the responsibility of all evil on the favourers of the study of languages and on the new Institute ²⁾; consequently their hearers, disheartened at the inanity of the arguing and the sad loss of time, deserted their lectures for those of the *Collegium Trilingue*.

On the other hand, notwithstanding all obloquy and obstacles, the audience for the two lectures, Latin and Greek, — the Hebrew professor still being absent ³⁾, — was getting more numerous and more appreciative as time went on : the success of the regular and efficient teaching of Goclenius and Rescius, evident as well from the effect realized as from the increasing group of listeners, was such that Erasmus declared on July 15, 1520, that in no other place of the world the *bonæ literæ* flourished as they did in Louvain : in their growing under difficulties they actualized the *Durus vt illex*, and the rest of Horace's well known *Carmen* ⁴⁾. One year later, on September 24, 1521, he announced in triumph, not only that 'Louanii coelum est perquam amœnum' ⁵⁾, nec

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1125, 40-46. On former occasions Erasmus had insinuated what kind of men were the real cause of the trouble ; he even declared to the Cardinal Archbishop of Mayence that *modestia Christiana* prevented him describing them fully : male habet eos efflorescere bonas literas, efflorescere linguas, reuiuiscere veteres authores, quos antehac exedebant tineæ puluere opertos, mundum ad fontes ipsos reuocari. Timent suis lacunis, nolunt videri quicquam nescire, metuunt ne quid maiestati ipsorum decedat... Vbi libri Lutheri prodiissent, velut ansam nacti ceperunt linguarum, bonarum literarum, Capnionis ac Lutheri, imo et meam causam eodem fasce complecti... Quid rei bonis studiis cum fidei negotio ? ...hæc arte commiscuerunt, vt communi inuidia degrauarent omnes bonarum literarum cultores : Allen, iv, 1033, 180-211.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1223, 17, sq, 34-36.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 505.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1111, 67-70 : Et tamen haud scio an vsquam gentium magis inualescant literæ politiores quam hic ; vt plane mihi videre videar illud Horatianum 'Durus vt illex' et cætera : nam carmen agnoscis. — Horace, *Carm.*, iv, 4, 57.

⁵⁾ He recommended the Louvain atmosphere as *amœnum*, and even as *salubre* in several other letters : to Vives, June 1520, to Polydore Vergil, December 23, 1520, to William Thale, August 13, 1521 : Allen, iv, 1111, 78, 1175, 39, 1224, 8-10.

vsquam studetur quietius' ¹⁾), but also that : 'Iuuentus nusquam magis ardet in bonas literas ; et succedit res multis mira felicitate, frustra reluctantibus veteris inscitiae mystis ²⁾ : the audience often counted three hundred hearers ³⁾).

B. THE AUTHORS EXPLAINED (1517-1520)

On account of the complete absence of records concerning the teaching in the *Collegium Trilingue*, especially in the first years, it is only possible to gather from contemporary documents details about the matters treated in the lectures and the texts read and explained. Chief and almost unique is the list of books printed by Thierry Martens, who was a friend of learning and of all erudites, and a great admirer of Erasmus ⁴⁾. The great Humanist paid, no doubt, most frequent visits to his office and to his house in Provost Street : in the autumn of 1518, when he returned ailing from Basle, he was laid up in one of the rooms there for four weeks from September 21 ⁵⁾. Rutger Rescius was for several years cor-

¹⁾ Letter to W. Thale, August 13, 1521 : Nusquam studetur quietius, nec alibi felicior ingeniorum prouentus : Allen, iv, 1224, 10-11.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1237, 15-18.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 16-17.

⁴⁾ Thierry Martens, *Martini*, born at Alost about 1450, learned the printer's trade in Italy, and exercised it, for some time from 1473, with John of Westphalia in his native town : cp. before, I, 87-88. After some years, probably devoted to book trade, he started again an office at Alost in the last months of 1486 ; in 1494 he carried on the business of Gerard Leeu at Antwerp ; from 1498 he also worked in Louvain, until he returned to Antwerp in 1502. In 1512 he finally settled in Louvain, where he produced over 200 issues, about sixty of them by Erasmus. He retired in 1529 to the convent of the Guillelmites of Alost, where he died on May 28, 1534. Cp. Iseghem ; *HolMart.* ; Gand ; Lambinet, 206, 281-330 ; Polain, i, 887, iv, 3798-99 and p 390 ; Allen, i, 263, 8 ; *HuMünst.*, 130-31 ; and further, Ch. XIII.

⁵⁾ Letter to Beatus Rhenanus, about October 15, 1518 : Allen, iii, 867, 195, sq, 248. Martens lived 'e regione scole iuris ciuilis', as he stated on the title-page of *Adriani Barlandi Versuum ex Bucolicis Vergilii Prouerbialium Collectanea*, printed in March 1514. That *Schola Juris* was installed in the southern half of the upper story of the Cloth-hall, where there were four lecture-rooms, the one in the corner between Provost Street and Kraekhoven Street being that of Civil Law : *UL-CinqS*, 108. Just opposite, on the corner of Provost Street and the

rector and inmate of Martens ¹⁾, and all those in Louvain who were sympathetic to the new movement were cordially welcomed by the printer ²⁾, who ascribed to it the little prosperity he enjoyed ³⁾. It is more than likely that he provided from the beginning the texts or manuals which were wanted in the *Collegium Trilingue* ⁴⁾; he considered it as an honour to produce books in the three languages : in one of the prefaces which he added to his publications, he stated : In excu-
dendis latinis, nulli cedo ; in græcis, perpaucis ; in hebraicis ambimus similem laudem ; and he added : nec deerit successus nostris votis, si vos <viz., the lectores candidi> modo conanti mihi pro vestra portione respondeatis. Respondebitis autem si et vestris commoditatibus, et huius florentissimæ scholæ nomini consulere voletis ⁵⁾. It is evident that a man who wrote such declarations, thoroughly rejoiced at the founding of the *Collegium Trilingue*, through which the University may have had a peer, but no better, and became 'hoc certe eminens, quod una omnium tres exhibeat, qui singuli singulas linguas profiteantur Græcam, Hebraicam et Latinam idque tum gratis, tum magnifico salario, quod in hunc vsum legavit egregius ille vir, et omnium seculorum

Vrounde, the alley, leading up to Standonck College and the Pedagogy of the Porc, was the house called *The Golden Torch, De Gulden Toirtse*, which was Martens' shop, house and printing office, and which, for long years afterwards, was one of the most popular bookshops of the University town : cp. FUL, 2030. It was destroyed unto the very basement in the bombardment soon after midnight May 11/12, 1944.

¹⁾ Iseghem, 104-5, 140, 262 ; Allen, II, 546, 9, III, 617, 21.

²⁾ Iseghem, 129, sq, 135, sq.

³⁾ In a *pro domo* plea added at the end of his edition of Erasmus' *Ratio seu Methodus* <1518>, he remarks : Tot Typographos alit Basilea, prorsus infrequens, frigidaque Academia, si ad Louaniensem conferratur. Hæc excepta Parisiensi, nulla inferior, vnum alere gravatur. Τὸ τέχνηον πᾶσα γῆ παρέχει· hac vna excepta : Iseghem, 291.

⁴⁾ Martens expresses his readiness to produce the books wanted by the students, in several of the letters he added to his publications : Iseghem, 278 (: nos... pro virili, Louaniensem Academiam... officina nostra qualicunque studemus adiuuare &c), 279 (: Mihi quoniam nihil antiquius est, quam huius Academiæ florentissimæ studiis pro virili consulere, quicquid ars nostra produxerit, id omne vobis optimi iuvenes dicare, certum est), &c.

⁵⁾ *Declamationes aliquot Erasmi Roterodami* : letter added at the end : Th. Martinus Lectoribus candidis : March 30, 1518 : Iseghem, 283.

memoria dignus Hieronymus Buslidius quondam præpositus Ariensis. Quod pulcherrimum facinus, vt alii alibi imitentur, certe exempli laus penes inclytam Louaniensium Academiam semper futura est ¹⁾).

It may be assumed, in consequence, that with that spirit of readiness to supply the want of masters and pupils, and the intimate connection that joined him to the chief professors of the new Institute, Martens produced the books that were wanted in the lecture-rooms or in the studies. There is only one Hebrew book, the *Dictionarium Hebraicum* ²⁾), — probably because only the rudiments of that language were taught in those years; the Greek ones are rather numerous: they comprise, for 1518, not only an *Alphabetum Græcum* ³⁾), Jerome Aleander's *Tabulæ* with the prayers and a few smaller texts in Greek ⁴⁾), and Theodore Gaza's Grammar ⁵⁾), but also Aristophanes' *Plutus* ⁶⁾) and Homer's *Iliados Libri I & II* ⁷⁾). In 1519 were edited Lucian's *Prometheus, sive Caucasus*, and *Icaromenippus, seu Hypernephelus* ⁸⁾): of the latter a Latin translation by Erasmus was published in the following year ⁹⁾),

¹⁾ Iseghem, 288-89: letter added by Martens 'candido l[e]ctori', to a bundle of texts commented by Erasmus, of which the title begins with the words: *Hæc nunc damus, lector*, &c. The book was published *Mense Novembri* m. d. xviii, but the letter is dated *Louanii. An. m. d. xvii*. — The latter date can hardly be justified by an earlier edition of 1517 which was reproduced in 1518, and which had originally Martens' letter of 1517: Iseghem, S, 22-23. For it is only from September 1, 1518 that it could be said that the University of Louvain 'una... tres exhibit qui singuli singulas profiteantur, &c'; the year-date of the letter must be a mistake for xviii or an ante-dating; since, as has been explained, no lectures were given before the first days of February 1518, when the house of de Leeuwe was rented for Adrianus: *Rek.*, 89, v; and the 'three languages' were only taught six months afterwards: cp. before, I, 250, sq, 294, sq.

²⁾ 1520: Iseghem, 315; NijKron., I, 1498, II, 2303.

³⁾ 1518: Iseghem, 294; NijKron., I, 104.

⁴⁾ 1518: Iseghem, 290, 294; NijKron., I, 67.

⁵⁾ 1518, *Mense Martio*: *Primus Liber*. — *Liber II*, with prefaces by Erasmus: Iseghem, 281-82; NijKron., I, 962, II, 3048, 3052.

⁶⁾ 1518: Gand, 115-8; Iseghem, 279-281; NijKron., I, 134; *ErAllen*, 152.

⁷⁾ 1518: Gand, 128; Iseghem, 292-93; NijKron., I, 1105, ascribes it to 1521.

⁸⁾ 1519: Iseghem, 304-5; NijKron., I, 1392, II, 3431.

⁹⁾ 1520: Iseghem, 305.

which, besides, witnessed the appearance of four more of Lucian's *Dialogues* ¹⁾, Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide* ²⁾, Theocritus' *Εἰδύλλια τουπέστι μικρὰ ποιήματα* ³⁾, as well as a choice of *Epistolæ Græcæ elegantissimæ* ⁴⁾, and Adrian Amerot's *Compendium Græcæ Grammatices* ⁵⁾. Some books were edited both with Greek and Latin texts : about 1517 : *Cebetis tabula et greca et latina, opus morale*, with verses of Pythagoras and Phocylides ⁶⁾ ; in April 1517, a *Colloquiorum familiarium incerto auctore libellus Græce & Latine*, with a letter of Beatus Rhenanus to Luke Edenberg, of Nuremberg, dated from Basle, November 5, 1516 ⁷⁾ ; and in July 1519, Libanius' *Aliquot Declamatiunculæ Græcæ*, with Erasmus' translation, dedicated on November 17, 1503 to Bishop Nicolas Ruterius ⁸⁾.

The Latin publications may seem comparatively less numerous : they comprise, for 1517, Erasmus' *Aliquot Epistolæ sane... elegantes* ⁹⁾ ; for 1518, Prudentius' *Carmina*, with some of Ausonius' writings ¹⁰⁾ ; the *Opuscula Moralia*, with Erasmus' comments ¹¹⁾ ; for 1519, Erasmus' *Aliquot Declamatiunculæ* ¹²⁾ ; for 1520, Vives' *Opuscula Varia* ¹³⁾, and Erasmus' *Parabolæ sive Similia* ¹⁴⁾. To them has to be added Barlandus' *Epistolæ aliquot Selectæ ex Erasmicis*, of December 1520 ¹⁵⁾, published more than a year after he resigned his professorship in the *Collegium Trilingue*, where he most probably explained some of his preceding editions, such as

¹⁾ Mense Julio M. D. XX : Iseghem, 305, 309 ; NijKron., I, 1386, 1405.

²⁾ Mense Augusto Anno 1520 : Iseghem, 310 ; NijKron., I, 881.

³⁾ Mense Februario An. M. D. XX : Iseghem, 307 ; NijKron., II, 3934.

⁴⁾ 1520 : Iseghem, 313-314 ; NijKron., I, 766.

⁵⁾ An. M. D. XX, xviii Calendas Novembres : Iseghem, 310-11 ; NijKron., I, 115.

⁶⁾ NijKron., I, 544 ; Iseghem, S, 21-22.

⁷⁾ NijKron., I, 590 ; RhenE, 89-90.

⁸⁾ NijKron., I, 1367.

⁹⁾ NijKron., I, 819 ; Iseghem, 270-71.

¹⁰⁾ November 1518 : Iseghem, 287 ; NijKron., II, 3779.

¹¹⁾ November 1518 : Iseghem, 288-89, S, 22-23.

¹²⁾ 1518, July 1519 : Iseghem, 282-83, 298-99 ; NijKron., I, 811.

¹³⁾ Beginning of 1520 (cp. bef., p 3) : Iseghem, 302-3 ; NijKron., I, 2172.

¹⁴⁾ June 1520, reproducing the first issue of June 1515 : Iseghem, 252-53, 308-9 ; NijKron., I, 839.

¹⁵⁾ Iseghem, 311-13 ; Daxhelet, 131, sq.

C. Plinii Secundi Epistole Familiares, which, with his *Scholia*, had been printed by Martens in April 1516 ¹⁾, or the *Libellus de Constructione octo Orationis Partium*, with his *Rhetorice Isagoge*, of September 1516 ²⁾. Yet besides those and other publications, like Erasmus' *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ* ³⁾, which offer a general interest, and have been described in all the lists of issues sent into the world by Thierry Martens, there were others, ignored until quite recently, which are just practical reprints of classic texts. Thus for 1517, Cicero's *Oratio pro Archia poeta, cum commentario Philippi Beroaldi* ⁴⁾; for 1519, Horace's *De Arte Poetica* ⁵⁾, and Cicero's *Officia* (with Erasmus' dedicatory letter to James de Vocht, *Tutor*, of Sept. 10, 1519), *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute* and *Paradoxa* ⁶⁾; and for 1520 the same author's *Oratio pro Marcello*, with Barlandus' notes ⁷⁾, and his *Somnium Scipionis, cum argumento Joh. Lud. Vivis* ⁸⁾. Those editions were certainly not destined for the book-trade at large, but merely for the use of those who attended the lectures in the *Collegium Trilingue*: it would explain the scarcity of the copies extant, for not more than one is known for each of those five issues, found in out-of-the-way places, some not being complete: handled about for months and months, those handbooks had little chance to be preserved. That was for certain the fate of a treatise of Aristoteles, ordered by the Faculty of Arts on July 28, 1509, in 1200 copies, and supplied by Thierry Martens in the second week of September: of that issue, no more than of a similar one, a handbook of logic, printed in the summer of 1510, not one single copy seems to have survived ⁹⁾. It suggests that the list of classical texts which Thierry Martens provided for the lectures of the New Institute, was much larger than the extant copies allow us to infer.

¹⁾ Iseghem, 261-62; NijKron., I, 1740.

²⁾ Iseghem, S, 18-20; NijKron., II, 2893; Daxhelet, 264.

³⁾ March 1, 1519 and, with a recommendation in verse by Goclenius, about November 1519: NijKron., II, 2866, 2869; Iseghem, 295-96, 320-21.

⁴⁾ NijKron., II, 2658.

⁵⁾ NijKron., I, 1128.

⁶⁾ NijKron., II, 2657.

⁷⁾ NijKron., II, 2660.

⁸⁾ NijKron., II, 2669.

⁹⁾ ActArt V, 277, r-284, r, 292, v-299, r.

C. THE FIRST AUDIENCE

a. Auditors from the Netherlands

As the lectures in the *Collegium Trilingue* were given and taken freely, there never were lists of students that attended them. That applies especially to the very first years of its activity, long before the common life of professors and, at least, a small aggregate of students, constituted a centre that held together a considerable part of the audience. Once more, stray references afford the only information that could be gathered : such as the mention in Erasmus' letters of March 1518, that, led by Dorp, several theologians and even masters in that science eagerly availed themselves of Adrianus' lessons ¹⁾, and that of the practical use made of what he had learned in Louvain by Sebastian Neuzen, who taught Hebrew at Ghent and in Marburg University ²⁾.

Another of those stray allusions is found in a message of February 25, 1524, from a Groenendael monk, William of Louvain ³⁾, to his friend Martin Lips, of St. Martin's Priory, accompanying a manuscript volume of St. Augustine' writings sent on loan ; the letter also brings the request for a metrical inscription to a diptych of St. John the Baptist's decollation ⁴⁾ : both the epistle and the manuscript were

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 252.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 376-79.

³⁾ William of Louvain, who started a correspondence with Martin Lips on May 16, 1523 (LipsE, 773-789, 766), probably through his niece and his mother's ward Ann, was an Austin monk of Groenendael Convent ; he was highly interested in old manuscripts and in Erasmus, who had been in that monastery whilst he was in the Bishop of Cambrai's service (LipsE, 776). He received information from Lips about a work he knew by name from the famous Groenendael *Index... diuersarum bibliothecarum* (LipsE, 773), and in return provided two old manuscripts of St. Augustine, from which use was made for Erasmus' edition of the complete works, 1528-29 : Allen, v, 1473, 2-7. Erasmus wrote to him in 1527, but the letter is not extant : Allen, vii, 1837, 50. On July 10, 1536, William sent to Nicolas Olah a collection of recipes and remedies gathered from old manuscripts ; and in 1538 he thanked him for the sending of his poems which he was allowed to transcribe : OlaE, 578-9, 621-2 ; FG, 384-85.

⁴⁾ Several distichs by friends of M. Lips were sent with his reply on Febr. 26, 1524 : LipsE, 785-89.

conveyed to Louvain by a Renerus van der Meulen, *Molanus*, who had studied in the Porc under Barlandus, and had attended his lessons in the *Collegium Trilingue*; he was then living with his widowed mother near the Church of Our Lady 'du Sablon', Brussels ¹⁾; his father had been a joiner or carpenter, *faber lignarius*. William of Louvain mentioned that Barlandus still affectioned his former pupil 'ob ingenii viuacitatem' ²⁾).

More particulars are available about another of the first students of the *Collegium Trilingue*, who, on his stay in Louvain, knit up a hearty friendship with Erasmus, Haio Herman Hompen, of Emden, *Phrysius*, son of Haio Ubbena and Eiske Hompen, a relative of Rudolph Agricola. He had studied in Cologne, where he matriculated on December 19, 1515 ³⁾, and had as fellow-student and friend Conrad Heresbach ⁴⁾. He went from there to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Henry Glareanus ⁵⁾; he there also met Nesen, with whom he came to Louvain in June-July 1519 ⁶⁾. He thus had the advantage of entering Erasmus' circle in the Lily, where he had lived about eight months as his *convictor tametsi indignus*, when he wrote to Luther on March 14, 1520 ⁷⁾. He had been recommended specially to Erasmus by Nicolas Bérault, as results from his reply of August 9, 1519, mentioning the young man's discretion in a busy period and his 'ingenium tot modis amabile': he reciprocated the recommendation ⁸⁾, which implies that Hompen was returning to Paris; still he only made a short stay, being frightened by the danger of the plague ⁹⁾. Back in Louvain, he studied under

¹⁾ 'Bruxellæ... haud ita procul a templo virginis arenosæ'; this Renerus may have been a 'protégé' of Nicolas de Nispen, who lived near by: cp. further, Ch. X.

²⁾ LipsE, 785.

³⁾ Keussen, II, 508, 102.

⁴⁾ Heresbach, 16.

⁵⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Glareanus, December 1518: Allen, III, 903, 12.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 393-94: *MonHL*, 201, sq; and Erasmus' letter to Lupset, Oct. 16, 1519: Valent hic tui Hermannus Phrysius ac Nesenus: Allen, IV, 1026, 9-10. Probably Herman preceded Nesen and took to Erasmus in Louvain Nicolas Bérault's letter of June 20, 1519, to which the great Humanist refers in his reply of August 9: Allen, III, 989, IV, 1002, 41, sq.

⁷⁾ Enders, II, 351.

⁸⁾ Allen, IV, 1002, 41-47.

⁹⁾ *BudERép.*, 80, 90.

Erasmus' direction ¹⁾, and attended the lectures in the *Collegium Trilingue*. No doubt he, too, was a party in the nocturnal attempt to frighten the Rector into granting to Nesen the permission to teach. In 1520 he was again in Paris, and edited there three of Lucian's dialogues in Greek, dedicated to the Chancellor of West Friesland William Ubbena, *Ubbinus*, his relative, and printed by Giles de Gourmont ²⁾ by March 1520. In the spring of that year he made Budé's acquaintance, thanks to an introduction of Vives ³⁾, whom he had known in Louvain; with Bérault he was received by Germain de Brie, whom he helped to get reconciled with Thomas More ⁴⁾. From Paris Hompen went to Italy, where he became J. V. D.; in 1522 he was with Ursinus Velius at Perugia and in Rome ⁵⁾; in 1524 he was in Padua. He returned home by the end of 1525, and married, in March 1528, a daughter of Pompeius Occo, Rudolph Agricola's literary heir ⁶⁾: from his library Hompen supplied Erasmus with notes on Seneca, and Rescius, with a homily by Chrysostom and with translations from Lucian ⁷⁾. In 1528 he entered the Council of Leeuwarden ⁸⁾, and in 1532, that of

¹⁾ Erasmus conceived high expectations of him: cp. his letter to Mark Laurin, Febr. 1, 1523: Allen, v, 1342, 325, sq.

²⁾ Giles de Gourmont had his printing office in Paris opposite Cambrai College, and had also a shop in Louvain, 'apud aedem diui Petri', by the end of 1516 or the beginning of 1517, when he brought out a third issue of Barlandus' *Collectanea*: BB, v, 250, 252; Daxhelet, 41-45.

³⁾ *BudERép.*, 113, 114; Goldast, 212, 217.

⁴⁾ *BudERép.*, 114-115; letter of Erasmus to Herman Hompen, about Aug. 1520: Allen, iv, 1131.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, vii, 1978, 2008, 21-24, 2056.

⁶⁾ Cp. AgricE, 18-25: letters to Adolphus Occo, M. D., 1481-82; *Scommaton* to him 'Clinicum maturanti' by Th. Ulsenius: Polain, II, 1963.

⁷⁾ He edited *De non facile credendis Delationibus*, translated from Lucian, dedicated to Erard de la Marck, printed by Rutger Rescius in 1530: Nijkron., I, 558; *BibBelg.*, 338.

⁸⁾ Erasmus, when writing to Viglius on May 14, 1533, answers to a remark which his young friend had made about a 'Phrygian' of their acquaintance in his letter of April 17, 1533. Viglius had said that he was afraid that the *Alter*, to whom Erasmus had previously referred, had not only brought an ailing body, but even an ailing soul from Italy: Hoyneck, II, I, 139; Allen, x, 2791, 31-33. Erasmus declares that that *Alter* — no doubt Hompen, — when returning from Italy, had requested from him, and received, recommendations to the *proceres* of the Court, which had gained him his appointment, and also his bride.

Utrecht : in 1533, Goclenius received a message from him through Hector Hoxvirius ¹⁾, and in 1534, Hompen met Heresbach at the Court of Cleves ²⁾. He complained already at that time of an angina, which seems to have become fatal about 1539 ³⁾.

Like his great countryman and relative Rudolph Agricola, who also had been initiated in the New Learning in Louvain ⁴⁾, Hompen cherished the whole of his life his enthusiasm for fine letters and study, and spread it, giving the example as far as his avocation allowed, and helping the work of others by documents placed at their disposal. So must have done many more of his fellow-students, and so did for certain the Liège Benedictine monk Paschasius Berselius, who, in 1519, had attended the lectures of Rescius and maybe those of Adrianus. His surroundings may have estranged him for a time from Erasmus; yet the spirit of research that had been kindled in the great Institute, incited him to make researches for valuable texts amongst the treasures accumulated in the old abbeys of the Mosan town : for he offered several of them to help the great Erudite in the preparation of his critical editions ⁵⁾.

b. English Auditors

Among the very first students attending the lectures of the new College were two English Austin friars, who, residing

Herman had thanked him for it, but he appeared to have become oblivious : he rarely wrote (Allen, x, 2682, 66-67) ; so the old Humanist concluded : *Miserum est a talibus ingeniis pendere*, — which explains the remark he made in the beginning of the passage : *De altero, quo sit animo, non magnopere laboro* : Allen, x, 2810, 35-40. — In 1529, Schets, writing to Erasmus about Cammingha, announced, mistakenly, that he had become a Frisian councillor, which news applied to Hompen : Allen, ix, 2364, 14, 2403, 69-70, 2413, 26-27.

¹⁾ Gabbema, 519. On Aug. 12, 1534, Viglius told Erasmus that Haio Cammingha wanted to be reconciled with him : ViglEB, 12 : probably a reply to the complaint about him in the letter to Viglius of May 14, 1533 : Allen, x, 2810, 26, sq.

²⁾ Heresbach, 16.

³⁾ Cp. *BibBelg.*, 338 ; F. Ritter, in *Jahrbuch für Kunst und Alterthümer zu Emden* : 1913 : xviii, 119-23 ; Agricola, ii, 257 ; Allen, iii, 903, 12 ; *MonHL*, 202 ; *ClénCorr.*, ii, 11-13. — A letter of him to Hector Hoxvirius is preserved in the Archives of The Hague.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 149-51.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 495-500.

in the Convent where they were given, had every opportunity to avail themselves of them. Nor did they miss their chance. One was Thomas Paynell and the other Robert Barnes. The latter was born near King's Lynn, in Norfolk, and had entered by 1514 the house of the Order of St. Augustine in Cambridge. As he proved very zealous, he was sent to study in Louvain, where he remained several years ¹⁾. The result of his training was such that he was elected Prior of the house of Cambridge on his return, for he had started at once imitating the teaching of Busleyden's Institute, inaugurating in Cambridge the rational system of academical education ²⁾; he replaced the traditional treatises by the authors of antiquity, and read Terence, Plautus and Cicero; as the audience soon grew too large, he secured the assistance of Thomas Paynell, who had returned with him ³⁾. He thus made his house famous. He himself, meanwhile, continued his studies of divinity, and promoted Doctor in 1523, reading St. Paul ⁴⁾, and proving an excellent debater. His success, no doubt, made him bold and forward, and, incited by Thomas Bilney ⁵⁾, he went so far in his criticism of vices amongst the higher clergy and of the abuses that rankled in the Church, that he was accused of heresy for a sermon on Christmas Eve 1525, and convened before Cardinal Wolsey and other bishops in London, where he was obliged to recant ⁶⁾. He was kept a prisoner, first in the Fleet, and afterwards in some houses of his Order ⁷⁾, from where he escaped after some months, and reached Antwerp in 1528. From there he entered into connection with Luther and Melancthon, and passed into Germany ⁸⁾, until,

¹⁾ Gairdner, 89-90.

²⁾ That fact is recorded by the martyrologist Foxe as a memorable occurrence : *Acts & Monuments* : London, 1583 : 1182 ; Warton, III, 261.

³⁾ In Cambridge Barnes had as secretary Miles Coverdale, also an Austin friar there, who afterwards followed him in his campaign against the Church : Strype, I, 591 ; Gairdner, 191 ; Constant, 610.

⁴⁾ That choice may have been inspired by the example of Dorp which, no doubt, Barnes witnessed in Louvain : cp. before, I, 444 ; *MonHL*, 159, sq., 214, sq.

⁵⁾ Gairdner, 129, 234 ; Strype, I, 589.

⁶⁾ *ChronGreyFr.*, 33 ; *Fisher*, 145 ; Blunt, I, 82-84 ; Froude, I, 518-19.

⁷⁾ In one of them, he met his old friend of Louvain Thomas Paynell.

⁸⁾ In Germany he passed as Antony Amerius, Anglicus ; Luther called him Antony Barnes : Enders, IX, 80, sq., &c, x-xII, *passim*.

by 1531, he was recalled to England by Cromwell ¹⁾. He entered the King's service, and tried to procure the approval of Lutheran theologians for the royal divorce and the second marriage. In 1535, he was sent, with Edward Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, and the Stafford Archdeacon Nicolas Heath, to further Henry VIII's affairs in Germany at the meeting of the Protestant Princes at Schmalkalden ²⁾. In 1539 he was once more employed : on account of his connections with Germany, he negotiated the marriage with the Princess Ann of Cleves. Meanwhile he had become a most popular preacher ³⁾, inveighing not only against Roman Catholics, but also against Sacramentarians ⁴⁾ and against all those who differed from him in opinion. He offended Gardiner in one of his sermons at St. Paul's, and was consequently summoned before the King at Hampton Court, which led to his being accused of heresy and his being burnt at Smithfield by dint of the *Six Articles*, on July 30, 1540. Besides a *Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum* ⁵⁾ and a *Sententiæ... Christianæ religionis... ex sacris literis et doctorum patrum scriptis assertæ*, he wrote several tracts in English ⁶⁾ against his contradictors ⁷⁾ setting forth his opinions ; the *ABC* for children, which in fact is an *ABC* against the clergy, is attributed to him ⁸⁾.

The curriculum of Thomas Paynell, or Parnell, who helped Barnes in Cambridge, is by far not so clear cut ⁹⁾ ; for the

¹⁾ Gairdner, 125-126.

²⁾ Constant, I, 253, 405, 703 ; Gairdner, 162 ; Blunt, I, 470.

³⁾ *NarRef.*, 298 ; Froude, III, 279, 309.

⁴⁾ In 1538 he urged the condemnation of John Lambert Nicholson, who denied the real presence. Cp. Gairdner, 134, 203-4, 220 ; Blunt, I, 538 ; Froude, III, 152-3 ; *MoreChamb.*, 280 ; *PrintLists*, Bydd., 3.

⁵⁾ Basle, 1535.

⁶⁾ There also seem to have been tracts by him in German : *PollHen.*, 193.

⁷⁾ More amongst them : *MoreChamb.*, 280.

⁸⁾ Cooper, I, 74-75, 533 ; *DNB* ; Gough, 97 ; *ChronGreyFr.*, 43, 44 ; Constant, 193-4, 232, 241, 620, 677, 688, 721 ; Strype, I, 588-91 ; Gairdner, 218, 236, &c ; *LPHS*, xv, 306, 312, 314 ; *PollCran.*, 143, 180 ; *NarRef.*, 294 ; Froude, III, 333, 341. John Standish, fellow of Whittington College, wrote a bitter pamphlet against him after his death : Bale, 258 ; Strype, I, 591.

⁹⁾ The *DNB* warns against the mixing up of the Merton canon and Barnes's helper ; yet Cooper and Wood distinguish better, for they do not identify a *friar* and a *canon regular*, as is done in *DNB*.

various facts which from 1520 to 1568 are attributed to that name, may have to be divided amongst two, three, even four, personages. There was a Thomas Paynell, a Lincolnshire priest, who became rector and benefactor of Cottingham parish, and died a Catholic in the last months of 1563 : he is out of the question here, since he was trained in Oxford only during the last years of Henry VIII and the first of Edward VI ¹⁾. Of Thomas Paynell it is recorded that in December 1538 he was sent with Christopher Mount on a mission to the Protestant Princes in Germany by the King, from which he returned about April 1539 ²⁾; still that fact may have to be attributed to a Thomas Paynell, who was an officer in the King's service at Boston about 1538 ³⁾. There moreover was a Thomas Paynell, canon regular of Merton Priory, in Surrey, who was sent to the Oxford college of St. Mary the Virgin to study philosophy and theology ; he afterwards became prior of a monastery of Canons Regular near London ; he was dispossessed of it and indemnified by a pension. To him is ascribed the preface and the editing of a book about measuring 'Woodland and Plowland', by Sir Richard de Benese, sometimes Canon of Merton Priory ; besides 'Pandicts of the Evangelical Law', 1553, a list of notable sayings from all the Scripture, 1550 ⁴⁾, another of matters contained in the English works of Sir Thomas More (before Rastell's edition of 1557) and one of 'Common places' of St. Paul's Epistles, 1562 ⁵⁾. His name and quality of 'chanon of Merton' is mentioned as the author of *The Comparation of a Vyrgin and a Martyr*, 1537, dedicated to 'Master John Ramsay, lorde priour of Merton', on whose request he rendered 'This lyttell and fruitfull boke' ⁶⁾. Most probably on account of that translation of Erasmus' short devotional treatise ⁷⁾, he is considered as being the translator of a rather

¹⁾ Wood, I, 112-113.

²⁾ Cooper, I, 78 ; *LP* 8, 1538, I, 604-6, 609, 614.

³⁾ Cooper, I, 78.

⁴⁾ *The Pithy and most noble Sayings of all Scripture* : London, 1550 : dedicated to Princess Mary : Strype, II, 431-432 ; *PrintLists*, Copl., 6.

⁵⁾ Wood, I, 111-112 ; *DNB* ; Bale, 449-451 ; Underhill, 96-97, mentions a Thomas Paynel admitted to Gray's Inn in 1530.

⁶⁾ Maitland, 199-200 ; *PrintLists*, Berthelet, 6.

⁷⁾ *EOO*, V, 589, A-600, B, III, 778, C-780, F ; Allen, v, 1346 ; *BB*, E, 1139, 2.

long series of writings, which are quite different from the rest of his acknowledged works, consisting chiefly of lists of passages, of selections and gatherings of maxims. It is most likely that — unless the two are identical — those renderings are due, not to the ‘chanon’ regular, but to the Austin friar, as there are, besides translations of classic works, some of the writings of the leading humanists, Erasmus, Vives and Barlandus, whom the Austin Friar must have been acquainted with personally, as they were either teaching in, or at any rate haunting, the Convent where he stayed in Louvain ¹⁾ as the companion of Barnes; it seems even that after having seconded the latter in Cambridge, he started translating works when his companion was condemned and left the country, 1525-28. Amongst those translations are : Erasmus’ *De Contemptu Mundi* ²⁾; Barlandus’ *De Hollandiæ Principibus* ³⁾; Hutten’s *De Morbo Gallico* ⁴⁾; St. Cyprian’s *In Orationem Dominicam* ⁵⁾; St. Ambrose’s *Præparationem ad Missam* ⁶⁾; St. Bernard’s *Modus bene vivendi* ⁷⁾; Plutarch’s *De Assentatore et Amico*; C. C. Sallust’s *Catilina*, 1541; the *Dietarium* of Salerne ⁸⁾; Agapetus’ *Præcepta Principis* ⁹⁾, and several others ¹⁰⁾. Other translations are made from modern languages, which evidently suggest a man trained in literature, as was the Austin Friar Thomas Paynell: one is a treatise about good manners from the French ¹¹⁾; by 1553, at the revival of

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 293, 454-55.

²⁾ *Of the Contempt of the World*: London, 1533: *PrintLists*, Berthelet, 4, 14.

³⁾ *Brief Chronycle of all the Earls of Holland*: London, 1557.

⁴⁾ *The Wood called Guaiacum*: London, 1533, 1536, 1539 & 1540: *PrintLists*, Berthelet, 4, 5, 7, 8.

⁵⁾ *Sermon on the Lord’s Prayer*: London, 1539: *PrintLists*, Berthelet, 7.

⁶⁾ *A devout prayer, expedient for those that prepare themselves to say Mass*: London, 1555.

⁷⁾ *Fruitful treatise of well living*: London, n. d.; *PrintLists*, Bydd., 5.

⁸⁾ *The Regiment of Health, teaching all People how to govern them in health*: London, 1528, 1529, 1535, 1541, 1558: *PrintLists*, Berthelet, 1, 5, 8.

⁹⁾ *The Precepts teaching a Prince or a noble estate his duty*: London, 1532: *PrintLists*, Berthelet, 14.

¹⁰⁾ Wood, I, 112; Bale, 449-51; amongst Berthelet’s undated books (*PrintLists*, 15), there is *Treatise of the pestilence* by Paynel, ascribed to 1534.

¹¹⁾ *The civility of Childhood, with the discipline and institution of Children*: London, 1560.

Spanish sympathy in England, he made a version of John Louis Vives' *De Officio Mariti* ¹⁾; like his friend Alexander Barclay ²⁾, who translated into English a book of world-wide fame, the *Stultifera Navis* ³⁾, he set to work to translate the *Amadis de Gaul*, which was then at the zenith of its fame. The translation, which was published in 1568 ⁴⁾, partook of the rapid fall in popularity of the chivalry story, which had set in just after the rendering had been taken in hand; the theme was revived only from 1589 to 1595 by Antony Munday, who intended his *Amadis* for the popular reader, and not for the highly cultured man, as had been done by the Austin friar, or by whoever answered to the name of Thomas Paynell ⁵⁾.

c. Scandinavian Students.

Barnes and Paynell were not the only foreigners who derived from the first lectures of the *Collegium Trilingue* the enthusiasm for the ideals and the methods of humanism. When, by 1521, in a poem addressed to King Christiern II, Matthias Gabler, professor of Greek in Copenhagen, celebrated the men who stood in Denmark for that intellectual revival, he mentioned, along with the great Carmelite 'Pouell Hellis-

¹⁾ *The office and duetie of an husband*: London, John Cawood, <1553>: Bonilla, 784; Underhill, 89, 97, 377; *PrintLists*, Cawood, 7.

²⁾ Thomas Paynell is recorded as friend of Alexander Barclay: he edited in 1557 his translation of Sallust's *Jugurtha*, of about 1520 (*ShakEngl.*, I, 264), having himself rendered *Catilina* in 1541 (*CHEL*, IV, 4). They may have had another common interest in having spent some time in Louvain, for Barclay evidently had learned in the Netherlands the existence of the sound $k + \omega$, e. g., in *qwade*, *kwaad*, which he mentions as equivalent to that in Latin: *quare*, *quatuor*, and in Scotch [& English]: *quart*, *quayre*, in his *Introductory to wryte and pronounce French*, 1521; and the form *Colayne*, for Cologne, is so uncommon that it seems as a printer's mistake or misreading for *Louayne*, as neither Brant nor Locher mentions it amongst the several German Universities: Zarncke, 29; Barclay, I, xxxiv, lxxiii, cvi, 145; Popen, 216, 279.

³⁾ *The Shyp of Fols of the Worlde*: London, Richard Pynson, 1509: Barclay, I, xviii, sq, xcvi, sq.

⁴⁾ *The Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce*: London, 1568: Underhill, 98-99, 101, 380; *ShakEngl.*, I, 272.

⁵⁾ Underhill, 45, 98, 116-18, 296, 303-4, 306; *CHEL*, III, 341, IV, 4.

szen', or Helgesen, Paulus Heliä ¹⁾, three young men, Vincent Lunge, Christopher Jepsen Ravensberg, and Christiørn Tor-kilsøn Morsing, who, since 1514, had been studying in Lou-vain : the third matriculated on May 20 ²⁾, the two others on August 3 of that year ³⁾. Although no details are available about the time of their stay and the object of their studies, then or later, the coincidence of the intellectual fermentation started with the *Collegium Trilingue*, and their being the first heralds of that same movement in their native land, suggests the connection of cause and effect ⁴⁾; it clearly

¹⁾ Paulus Hellisszen, Heliä, born about 1480 at Warberg, near the Kattegat, in Sweden, entered the Carmelite Order very young : he does not seem to have studied abroad (cp. *Heliä*, 2, 9). He was appointed lecturer of theology in the Copenhagen Convent in 1519. He was very outspoken in his sermons, criticizing the avarice of the clergy, the ambition of nobility and the lack of sincere faith of the people, which attracted on him the attention of the King, who meditated a religious and political reform. On that account he asked the friar to translate for him Macchiavelli's *Il Principe*; still instead of that book, Erasmus' *Institutio Principis Christiani* was rendered and offered to Christiørn II, with a preface full of warnings and reproaches for his cruelty and his tyranny, dated January 24, 1522, the day of Thierry Schlagheck's execution. On June 24, 1522, when Heliä was ordered to preach at the Royal castle, he even clearly compared the King's disordered life to that of Herod, on which he absconded in Jutland, and encouraged the insurrection which Christiørn avoided by his flight to the Netherlands. On account of his relentless censuring, Heliä was slandered as a favourer of Luther, whereas the Protestants branded him as *Vende-kaabe*, turncoat. Cp. *Heliä*, 5-20; *DBL*, ix, 630, sq; *CMH*, II, 606; and further, Ch. XV.

²⁾ Cristianus torchilli de Nicopia in regno dacie : *LibIntIII*, 202, v.

³⁾ *LibIntIII*, 204, v : Vincentius filius vincentij yuori de stegis oppidi in dacia. — Cristoforus filius jacobi jacobi de halangia insula in dacia.

⁴⁾ These are the lines of Gabler's poem referring to them :

Hic bifidi doctor iuris Vincentius alto
Dania quem natum protulit alma loco.
Et magno insignis proauorum nomine doctus
Christophorus suaves fundit ab ore sonos...
Hic titulis magnus sacrarum Paulus Elie
magnificis rerum dogmata sacra canit.
Nec non et Torchillus amans sacrosque poetas
prælegit assiduo scripta polita suis.

Cp. Ellen Jørgensen, *Nordiske Studerende ved Universitetet i Louvain* (in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 9 R. III) : Copenhagen, 1925 : 387-88.

appears for Christopher Ravensberg, who applied, as Professor and Rector of Roskilde University, the methods learned in Louvain ¹⁾. Other students of the Scandinavian countries, who passed part of the time of their studies in Louvain, and proved most distinguished among their contemporaries afterwards ²⁾, may have availed themselves of the occasion to enjoy the training that Busleyden College was the first in the world to give systematically : thus Bero Nicolai, of Finland ³⁾, and Geble Pedersen, from Norway ⁴⁾, and especially the great Swede John Store Magnus, who became bishop of Vesterås and archbishop of Uppsala ⁵⁾ after his native country had been severed from the communion with Rome ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Christopher Ravensberg, son of Jacob Jepsen, of Kindholm, was *magister* and canon of Roskilde in 1511. He learned Humanism in Louvain, and was the first representative of the movement in Denmark : he was appointed professor of the University of Roskilde and even chosen Rector soon after 1518 ; he had Latin dramas played by his students, and spread the enthusiasm of the new studies. He was a friend of Christiern II, whom he followed in his flight ; still he had returned to Roskilde by 1525, when he was again elected Rector. He gathered a fine collection of books, and took part in the Odense Kirkekommission of 1536 ; he died at Roskilde in 1543, the last of an old noble family. Cp. *DBL*, xix, 274-75.

²⁾ On the same day, August 3, 1514, was inscribed along with Vincent Lunge and Christ. Ravensberg, 'Thomas filius absolonis valkendorf de nykoping in regno dacie' : *LibIntIII*, 204, v.

³⁾ *LibIntIII*, 238, v : Bero nicolai de finlandia sub episcopo Aboensi : October 19, 1517.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIII*, 198, v : 'Ghysbertus [Ghybernus] de norwegia nidro-siensis dioceseos' : December, 1513.

⁵⁾ He certainly studied in Louvain, where Adrian VI knew him ; it also appears from the accounts of his brother Olaus : cp. *MonHL*, 611-612 ; the latter studied in Cologne, where he matriculated in August 1519 : Olavus Magnus de Dacia : Keussen, II, 523, 31.

⁶⁾ Other matriculations of students from Scandinavian countries in Louvain are, for the years 1517 to 1520 : March 27, 1517, Magister boetiusz, de dacia (*LibIntIII*, 233, r) ; August 29, 1517, Johannes filius nicolai johannis de melfordia in dacia otioniensis dioc. — Christianus filius mathie nicolaij de ripis in dacia ripensis dioc. : both *pauperes in Castro* (*ibid.*, 236, r) ; Aug. 31, 1517 : lambertus andree de dacia ripensis dioc. dives falconicus (*ibid.*, 236, v) ; December 10, 1519, Nicolaus petrij colm de dachia (*ibid.*, 261, r) ; — besides Aug. 28, 1516 : Nicolaus bauc de dachia otioniensis dioc., dives liliensis (*ibid.*, 224, v).

d. German Students

The *Collegium Trilingue* also counted amongst its hearers in those very months, the young men whom Nesen had had as pupils in Paris, and with whom he came to Louvain about the beginning of July 1519 ¹⁾. Although he could teach them the elements of Latin and possibly of Greek, he does not seem to have been able to lead them very far; for when Beatus Rhenanus, in November 1519, advised his secretary Albert Burer to follow that example, and tutor boys of rich families, he assured him that he, Burer, was considerably better equipped for that work than Nesen was when he started: for the style and erudition he just then possessed, had been gained by exercise and by the practice of his lessons ²⁾. Without any doubt, Nesen had come to Louvain to enjoy Erasmus' company and the advantage of the recently founded Institute, whose lectures largely supplemented his tutoring; the young men, moreover, had the priceless advantage of living under the same roof, and of boarding at the same table, with the great Humanist, with one of the professors, and with several favourers, of Busleyden's College ³⁾. It makes it almost certain that, as their interest in it was so vivid, they decided on the impressively staged warning to the Rector, in the late hours of November 29, 1519, against refusing the permission to lecture to their tutor ⁴⁾. Two of those pupils were the sons of Nicolas Stalberger, or Stalburg, patrician and consul of Frankfurt ⁵⁾, Nicolas and Crato; the elder had matriculated in Basle in 1515 ⁶⁾, and both of them followed their tutor Nesen to Paris in the autumn of 1517,

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 392, sq.

²⁾ RhenE, 189-190; Rhenanus added that by his lessons he also had gained the favour of Nicolas Stalberger, the Frankfurt consul.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 393-94, 456, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 455-56.

⁵⁾ Nicolas Stalburg, Stalberger, called 'the Rich', had married Margaret von Rhein, and had, besides the two sons mentioned here, a third, Christopher, who studied in Bologna in 1534: Knod, 543-44; *Micyllus*, 37, sq. He allowed, and maybe invited, Lutheran preachers to Frankfurt: *Königstein*, 31, 33; on his visit to Nesen's school, Luther blessed Christopher, the third son, who was one of the pupils: *Micyllus*, 40. Nicolas died on November 15, 1524: *Königstein*, 76.

⁶⁾ *Micyllus*, 38, 43.

and from there to Louvain about the beginning of July 1519 ¹). On account of their great interest in Humanism Beatus Rhenanus had dedicated to them on November 22, 1518 ²), the first edition of Erasmus' *Familiarium Colloquiorum*, printed by John Froben in November 1518 ³) from the manuscript which Lambertus Holonius had discovered and secured ⁴).

After Nesen had started his journeys to Germany in the first months of 1520, and finally left for that country ⁵), the Stalberger brothers remained for some weeks in Louvain ⁶). By the end of the year Nicolas matriculated in Bologna; after some time he returned to Frankfurt, where he became councillor in 1525, alderman in 1529, and acted as mayor in 1562: he died on April 1, 1571 ⁷). It is not recorded whether Crato followed his brother to Italy; he lived a good while at Basle with Erasmus: he was with him in the first months of 1522;

¹) Cp. before, I, 392, *sq*; Allen, III, 630, 768.

²) RhenE, 122-23; *Micyllus*, 38, 43.

³) BB, E, 405: the *Colloquia* had been composed in Paris about 1498 for Augustine Caminade, who was then tutoring some Zeeland pupils; he sold transcripts, which were hidden and kept with great care, in so far that Erasmus thought that the work had perished: cp. Bömer, I, 76; Allen, III, 909.

⁴) Lambert de Hollogne, *Hollonius* or *Holonius*, of Liège or its neighbourhood, went to Basle in October 1518 with Menard of Hoorn — possibly the :*Meinardus agensis de Banaat*, the 49th of the promotion of M. A., April 16, 1494: *ActArtV*, 137, *v*, — and entered Froben's service. He had somehow or other acquired a copy of Augustine Caminade's manuscript of the *Colloquiorum Formulæ*, which was printed on Rhenanus' instance by Froben, much to Erasmus' dissatisfaction: RhenE, 122-123; BB, E, 405, 5; Allen, III, 904, *pr*, *v*, 1284, 1, XI, 3100, 10. Holonius was not very good at his work, and soon after Menard died from the plague at Basle, as he wrote to his friend Rescius (Allen, III, 904, 17), he left for Rome and studied theology; his death occurred there about May 25, 1522: EOO, I, 343, A. — His nephew Gregory de Hollogne, *Holonius*, taught Latin in St. Bartholomew's School, Liège, and wrote three Latin dramas, *Lambertias*, *Laurentias* and *Catharina*, published in 1556. In 1574, he became dean of St. Gery's, Cambrai, and died at Mons on June 16, 1594. He praised his uncle for his knowledge of the three tongues.

⁵) Cp. before, I, 464-69.

⁶) In the autumn of 1519, when writing to Nesen, Rhenanus had mentioned 'Carinum et Stalbergerios': RhenE, 186.

⁷) He had married twice: (1525) Anna Frosch bore him three, (1532) Dorothy von Stralenberg, nineteen children: Knod, 544; *Königstein*, 83.

Basil Amerbach, relating to his brother Boniface, then at Avignon, that the great Humanist had removed to 'ædes superiores', *Zur alten Treue*, near St. Peter's, on the Nadelberg, mentions that there was with him 'eius conuina, quidam doctor medicus Antwerpiensis' ¹⁾, as well as 'Crato Stalberger, discipulus Neseni' ²⁾. Crato is further mentioned in the colloquy *Convivium Poeticum*, 1523 ³⁾, as well as in a letter of March 8, 1526, to Frederic Nausea ⁴⁾; in the beginning of May 1527, on his way to Italy, he must have passed through Basle, for Erasmus gave him an introductory letter to Lazarus a Parentibus, a merchant of Genoa ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Probably Henry van (den) Eynde, a (or de) *Fine, Afinius*, Antwerp Archiater, a native of Lierre who, after studying Arts in the Castle Pedagogy, Louvain, applied himself to medicine and defended publicly on December 19, 1516, a medical, an astronomical and a metaphysical thesis. He had them printed as *Questiones Tres*, by William Vorsterman, Antwerp, April 4, 1517 (NijKron., I, 42), with a dedicatory letter to the mayor Arnold van Lyere, an *encomium* of Lierre town by Peter Gillis, an *enconomastica epistola* by Francis Colibrant, Antwerp secretary, and an *epistola exhortatoria*, of February 1517, by Erasmus: Allen, II, 542; cp. before, I, 336. About the end of August of that year, Afinius mentioned some silver cups which, in gratitude, he was going to offer to Erasmus: Allen, III, 638, 637, 16; still he did not send his present, so that Erasmus reminded him of his promise through Gillis in the following months: Allen, III, 681, 4, 687, 3, 712, 32, 736, 16, and finally wrote him a letter, on Jan. 6, 1518: Allen, III, 753, 754, 6, which, most likely, produced a good result. For on March 13, 1518 (Allen, III, 799), he dedicated to him by a short letter his *Encomium Artis Medicæ*, which was printed with other compositions by Thierry Martens, along with *Querela Pacis*, as *Declamationes aliquot* (or *quatuor*) in 1518: BB, E, 1224, 5; NijKron., II, 2971, I, 811, 812. For that year 'Maistre Henry de fine docteur en medecine de la ville danuers' published *La grande Prenostication de Louvain* (1518) and, later on, *La grande et orave Prenostication de Louvain pour lan 1533*, in which he calls himself 'docteur et astrologue en luniuersite de louvain': NijKron., II, 2249-50; cp. 3254. 3330-57. — Afinius' stay at Basle gains some probability from the fact that in 1537 'M. Ioannes Afinius Lirensis', apparently a kinsman, matriculated there in the University: Allen, II, 542, *pr*.

²⁾ *BhBasle*, MS. G. II, 13: 131-32, 136; Allen, V, 1316, 38.

³⁾ In the *auctarium* of August 1523: BB, E, 448 (with Carinus): EEO, I, 720, D.

⁴⁾ Erasmus excuses his not having written to the Frankfurt Town Council at Nicolas, the father's, decease, since he knew nobody there: Allen, VI, 1673, 18; cp. Sadole. 699, 761.

⁵⁾ That Lazarus who wished to visit Erasmus, had brought him a

To the Stalberger brothers as pupils of Nesen, two other young men had joined, Louis Carinus, about August 1517, at Basle ¹⁾, and afterwards, in France, the Frisian Haio Ubbena Hompen ²⁾; both also accompanied them to Louvain ³⁾. Louis Kiel, Carinus, a native of Luzern, had obtained a canonry in his native place, but lost it about 1527 ⁴⁾. He belonged to a distinguished family, and was sent to be educated under Henry Glareanus ⁵⁾, in Basle, where he made Erasmus' acquaintance ⁶⁾: he added a eulogistic letter to the edition of the *Colloquiorum Formulæ* of February 1519, by Henry Stephanus in Paris ⁷⁾. In Louvain he renewed friendship with Erasmus ⁸⁾, and attended the lectures in the new *Institute* patronized by him, at least until the summer of 1520: from the end of September of that year he studied in Cologne under John Cæsarius, and left in December to become Capito's secretary at Mayence ⁹⁾. In the autumn of 1521, he accompanied Erasmus to Basle ¹⁰⁾, and stayed with him until

letter from Vives, dated Bruges, September 20, 1525; he recommended Crato to him on May 11, 1527: Allen, vi, 1613, 16, vii, 1818.

¹⁾ Allen, iii, 630, 7, 768.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 13-5; Allen, iv, 1026, 9-10 (to Lupset: Valent hic tui Hermannus Phrysius ac Nesenus cum Carino), 1034.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 393, sq.

⁴⁾ Viglius wrote to George Hermann about Carinus, whom he knew personally, as well as from Erasmus' report: olim obtinuit canonicatum [in patria]. Sed quoniam visus est novis sectis, quas illa Respublica non admittit, addictior esse, audiui hoc beneficio eum fuisse privatum: that was written about 1533, six years after Carinus' breach with Erasmus: Hoyneck, ii, i, 228. He is not identical with the Louis Kiel who held an office in the Beromünster Cathedral in 1496.

⁵⁾ Henry Glareanus dedicated to him his second book of *Elegiæ*: Basle, J. Froben, Nov. 14, 1516.

⁶⁾ Allen, iii, 920; he also became a friend of Beatus Rhenanus: RhenE, 6, 185, 377.

⁷⁾ It was addressed, on February 12, 1519, to Antony Ager, an English youth, who was also tutored in Paris by Nesen: Allen, iii, 920, *pr*; BB, E, 406.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 392-93; RhenE, 186; ZWE, 389.

⁹⁾ Allen, iv, 1215, 10, sq.

¹⁰⁾ It, no doubt, caused him to be mentioned in the *Convivium Poeticum*, of August 1523, along with Crato Stalberger, Tranquillus Parthenius, Richard Sbrulius, and the Humanist's famous maid, Margaret, the Tisiphone: BB, E, 448; and before, p 25.

July 1523, when he succeeded Nesen as *ludimagister* at Frankfurt ¹⁾. He did not reap much success, and, probably at Nesen's suggestion, he made room for James Micyllus in October 1524 ²⁾. He started teaching at Basle, where Francis van der Dilft even wished to share his house ³⁾, and where he began tutoring Erasmus Frobenius ⁴⁾; the latter accompanied him to Coblenz where Carinus took the direction of a school, and had Valentine Furster as pupil in March 1527 ⁵⁾. In the summer of that year he matriculated in Marburg University ⁶⁾, and came there under the influence of Reformers, which probably completely changed his disposition towards Erasmus, who had been displeased with his way of tutoring Froben's son ⁷⁾, and had bitterly censured Nesen's carelessness in correcting for him the edition of Seneca's works, 1515 ⁸⁾. It caused a virulent animosity, which gave rise to an incident with the amanuensis Felix Konings Polyphemus at Dôle ⁹⁾. He then took to tutoring pupils with whom he visited several Universities, which allowed him to study medicine and to promote Doctor. He was in Paris in 1533 ¹⁰⁾, and spent some time in Louvain in 1536, where Matthew Hermann, of Augsburg, one of his three boys, attended Goclenius' lectures ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ *Micyllus*, 43-52.

²⁾ *Micyllus*, 45-46; Melanchthon dedicated to Carinus his translation of the first Olynthian Oration: Hagenau, 1524.

³⁾ Allen, vii, 1890, 13, *sq.*, 22, *sq.* (that letter was not written in 1527, but belongs to 1524, October 15, as results from the argument expounded further, Ch. XI); *Cran.*, lviii, 139, *b-h.*

⁴⁾ Allen, iii, 635, 20, *n.*

⁵⁾ Allen, vi, 1798, 1799.

⁶⁾ *MatriMarb.*, 24; *Micyllus*, 51; Allen, vi, 1799.

⁷⁾ Allen, vii, 1890, 24, 1899, 102-3, 1946, 3, 2010, 1, 2048, 50, 2063, 1, viii, 2111, 28, 2112, 11.

⁸⁾ Allen, vii, 2063, 1, and before, I, 391-92, with sources quoted. Cp. RhenE, 377, where Rhenanus writes, on Sept. 24, 1528, to Bon. Amerbach: *Miror Carinum a petulantia sua non desistere.* — Erasmus called him *Carcinus* on that account.

⁹⁾ Hoyneck, ii, i, 228; Krafft, (*Tuorenrij* may have to be read *Koninxij*), 86, 166; Tschackert, i, 231, *sq.*, 314, ii, 416, &c, iii, *passim.*

¹⁰⁾ Herminjard, iii, 94, 159. Nicolas Borbonius Vandoperanus wrote two poems 'Ad Lud. Carinum': *Delitiæ Poetarum Galliæ*, i, 786, 793.

¹¹⁾ Letter of Viglius to Carinus, Speyer, December 17, 1536: Hoyneck, ii, i, 228-31; cp. further, Ch. XIX.

In 1540 he was in Padua, and, with the son of Antony Fugger, in Bologna in 1544 ¹). By 1546 he accepted the invitation of Erasmus Schenk, Bishop of Strassburg, to take the lead of St. Thomas's School in that town. He afterwards is said to have practised for several years as a physician at Basle, where he died on January 17, 1569, founding, by his will, eight scholarships in the University ²).

2. SPREADING FAME

A. HIGH ESTEEM AMONG HUMANISTS

Those and several other foreign students of the *Collegium Trilingue* described its work and its excellence in their respective countries, so that, before long, Louvain was known throughout Western Europe as possessing one of the best equipped and most progressive universities; her splendour reflected on all others by the students she had formed; above all it was as the highest object of all praise that she was trilingual ³). That very favourable opinion may be instanced by Herman Tulken, or Tulike, *Tulichus* or *Tulichius*, of Steinheim (1486-1540): after being trained by John Murellius at Münster, and having studied in Wittenberg, from 1508, and in Leipzig, from 1512, he taught some time at Quedlinburg, and became corrector of Michael Lotther, Leipzig, in 1514 ⁴). He wanted to go to Louvain, having been interested in it by its renown and de Spouter's treatises, to which he had composed some commendatory verses which Lotther placed on the title-page of his edition of the *Rudimenta* of 1518 ⁵): they were reproduced on several reissues, or on other books by the Louvain Grammarian ⁶). On Murel-

¹) Knod, 236: he matriculated there as preceptor of the 'nobilis d. Udalrichus Fugger'.

²) Cp. Th. von Liebenau, in *Katholische Schweizer-Blätter*, 1886: II, 337-355; *Micyllus*, 43-52; Knod, 236; FG, 320-22; ADB; Steitz, 105, 156, sq; Allen, III, 920, pr; Jerome Wolfius, *Ad Ludovicum Carinum Kiel: DelPoGer.*, VI, 1124-26; Joach. Camerarius, *Epistolæ Familiares*, Frankfurt, 1583: 441; SchelAH, I, 736-37; *MonHL*, 202, sq.

³) Hessus, I, 287, 289, 293. ⁴) *MünstFestschr.*, 47. ⁵) BB, D, 216.

⁶) E. g., by John Faber, Basle, 1527, G. Rau, Wittenberg, 1533, Mich. Blum, Leipzig, 1540: BB, D, 225, 230, 233.

lius' advice and that of other friends, Tulichius decided on a stay in the Brabant University, which is described in a biographical poem made in the last years of the xvith, or the first of the seventeenth, century by Henry Meibom, one of the most reliable historians of those times, professor of history and poetry in Helmstedt ¹). That *Carmen de Vita et Obitu Hermannii Tulichii* was edited in 1668 by Joannes Goes amongst the *Opuscula Varia de Westphalia ejusque Doctis aliquot Viris* ²). It relates how

Alfæ ...fluenta relinquens
 Belgica Tulichius secessit in oppida, mores
 Vt populi ignotos, & tecta superba videre[t].
 Lovanium tandem arrisit domus hospita Phœbi.
 Illic Argolicos magna dulcedine fonteis,
 Thesaurusque tuos Cicero facunde docebat
 Ille per ingentem celebrer Goclenius orbem.
 Quem stupuit Rhenus, quem Sequana glaucus & Ister
 Fulmina torquentem lingua, docilisque juventæ
 Mulcentem attonitas cultis sermonibus aureis.
 O quoties illum auscultans ad sidera palmas
 Sustulit, & gratas effudit pectore voces :
 Quod labe excussa jam nunc melioribus annis
 Antiquum decus & priscæ virtutis honores
 Acciperet Latium, quod multis acta procellis
 Græcia nubiferas exsul trajecerit Alpes.
 Ne tamen ad patriam remeasse inglorius urbem
 Ferretur, sumsit titulos nomenque Magistri,
 Profectum ostendens non una examinis hora.
 Addunt se comites lauroque fruuntur eadem
 Stuvius errantis natus prope flumina Vechtæ,
 Cuique Medusæus fecit cognomina Rivus.

¹) Henry Meibom was appointed in 1583 for that double branch, and did great honour to his work. He gave the sources of, and commented on, Sleidanus' *De Quatuor Summis Imperiis* in 1586 (Wittenberg), and left at his death, in 1625, what his grandson, mediate successor and namesake, edited as *Opuscula Historica Varia, Res Germanas concernentia* (Helmstedt, 1660), which became the *Rerum Germanicarum Tomi Tres* (Helmstedt, 1686) : cp. *WestphalOp.*, 23-27 ; *ADB* ; Scherer, 60-62, 123, 144-5, 477-9.

²) *WestphalOp.*, 75-86 : the passage quoted comes on pp 77-78.

Tulichius did not promote Master of Arts in Louvain ; no more did Herman Stuvius, who was for a good while tutor in the Lily ¹⁾, and who, most naturally, had met his countryman. For the testimony of the visit to Louvain may be safely accepted : it must have taken place in December 1519 or in the first weeks of 1520, since Goclenius ²⁾, — who then was only a beginner, — was lecturing, and since Tulichius came in that year to Wittenberg University with Michael Lotther's eldest son ³⁾. In that University Tulichius promoted Master of Arts, and was so conspicuous for his ability and his enthusiasm that, on October 6, 1520, Luther dedicated to him his *De Captivate Babylonica* ⁴⁾, and that, in 1522, he was appointed professor of literature and logic ; he read Aristoteles, but particularly illustrated himself by explaining Cicero's *Officia*, which he had heard Goclenius comment upon in Louvain ⁵⁾. In the autumn of 1525, he was elected Rector of that University, on his return from a short stay at Eisleben where he had organized the school with John Agricola. In 1532 he accepted the direction of the Latin school of Luneburg on Melanchthon's request ; he died there in 1540 after having endowed the *Johanneum* with a plan of studies of teaching, the *Leges Tulichianæ*, which were religiously followed for more than two hundred years ⁶⁾. The admiration of that venerated master for the instruction and method of the *Collegium Trilingue*, which had been as a revelation to him, was evidently shared by all who lived within his atmosphere : it outlasted him several decads, as otherwise the laudatory mention by Meibom in his *De Vita Tulichii* would lack all sense and relevancy.

¹⁾ Cp. further in this chapter, section 6, § A.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 484-87.

³⁾ The date of their arrival is given as 1519 : Enders, II, 490, — which no doubt, has to be understood for the year ending at Easter.

⁴⁾ Enders, II, 489-90.

⁵⁾ Melanchthon said about him : Si eo careamus, valde frigeant latinæ litteræ : *CorpRef.*, I, 728.

⁶⁾ *MünstFestschr.*, 47-48 ; *MünstBib.*, 148 ; *Murmell.*, 107 ; Paulsen, I, 228 ; Enders, IV, 21, 363, V, 254, sq.

B. FOREIGN VISITORS

The spreading of the renown of Busleyden's Institute was greatly helped by a fashion prevailing amongst admiring humanists of those days prompting them to make a personal acquaintance with Erasmus. From the enthusiasts living in places where the great Man resided, or where he passed on his frequent journeys up and down the Rhine valley, it soon extended to those who lived in the distant regions of Germany or Spain or Dalmatia : by means of an introductory letter of a friend or of a stray acquaintance, they broke in on the quiet study of the busy erudite ¹⁾, who, besides, had to pay for the flattering homage by letters, which, if not forcibly reduced, would have wanted, as he said, ten notaries writing from morning till night ²⁾. Naturally, those who were fortunate enough to be admitted, highly esteemed what Erasmus conceived or put into execution : so the *Collegium Trilingue*, which, from October 1517 to the very last days of his earthly life ³⁾, was the object of his tenderest solicitude, profited by the dutiful reverence, and, at the least, drew the attention of the visitors on the excellence of its aim and of its methods.

¹⁾ On May 17, 1531 Erasmus, writing to Hessus, referred to his visit of 1518, adding : *tum temporis alternis ferme diebus ade[ran]t e Germania salutatorum iuga, quorum nemo voluit discedere, nisi litteris onustus* : Allen, ix, 2493, 19-21. When, in the spring of 1519, Tranquillus Parthenius Andronicus from Dalmatia came to see Erasmus, he was not admitted to a conversation although he had followed him from Louvain to Antwerp, as he had been taken for one of the many wandering pseudo-erudites and adventurers in search of vain glory, who wanted to boast the Humanist's acquaintance or his autograph : *Pro iuvene docto, candido, modesto...*, the latter wrote, *quendam barbarum fastuosumque mihi descripserant ac circumforaneum ardelionem, a quo hominum genere vix credas quantum abhorream ; et ab iis frequentius impetor quam velim aut quam ferat studiorum vtilitas* : Allen, iii, 991, 21-25, 879, 1, sq, 10, sq ; cp. before, I, 321-23 ; also Hessus, i, 289, sq.

²⁾ To Henry Bemyng Erasmus wrote on Oct. [19], 1518 : *si coner hic omnibus satisfacere [salutantibus], ne decem quidem notarii sufficerent, vt preterea nihil agam. Imo quum hæc scriberem, reieci Hispanos quosdam odiose pertinaciter meum colloquium expetentes* : Allen, iii, 873, 6-9.

³⁾ On June 28, 1536, Erasmus wrote *ægra manu*, in his last letter reprimanding Rescius ; his last words were : *...grauiter perdit istud collegium. Vale* : Allen, xi, 3130, 37.

A group of such enthusiasts had thus formed in Erfurt University about the veteran Conrad Mutianus Rufus ¹⁾, gathering the poets and physicians Eobanus Hessus ²⁾ and Euricius Cordus, the jurisprudent Justus Jonas, the linguist John Lang, and several others. In September 1518 the most ardent of them, Hessus, decided on a journey to Erasmus. He found a companion in a young nobleman, John von Werter, quite recently promoted M. A. ³⁾; provided with letters and presents from their friends, amongst them also Henry Bemyng and John Draco ⁴⁾, they started on September 29, from Mutian's

¹⁾ Conrad Muth, *Mutianus Rufus* (Oct. 15, 1471-March 30, 1526), of Homberg, studied at Deventer, in Erfurt (1486), and, from 1495 to 1502, in Italy. That year he received a canonry at Gotha, where he spent his life in studies; by his letters he widely influenced the younger generation: he was in full sympathy with Reuchlin, as well as with Erasmus for the renewal of learning and the reform within the Church: cp. MUE, i, sq; K. Gillert, *Briefwechsel des Mutianus*: Halle, 1890; Allen, II, 501, 10.

²⁾ Eobanus Coci, a Sunday-child, *Helius* (Jan. 6, 1488-Oct. 4, 1540), was born at Halgehausen, near Frankenberg, in Hesse, *Hessus*. He was trained in Erfurt from 1504, promoting M. A. in 1509, whilst teaching for his living. Helped by the Bishop of Pomerania Job of Dobeneck, he studied in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder and in Leipzig, where his ability as poet was developed: his *Heroides*, 1514, made him conspicuous as one of the best Latin poets, and caused him to be appointed as professor of classics in Erfurt, 1517; there he gathered a group of young literators, and highly admired Erasmus. That cult lessened through his partiality to Luther: yet he did not follow him after he broke with Rome. As on account of the Reformation, classic studies declined in Erfurt, he went to teach in Nuremberg in 1526, but was recalled to Erfurt in 1533, whereas from 1536 to his death he was professor of history in Marburg: *Hessus*; Allen, III, 874, *pr*.

³⁾ John von Werter started his studies in Erfurt in 1511, promoting Bachelor in 1513, and Master of Arts in 1517; he wrote some verses during those years in honour of the *Cantalicus* (Erfurt, 1515) of his master Judocus Textoris of Windsheim: Allen, III, 875, *pr*, 873, 5; *Hessus*, I, 289, *sq*, 295, *sq*.

⁴⁾ John Drach, *Draco*, *Draconites*, of Karlstadt (1494-1566), studied in Erfurt from 1509, and obtained a canonry in St. Severus' there. He was obliged to resign in 1521 as he favoured Luther; so, from 1534 to 1547, he taught theology in Marburg, and from 1551 in Rostock, until, in 1560, Duke Albert of Prussia bestowed on him the Bishopric of Pomerania. Cp. Allen, III, 871, *pr*; FG, 339; CorvE, I & II, *passim*; *Hessus*, I, 293-302, 304, &c; Enders, III, 156-57, &c. He visited Erasmus in July 1520: Allen, IV, 1122, *pr*, 1124, 4, 24, 1127, 1, &c.

house in Gotha, where they had spent the night. They reached Frankfurt, walking, on October 6, and sailed on the Main to Mayence, where they heard that Erasmus was in Louvain; so the journey continued by the Rhine to Bonn; avoiding Cologne on account of an epidemy, they walked by Düren, Aix and Maastricht, and further, by the Royal Road, to Louvain.

On the third day after leaving Maastricht ¹⁾, they saw the walls, the steeples and the snow-white castle of

Nobile Louanium, cui candida fata dederunt
 Illud habere decus musarum cœligenarum,
 Istas delicias studiorum veripotentum,
 Quem genuit fausto felix Hollandia partu,
 Huius non auidum, nec egentem laudis ERASMYM,
 Laudatum satis, vt taceas. Quis nescit, vt ipsum
 Vtraque iam norit solis domus, vtraque mundi
 Transuersi plaga, trux boreas, & nubilus auster.

Iam sol Hesperias afflabat proximus vndas
 Ingredimur tacito mirantes omnia visu
 Ornamenta vrbis, dii qualia ? sed neque tantum
 Ista caduca moror, quantum quia principe floret
 Gymnasio, studiisque adhibet, quem debet, honorem.
 Excellitque viris, non qui Latiala solum
 Dogmata, Romanæque loquacia schemata linguæ.
 Nec tantum ad Graias possint vigilare lucernas,
 Verum etiam Hæbræo sudent in puluere, & omni
 Parte schola celebri veteres imitentur Athænas ²⁾.

In the evening of October 17, Hesus composed an *Epistola* in verse to Erasmus, announcing his arrival after the long journey undertaken to see him *instar numinis*, and wishing for a welcome reception from the *German[i]æ lux vnica* ³⁾. After a night's rest following on a coldish evening ⁴⁾,

¹⁾ VAnd., 399-400.

²⁾ *Hodæporicon* (Louvain, 1519), c 1, r.

³⁾ *Hodæporicon*, c 4, r-d 2, r.

⁴⁾ *Hodæporicon*, c 1, v. — Referring on May 17, 1531, to Hesus' visit of October 1518, Erasmus mentions as his companion Aegranus Syluius: Allen, ix, 2495, 16-17: that seems to be a mistake, for John Wildenauer, *Sylvius*, of Eger, in Bohemia, *Aegranus*, is not mentioned in Hesus' description; he was probably mixed up with Werter, since the ardent Bohemian admirer of Erasmus actually visited him at Basle in July 1523: Allen, iii, 872, 12; *Hesus*, i, 293; *Wimpina*, 132-36, 220.

Mane salutatum venio (præmisimus ante
Implumes elegos) ibi non multum ille moratus
Descendit ¹⁾, placide exceptum, dextraque prehensum
Ducit in augustis regnata palatia musis.

The letters and presents were then given, and the conversation started, and at a *convivium* in the honour of the visitors, all the absent friends were remembered and letters to them were promised for the return. The *Carmen* in which Hessus afterwards described his visit does not specially mention the humanistic studies, which, however, were the chief reason of the interest taken in the great man; although, as he afterwards regretted, he had been rather reserved and demure on account of being still suffering and very busy ²⁾, he cannot but have glorified in the three lectures founded by Busleyden being actually favoured with success, — notwithstanding the refusal, on August 28 preceding, of the acceptance of what seemed the *conditio sine qua non* of their existence ³⁾.

After a short visit to Mechlin, Antwerp and Bruges, — so Hessus relates, — returning by the way we had come, we

In patrios tandem salui peruenimus agros,
Qua cum vate suo reduces E[r]phurdia musas
Nunc etiam dulci gremio fouet, istaque laudat
Ludentes residui, non improba carmina, versu ⁴⁾.

That return was most gratifying as the letters which Erasmus had sent, praised the Erfurt friends for their zeal and their affectionate consideration. Hessus made a description of the journey in 528 hexameters, and dedicated it, on Jan. 9, 1519, to Justus Jonas ⁵⁾: it was printed as *Hodæporicon*—

¹⁾ Erasmus' room in the Lily was on the first floor, facing the big staircase: cp. before, I, 254.

²⁾ Cp. Allen, III, 870, *pr*, ix, 2495, 18; *Hessus*, I, 293.

³⁾ That results, moreover, from the passage in the *Hodæporicon* (c 1, r) quoted on p 33; cp. before, I, 290, *sq*.

⁴⁾ *Hodæporicon*, c 4, v; *Hessus*, I, 289-298.

⁵⁾ Judocus Koch, of Nordhausen, known as Justus Jonas (June 5, 1493-Oct. 9, 1555), studied, from 1506, in Erfurt, and, from 1511, in Wittenberg, promoting LL. B.; like Draco he obtained a canonry at Erfurt. He became an admirer of Erasmus through Hessus; later on, he threw himself in with Luther, and notwithstanding Erasmus' efforts, became one of the chief Reformers at Wittenberg; he died in need, although he was the bishop of the Reformed church of Halle: G. Kawerau, *Der*

ricon Carmine Heroico, by Matthew Maler, Erfurt, in January 1519; the little book also brought the text of the *Elegiaca Epistola* to Erasmus, written on the evening of the arrival in Louvain, as well as a poem in honour of Our Lady, which, like the *Hodæporicon*, shows that, until then, Hessus was not touched in any way by the Reform ¹⁾. The letters to Mutianus, Jonas, Hessus, Draco and Bemyng ²⁾, of October 19 ³⁾, were also reproduced ⁴⁾: John Lange ⁵⁾ refused to have his published, and Werter probably had taken his, when he left Hessen's hospitable house, where he had stayed some time after their return.

The group of Erfurt friends were highly delighted at being praised by the man who was then considered not only as the most erudite, but even as the holiest alive; as late as 1526, Antonius Corvinus considered the letters they had received as a glory for Germany ⁶⁾. They naturally caused an increase in their enthusiasm, which, in the beginning of 1519, was put to a sore test by the news of his decease ⁷⁾. Although proved to be unfounded, the alert made Justus Jonas most

Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas: Halle, 1884-85; ADB; Allen, III, 876, *pr*; Gabbema, 93. — Jonas came to visit Erasmus in Louvain in May 1519: Allen, III, 963, 1.

¹⁾ Cp. *Hessus*, I, 297-298.

²⁾ Henry Bemyng, Beyming or Beymigk, from Butzbach, matriculated in Erfurt in 1502; he promoted B. A. in Mayence in 1509, and went from there to Wittenberg. He was again in Erfurt in 1518; he became schoolmaster in his native place; different from his Erfurt friends, he remained staunch in his faith, and died as parish priest of a village near Mayence: Allen, III, 873, *pr*; *Hessus*, I, 38-39, 50; CorvE, II, 1.

³⁾ Four were dated by mistake October 17, on which day Hessus arrived at Louvain in the evening, but did not call on Erasmus: Allen, III, 870 to 873.

⁴⁾ The text of the *Hodæporicon* was not without misprints, as Hessus himself stated on the copy he sent to Rhenanus, which is still at Schlettstadt: *CatSél.*, 315; Allen, III, 870, *pr*.

⁵⁾ John Lang, or Lange, of Erfurt, studied in the University of his native town from 1500, and entered the Austin Convent in 1510. He was in Wittenberg from 1511, teaching languages, which he continued at Erfurt, where he became prior in 1516. By 1522 he left the Order, went over to the Reformers, and married; he died in April 1540 as head of the Reformed Church of Erfurt: ADB; Allen, III, 872, *pr*.

⁶⁾ Letter to John Draco: CorvE, II, 1-2.

⁷⁾ *Hessus*, I, 299-302.

eager to start in his turn on a pilgrimage. He found a willing companion in his friend Gaspar Schalbe, of Eisenach, an old admirer of the Humanist ¹⁾. They left Erfurt soon after Easter (April 24), arriving in the Netherlands by the middle of May. They found Erasmus at Antwerp, and could offer him several letters of friends, and even one from Duke Frederic of Saxony ²⁾, as well as a copy of Hessus' *Hodœporicon*, which gave him great pleasure : he had it reprinted more correctly by Martens, with a poem by Goclenius describing his *Lucubrationes*, and Peter Gillis' eulogistic letter, dated Antwerp May 21, 1519 ; also two epigrams, one by, and another on, Goclenius (by Alard of Amsterdam) ; finally also a *carmen grandiloquum* on himself by Ursinus Velius. It was probably published about the end of May ³⁾.

Jonas' visit was most gratifying for both parties ; still no details are known of the interviews, for which the Humanist may have come to Louvain from about the 26th to the 30th of May, whereas before and after those days he was in Antwerp. Less familiar than Jonas, Schalbe seems to have been afraid of not getting an autograph for himself : so he wrote from Brussels on May 28, to the *magnum huius seculi ab ipso Christo nobis datum munus*, telling him that, no less than his companion, he wished to have a letter, without which they

¹⁾ Gaspar Schalbe, or Schwalbe, of Eisenach, studied at Erfurt from 1504, promoting M. A. in 1510. He made a present of Erasmus' *Copia* to Mutianus about 1513, and was praised by him as a poet and as *iuuenis latinus ac semigreculus*. He was one of the group of poets, and like some of them, went over to the Reformers although being a priest : Hessus, I, 146, 248, 300, sq, II, 125 ; Allen, III, 977, *pr*.

²⁾ Allen, III, 963, 1-2.

³⁾ It has as title : HELII EOBIANI / HESSI a protectione ad Des. Erasmus / Roterodamum hodœporicon, / cum quibusdam aliis / eiusdem &c (4to, sign. a⁴-g⁴). The *Carmen*, letters and poems take up a 1, v-e 1, v ; e 2, r, has a poem, *Eobanus... Conrado Goclenio suo* ; e 2, v, Peter Gillis' letter to Goclenius ; e 3, r to g 2, r, the *Lucubrationum Erasmi Elenchus*, with Goclenius' epigram on the enemies of literature, and one of Alard to Goclenius ; g 2, v to g 3, v, *Vrsini Velii carmen grandiloquum* ; g 4, r is blank ; g 4, v has Martens' device, but no date ; still as Gillis' letter was written on May 21, 1519, and Erasmus' last work mentioned in the *Elenchus* is the Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Galatians, which Martens printed in May 1519, it seems to have been issued as early as possible after May 21. Cp. NijKron., I, 761.

would not return, even if they were to be cudgelled away ¹⁾ : in his reply of May 30, Erasmus observes that his best part is not in his body, nor in his picture : *Optimam Erasmi partem in libris videre licet, quoties libet* ²⁾. Besides that epistle, and one to Jonas, dated from Antwerp, June 1 ³⁾, the two friends were entrusted with letters to Frederic of Saxony, Spalatinus, Lange and Hessus ⁴⁾, all dated from Louvain May 29 or 30, and one of April 12 to Euricius Cordus ⁵⁾ ; in the one to Hessus he expresses his thanks for the *Carmen*, but suggests abstaining from sending the further visitors he had announced. Jonas sent those letters forward, before reaching home, as he wished to make a stay at some thermal springs on the way : they gave unbounded joy to the Erfurt group ; when he came home after Pentecost (June 12), he learned that on May 2, he had been elected Rector. He now put into practice what he had been told of, and what he had seen, in Louvain of the renewal of the studies by the *Collegium Trilingue* : he wanted his University to avail herself of what had been so gloriously attempted and so prosperously performed already under Erasmus' guidance. He at once started a systematic and enlarged teaching of Latin and Greek, deciding that the Philosophic Faculty to which it belonged, was not to be any longer a Cinderella : instead of a mere preparation to University work, it should henceforth constitute its very body, the foundation of all its activity. He arranged that renewal most effectively, and at the solemn promotion of Bachelors on St. Michael's day, Hessus pronounced the *Oratio de Studiorum Instauracione in inclyta Schola Erphurdiensi habita 1519 m. Sept.* Jonas, moreover, had two pages arranged in the Matriculation register, before any entries were made for his rectorate : on one was designed his crest, the prophet issuing from the fish ; on the second was represented the man who was the ideal both as Erudite and as Christian, Erasmus ; in front of him

¹⁾ Allen, III, 977, 10-11.

²⁾ Allen, III, 981, 22-23.

³⁾ Allen, III, 985.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 978, 979, 982, 983, possibly also one to Luther, 980.

⁵⁾ Allen, III, 941 ; other letters to Erfurt men of about the same time are that to James Theodorici of Hoorn, April 17, and one to John Draco, thanking him for offering the greetings and veneration of the University, April 18 : Allen, III, 940, 942 ; they probably were sent together.

was a group of students pointing or looking up admiringly at him, and behind him rose the high figure of the serene protector and promotor of that ideal, the newly elected Emperor Charles ¹).

The results of that renewal, and of the enthusiasm it kindled, were such that, notwithstanding Erasmus' discountenance, the Rector that was elected in the beginning of May 1520, Louis Platz ²), decided on a third visit to Erasmus, which was to be as an official homage of the whole University, in grateful appreciation of the eminent service rendered to their studies ³). He committed that mission to John Draco, who arrived in Brabant in the last days of July : he had, besides the Rector's letter, and those of the members of the group of poets, a copy of a collection of epigrams which they had composed to second their admired Erasmus in his strife against Lee ⁴) : it had been recently printed under the title : *In Eduardum Leeum quorundam e sodalitate literaria Erphurdien. Erasmici nominis studiosorum Epigrammata* ⁵), with a preface dated May 1, 1520, expressing the deepest veneration for the great Erudite and unbounded indignation at all the attacks, such as thrills in this passage : Cum publicum totius ætatis dedecus interpreter, esse quibus displiceat Erasmus, esse qui mordere audeant tot pietati iuxta ac optimis studiis vtilem, vt si omnium qui annos abhinc sexaginta vixerunt labores conferas, æquilibrium non sint facturi ⁶). In the trouble through which he had to struggle in those weeks, the grateful effusion of a group of professors and of a whole University,

¹) *Hessus*, I, 302-304.

²) Louis Platz, of Melsungen, came to study in Erfurt in 1497, and promoted M. A. in 1504. He pursued theology, but was in close touch with the Philosophical faculty, and especially with *Hessus*; he was Rector from May to October 1520. He was parish priest of Walschleben, near Erfurt, and, accepting the Reformation, he married in 1536, when nearly seventy; he died in 1547. Cp. *Hessus*, I, 26, 29, 180, 244, 356, 415, II, 150, 156; *Allen*, IV, 1127, *pr.*

³) *Hessus*, I, 304, 305.

⁴) *Hessus*, I, 305-309; *Euricius Cordus* contributed several verses : cp. K. Krause, *Euricius Cordus Epigrammata*, 1520 : Berlin, 1892 : 82, *sq.*, 85-87.

⁵) Erfurt, Joannes Cnapp, c June 3 (ad ferias diuini ternionis), 1520 : *Allen*, IV, 998, 66, 1127, *pr.*

⁶) F. W. Kampschulte, *Die Universität Erfurt* : Erfurt, 1858 : I, 255.

cannot but have soothed the heart of the Scholar. Yet he thought less of himself than of the welfare of studies and of humanity, as results from many of the letters carried back to Saxony by Draco. The packet contained communications to the Erfurt group ¹⁾; also an acknowledgment to Duke George of Saxony and Matthias Meyner, for the *massulas* of the Saxon silver mines recently sent by Henry of Eppendorf ²⁾; also letters to Luther ³⁾ and Mosellanus ⁴⁾, and the one written at Draco's request to the Bishop of Würzburg, Conrad of Thuen-gen ⁵⁾, all dated between July 30 and August 2. The very most significant document was the reply to the Rector, in which, besides assuring to do what he could by which he might be *isti Academiæ vel usui vel ornamento* ⁶⁾, he congratulated him for the opportune change introduced in his University, quoting the paramount principle : *ut necesse fuerit ad fontes revocare* ⁷⁾; he praised the quiet way in which the improvement had been made : *Bonæ litteræ sic debent irrepere in Academiæ, non ut hostes omnia depopulaturi videantur, sed hospites potius paulatim in civilem consuetudinem coalituri* ⁸⁾: it was the way in which he himself had desired to introduce Busleyden's Institute in Louvain, and in which, notwithstanding all, he did introduce it. It shows, that besides advocating the renovation of studies, Erasmus had also been able to persuade his Erfurt admirers to bring it about with his characteristic calm, but decided, pertinacity, — showing them

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1128 (to John Lange) and, of course, 1127 (to the Rector : cp. *Hessus*, i, 304, 308).

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1122 (to Matth. Meyner), 1125 (to the Duke George of Saxony); cp. before, I, 492, sq, 494.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1127a.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1123.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1124.

⁶⁾ Allen, iv, 1127, 27, sq.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1127, 13-14.

⁸⁾ Allen, iv, 1127, 5, sq : *Illa tuæ prudentiæ laus est peculiaris, quod hoc absque tumultu facis, quem alibi videmus excitari quorundam imprudentia ; &c.* Unfortunately after a short time the enthusiasm for humanistic studies was ousted from many hearts and minds by the wild passion communicated by the Reform. The political troubles helping, the University soon emptied : in 1526 only 14 matriculated instead of the 300 of 1521, and by that time nearly all of the studies, so gloriously prosperous in 1520, were abandoned : Luther had been received with unbounded joy on his visit to Erfurt, April 6/8, 1521 ; as Erasmus afterwards declared, where Luther reigned, all *bonæ literæ* perished. Cp. *Hessus*, i, 321, sq, 335, sq, ii, 125, sq.

on their visits the admirable and almost unrealizable results effectuated in Louvain.

C. THE EXAMPLE FOLLOWED

The connections between Louvain and Erfurt explain how in a very short time the *Collegium Trilingue* proved not only the chief seat of learning in the Netherlands, but the means of diffusing it, either by its example, or by men that had been in close relation with it ¹⁾. The movement improved by it as well in extension as in intensity : in 1514 Tübingen still considered Greek as phantastic, Hebrew as heretic, and Humanism as nocive, as Melancthon, a student there, wrote to Ambrose Blaurer ²⁾ : hardly seven years afterwards, Reuchlin taught there in his last months, and was succeeded by Robert Wakefeld, who came straight from Louvain, where he had been a professor ³⁾. The latter's predecessor, Matthew Adrianus, taught for several months in Wittenberg, which he left on an urgent invitation from Freiburg University ⁴⁾. Cologne, although being the mother of the Brabant Alma Mater, was far outdistanced by her daughter ⁵⁾ ; after having witnessed during several years, the violent censure by doom and fire of all that favoured the Jews and their language, she heard one of her professors, Peter Ubbels, from Wormer, Bachelor of Theology, of the *Bursa Cornelia*, contend in the *Quodlibet* of 1523, that the knowledge of Hebrew was indispensable ⁶⁾, whilst his colleague James Sobius frankly advocated Humanism ⁷⁾ ; it did not last long before measures were taken to imitate Louvain, where the number of students constantly rose, whereas in the University of Cologne and in those beyond the Rhine, it decreased as years advanced ⁸⁾. That way Louvain effectively helped to realize the ideal expressed in the *Constitutiones* of the Vienne Council 'de parandis trium linguarum doctoribus', which had become

¹⁾ Hallam, I, 275-76.

²⁾ MelEcle., 7, and p 13.

³⁾ *HebStud.*, 105, and before, I, 382-83.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 374-75.

⁵⁾ *Rhetius*, 5.

⁶⁾ Keussen, II, 489, 25 ; *UniKöln.*, 340, 550 ; *HuNieWe.*, II, 27, sq.

⁷⁾ Keussen, II, 478, 83 ; *UniKöln.*, 340 ; *HuNieWe.*, II, 27.

⁸⁾ *Rhetius*, 5 ; *UniKöln.*, 113, 370-71 ; cp. before, p 6, sq, and further, p 43 ; also Ch. XI.

one of the foremost preoccupations of the leading men of the Renaissance and of Humanism ¹⁾).

The great interest in the study of Holy Scripture, which characterizes Erasmus, also animated the venerable Cardinal Gonsalez Francis Ximenes de Cisneros: he, too, was convinced that the study of theology should be based on that of the Bible and the Fathers, but realized as well that it was then hardly possible on account of the state of the text of the Vulgate; yet it was a temerity to change it, as that implied a dishonour to St. Jerome ²⁾). He put the University of Alcalá, which he founded, at work on the polyglot *Biblia Complutensis*, which reproduced the texts, whereas Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* provided also a critical comment. Difficulties delayed the publishing of parts ready printed until May 22, 1520, two years after Ximenes' death; whereas Erasmus' first edition had appeared in February 1516, and a second, corrected and emended, in March 1519 ³⁾). Although forestalled, Ximenes is said to have highly appreciated Erasmus' work, and to Zuñiga, one of his collaborators, who criticized the *Novum Testamentum* of 1516, he replied with the wish that all authors worked as carefully as Erasmus did: you should do better yourselves, he said, or not blame another's work ⁴⁾). As the comparative study, in his opinion, had to be based on Greek and Hebrew texts, he saw the necessity of studying and teaching those languages: still death overtook him before the lectures had been definitely arranged: they were

¹⁾ Cp. Erasmus' dedicatory letter of the *Vallensis Adnotationes*, March 1505, to Christopher Fisher: Allen, I, 182, 180, sq. — The constant reference to that ideal by some men of the *Quattrocento* explains the seemingly malicious hint in Angelo Poliziano's epitaph in San Marco, Florence: Politianus / in hoc tumulo jacet / Angelus unum / qui caput et linguas / res nova tres habuit. / Obiit &c. : Symonds, 357.

²⁾ *Ximenes*, 113-115.

³⁾ Cp. for those editions and their value, *Ximenes*, 124-147; Berger, 40-67; F. Delitzsch, *Studies on the Complutensian Polyglott*: London, 1872; Bludau; H. Höpfel, *Kardinal Sirelets Annotationen zum Neuen Testament. Eine Verteidigung der Vulgata gegen Valla und Erasmus* (*Bibl. Stud.*, xiii), 1908; &c.

⁴⁾ *Ximenes*, 134: Zuñiga, or Stunica, was so struck by that reply that he refrained from starting a polemic with Erasmus as long as Ximenes lived.

only given systematically from 1528, and thus may have profited from the Louvain experience ¹⁾).

If not the *Collegium Trilingue*, at least Erasmus was for something in the starting of the bilingual *Corpus Christi College*, of Oxford, founded (1515) and provided with statutes on June 20, 1517 ²⁾, two days before Busleyden made his will, by his friend the Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fox ³⁾; he stipulated that three lectures should be given : one in Latin, another in Greek, and a third in Divinity ⁴⁾).

The new College was organized by another friend of Erasmus, the president John Claymond ⁵⁾. Before one year had passed, Cardinal Wolsey also decided on instituting six readerships, two of them being humanities and rhetoric, for which he intended erecting 'Cardinal College'. Until that College should be ready, he arranged with Bishop Fox to have those lectures established provisionally in *Corpus Christi College* ⁶⁾. The lectures of Latin and Greek were not clearly

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIV ; *ErAllen*, 140-145.

²⁾ *ErAllen*, 146, 158.

³⁾ Richard Fox (c 1448-1528) studied, at least for a time, in Louvain, where 'Mgr. ricardus fox lincolnensis dyoc.' matriculated 'in decretis' on July 5, 1479 : *LibIntII*, 142, v. After having been abroad under Richard III, he became a favourite statesman under Henry VII ; he was successively bishop of Exeter, 1487, Bath and Wells, 1492, Durham, 1494, and Winchester, 1501. He was Lord Privy Seal since 1485, and only retired from politics when Wolsey came to power, in 1516. He founded *Corpus Christi College* as a school of the New Learning, and Erasmus, whose protector he was from 1505, always showed a deep interest in it : *FoxE*, 80, sq, 90, sq, 103-4, 152, 167 ; T. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College* : Oxford, 1893 ; *DNB* ; *Allen*, I, 187, pr.

⁴⁾ *Allen*, III, 965, 9, 990, 4, 23 ; *Warton*, III, 259, sq.

⁵⁾ John Claymond, of Frampton (c 1457-1537), studied in Oxford, and spent there most of his life. In 1517, Fox persuaded him to leave Magdalen College, and to take the presidency of the newly erected *Corpus Christi College*. He was not only a theologian, but also a classic scholar. He became Vives' trusty protector and friend, whereas Erasmus, who had made his acquaintance in 1499, dedicated to him translations from St. Chrysostom, *De Fato* and *De Providentia Dei*, February 1526 : T. Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College* : Oxford, 1893 : 79-89 ; *DNB* ; *VOO*, VII, 142, 179, 204, 214 ; *VivVita*, 135 ; *Allen*, III, 990, pr ; *VivAng.*, 59, sq.

⁶⁾ *Allen*, III, 965, 9 ; *VivAng.*, 62 ; P. S. Allen, *Early Corpus Readerships* : Oxford, 1905 ; *Warton*, III, 260, sq.

kept separate in the first years ¹⁾, and the readers were beginners : the first was John Clement, More's secretary, 1518 ²⁾, to whom, in 1519, succeeded Thomas Lupset ³⁾, who, at his leaving Oxford in 1523, was replaced by the Louvain humanist, Vives ⁴⁾. Some of the books read in Louvain, such as Aristophanes' *Plutus*, printed by Th. Martens in 1520, — were used in the new College ⁵⁾.

Louvain's example was most probably also followed by Francis I when he founded a bilingual school ⁶⁾ with the help of John Lascaris, who had been solicited for Busleyden's Institute ⁷⁾. When, a few years later, the King contemplated starting his *Collège de France*, it was devised undoubtedly in imitation of the Louvain College, in so far that Erasmus was requested to come and attend personally to its organization ⁸⁾. A similar honour had already been bestowed on him by the Universities of Leipzig ⁹⁾ and of Heidelberg, which tried to gain him as one of their professors ¹⁰⁾, whilst, in February 1526, Cardinal Wolsey offered to him the vacancy

¹⁾ *ErAllen*, 149-150.

²⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 154, c-f ; *ActaMori*, 3, 29, 84, 108-9.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 3, 244, 393, 467, 564.

⁴⁾ *ErAllen*, 149-50 ; *MonHL*, 7-20.

⁵⁾ The 'day book' of the Oxford bookseller John Dorne, or Thorne, indicates that, in August 1520, he had brought from the Continent copies of *Plutus* published recently by Martens (cp. before, p 9) : within a week he sold eleven, as no doubt Lupset, availing himself of the opportunity, had found the auditors for a Greek lesson : *ErAllen*, 151-52.

⁶⁾ Lefranc, 59, referring to Erasmus' letters to Nicolas Bérault and William Hué, dean of the Paris Chapter : *Allen*, iv, 1002, 1003 ; *Herminjard*, I, 33 ; *ZwE*, 44. — They could not decide in France between imitating the Louvain College, or the School of the 'young Greeks' in Rome.

⁷⁾ Lefranc, 63, sq, 67 ; cp. before, I, 282-83.

⁸⁾ Letter of Francis I to Erasmus, July 7, 1523 : *Allen*, v, 1375 ; and Erasmus' letter to John de Carondelet, March 30, 1524, commenting on Francis's offer : *Allen*, v, 1434, 14, sq ; *Roy*, 37, sq.

⁹⁾ About May 1520, Erasmus was invited to come and teach in Leipzig ; on May 31, 1520, Luther wrote to Spalatin : *Lipsenses anxii pro retinendis scholaribus iactant Erasmum ad se venturum* : *Enders*, II, 406 ; *Allen*, iv, 1102, 10.

¹⁰⁾ On Aug. 13, 1521, the Faculty of Arts of Heidelberg proposed to request the Elector Palatine to ask Charles V to send Erasmus to teach languages, and thus stop the decline in the number of students : *Allen*, iv, 1223, pr.

left at Oxford by Vives ¹⁾ : on his refusal, it was as good as thrust upon the man who then illustrated Busleyden's Institute, Conrad Goclenius ²⁾).

3. PREMISES AND EQUIPMENT

A. THE BUILDING

Whilst the struggle for the existence of the College kept occupied the attention and the energy of Busleyden's executors and those of Erasmus, not any time was lost in the preparing of the premises bought on April 16, 1519, to accommodate both professors and students. Judging from the various items in the account of the execution, the estate which Walter de Leeuwe's widow sold to the Institute, comprised an extensive piece of ground advancing rather far from Fish Market ³⁾ into the block formed by that Market with Ship Street, Shrine Street and the Augustines Street. A fairly wide strip of ground joined it to Ship Street, and just a pathway to the Augustines Street, whereas there was an oldish house in Shrine Street, which was generally let, with the reservation of a passage : it had been used for several months for the Hebrew lessons and as domicile for Matthew Adrianus ⁴⁾).

¹⁾ Since Vives had become undesirable to Wolsey's anti-Spanish policy, his delay to resume his lectures in Oxford was used as an occasion to replace him, and the Cardinal tried to secure no less a person than Erasmus : *MonHL*, 21 ; Allen, vi, 1697, 94-98.

²⁾ In May 1526, Wolsey sent John Hacket, the ambassador at Margaret of Austria's Court, to Louvain, to tempt Conrad Goclenius to come to Oxford : the offer was made on May 7, but was not accepted : *MonHL*, 21 ; Brewer, iv, 2161, 2177.

³⁾ Until far in the twentieth century an arm of the Dyle passed from Stone Street to the inner wall and further north-east to the main river : ships could reach the inside of the town : fish was generally sold and bought where now is the 'fish hall', whereas goods mostly were shipped and unshipped on the quay past the *Ship-Bridge*, or *Fish-Bridge* (joining Ship Street and Castle Street) : *LouvEven*, 207-8.

⁴⁾ Item dairna xxij febr. a^o predicto xvij stilo gallicano ... zij geaderteert waeren dalmen een ander huys moest hebben om de lessen te doen mits dat hen thuys van beka opgeseet was : *Rek.*, 48, v ; also, 56, v, 60, v, for cost of repairs. Cp. before, I, 251-53, 315, 361-62. That house in Shrine Street was afterwards enlarged by the neighbouring

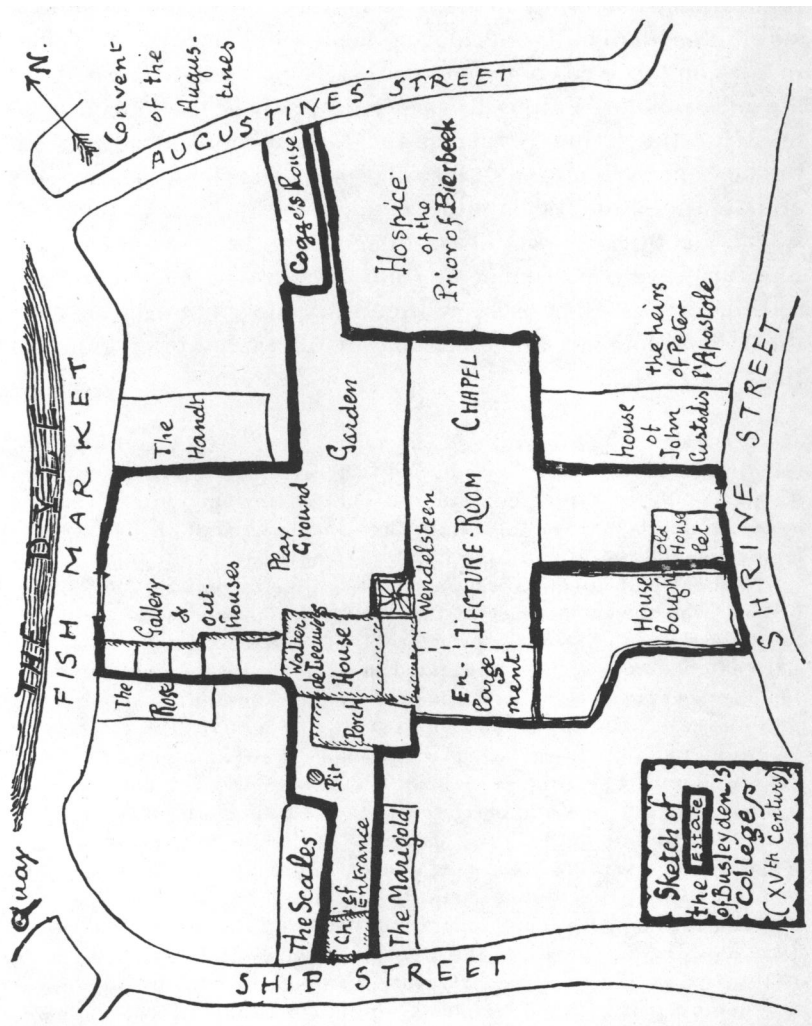
There was also a house, or what had been made as a house, on Fish Market : probably on account of its exiguity and the disagreeable neighbourhood, it had been abandoned by the preceding owners, who used it merely as an outhouse or a stable : they had built one, more spacious and more comfortable, inside the large garden. That mansion, far more dignified for a professor like Walter de Leeuwe ¹⁾, suited the purpose, at least for the living rooms of the College, and fitted in with the custom of Louvain University, securing to lecture-rooms and to the students' chambers, the silence and calm without which no brainwork can be done properly : several of her buildings are constructed on that account in back gardens, within blocks of houses, without any more connection with the street than an alley leading up to the main entrance of the College ²⁾.

one ; it was sold afterwards in the lean years of the Institute, and rebuilt in 1762 into the finely adorned 'Three Cups', '*De Drie Koppen*' : it still has, to the right, the gate and one window in the style of the house, which belong to the estate that once was that of the College : *LouvEven*, 208 ; cp. the tail-piece to this Chapter.

¹⁾ Walter de Leeuwe, of Beek, *de Beka*, professor of Law (cp. before, I, 362), was the last owner of the estate, which his widow sold to Bartholomew van Vessem : cp. before, I, 360, sq. 470, 570.

²⁾ That custom probably originated in economy rather than in methodology ; as long as the cloth trade prospered in Louvain, so as to require a Cloth-hall as large as that of Provost Street, now the University building, the inns were fitted with large courts and grounds, with sheds and outhouses, to accommodate the merchants of half a world repairing with horses and carriages to the famous cloth market. When after the trouble of the xivth century, the trade fell, those accommodations for visitors were out of use ; but when the University had been founded with a view to help the distressed town, the pedagogues of the Faculty of Arts found it most convenient to avail themselves of those buildings. The Lily, the Porc and the Kettle, *Cacabus*, were established in the empty courtyards of inns ; since to the advantage of economy, came that of welcome quietness and silence, the later institutions were built on that plan : the teaching and even the studying was done far away from the street, as can be seen in the Castle, in Drieux, and in de Bay College, and, most plainly, in the Falcon, rebuilt as late as 1783. If for want of room some Colleges had to be built in the line of the street, they have hardly any windows, or students' rooms in their fronts : examples are Holy Ghost and Viglius Colleges, — also most of the old Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, — in which the chief part is the quadrangle, providing amply the air and

Busleyden's Institute followed the Louvain custom : the house on the Market was not taken special advantage of, but the building situated farther inside the grounds, near a pit ¹⁾,



was chosen as the boarding and living house of the new College. It had several rooms, one of which temporarily was

light and life, which the severe convent-like gables and front walls on the street, seem to exclude most mercilessly.

¹⁾ Item ... gecocht xliij platen aen dout huys bijden putte verbesicht &c : Rek., 55, r, v, 57, v, 8q, 59, r, v, 60, r-61, r, 71, r, 8q.

taken up by Bartholomew van Vessem ¹⁾, who staid on the premises to supervise the work ²⁾; another was arranged into an office and counting house, whereas the kitchen and the appurtenances ³⁾ were made use of; for the Institute had to provide meals for the working men who had been engaged on the condition of receiving their food ⁴⁾.

At the southern end of de Leeuwe's mansion, the 'Old house', as the accounts call it ⁵⁾, was erected a new one, 'nieuw huys', which comprised a large and high room intended for the lectures ⁶⁾, and adjoining to it, a chapel ⁷⁾; over them,

¹⁾ A window was repaired in the place over Bartholomeus' room : Item van een glas vermaect bouen h. bartelmeus camer : *Rek.*, 71, v.

²⁾ Bartholomew van Vessem placed himself entirely at the service of the College as soon as his master's house and property were sold in Mechlin; the account mentions that he, from 'Johannes xix' to 'Johannes xxj ... de edificien van den collegien beweecht ende gheuordert heeft' : viz., that from June 24, 1519 till the same date 1521, he directed and supervised the arranging of the house and the building of the school, whilst claiming outstanding debts and paying the investments purchased, sacrificing his residence as Canon of the Aire Chapter which he had intended starting in 1518 : *Rek.*, 85, v, sq.

³⁾ Those 'appurtenances' extended from the big house up to Fish Market, joined to one another; they comprised a baking-house, granary, store house, sheds for wood and tools, carriage-sheds with a colonnade, most frequent in inns and courtyards, and probably indicated here by 'gaelderie', galery, over which there were small rooms : Item van noch vj gelasen vermaect jnde twee cameran beneden by de gaelderie... Item jnde camerken bouen de gaelderie vermaect iij glasen : *Rek.*, 64, v, 71, v, 72, r.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 83, v-85, r.

⁵⁾ In den jersten soe js besteet geweest aen mr. aerdt de wreede metser van mechelen te metsene de groote sale om de schole te zijn ende capelle met eenen wendelsteen ende beyde porten... *Rek.*, 51, v.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 51, v, 53, r, 58, v, 59, r, 62, r, sq. In the large room there were, besides five large windows, leaded anew, twelve new ones, adorned with the large coat of arms of the Founder, and twenty nine without, measuring the ones, together $76\frac{3}{4}$ square feet, the others, $101\frac{1}{2}$ square feet : *Rek.*, 72, r, v.

⁷⁾ The chapel had four windows, each provided with the Founder's coat of arms : they measured together 36 square feet : *Rek.*, 72, v. Some of those windows were constructed in the wall which separated the property of the College from that of a neighbour, and according to the law of the country, the right to take light from such windows had to be bought from the owner of the neighbouring ground : an agreement was made to that effect between Catherine van Caversson and her

on the first floor, there was one large, and two smaller rooms with a lobby ¹⁾ : access to the lecture-room, to the chapel and to the places upstairs was given by a fine winding stone staircase, *wendelsteen*, constructed in a kind of square tower, standing out from the building, and surmounted by a slate-covered turret, whereas for the other roofs were used the red smallish flat tiles peculiar to the country ²⁾. Two other entirely new constructions were added, namely a double gate into Ship Street, which was to be the chief entrance to the College ³⁾. Indeed, although during the period of construction, and maybe for some time afterwards, working people and tradesmen entered the grounds by Fish Market, which was nearest to the buildings ⁴⁾, the regular access to the College was by Ship Street. On that account John Molanus, fifty years afterwards, when relating that the adversaries of the new institution shouted : ‘*Nos non loquimur latinum de Foro Piscium, sed loquimur latinum matris nostræ Facultatis !*’, thought fit to explain that, when Busleyden College began, the principal entrance, ‘*primarius introitus*’, was on Fish Market ⁵⁾. Still the mention of that market in the slogan may have merely been added for the derision which, since centuries, clings to the gabble of fish trade.

As the estate bought from Walter de Leeuwe comprised a rather wide way-out on Ship Street, between the houses called the ‘*Goudbloeme*’, ‘*Marigold*’, and the ‘*Waghe*’,

family, and van Vessem, before the Louvain aldermen on September 15, 1519 : *Inv.*, 7, v ; *Rek.*, 32, v, 34, r (mentioning the sum of 30 pounds and 3 shillings paid to the neighbour).

¹⁾ There was, on the floor over the lecture-room, a chamber provided with 10 windows, measuring 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ square feet, also a lobby with ten windows, measuring 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ square feet, leading to the large room and to a smaller one over the chapel, where there were three windows : *Rek.*, 72, v, 78, r (de camer bouen tschole...de cleyn camer dair naest...).

²⁾ *Rek.*, 55, r, 56, v, 57, r, 59, r : *Jtem verdingt aan Wouter van Schafmenen ticheldecker om te decken tnieuhuys &c.*

³⁾ *Rek.*, 51, v, 52, r.

⁴⁾ In van Vessem's account that *exit* is often mentioned, as several of the materials were transported by water to the quay where now is Fish Market.

⁵⁾ *Mol.*, 588 : he possibly only knew of that special entrance through the slogan he quoted.

‘Scales’¹⁾, an arched gate was built in bricks and hardstone, surmounted by battlements; its building was rather deep, for it was covered by a slate roof, and even comprised small rooms or lodges²⁾. No doubt the Founder’s coat of arms and his device MERITO ET TEMPORE were carved over that gate; if not in the beginning, at least in after times it had also the inscription³⁾:

COLLEGIVM TRILINGVE BVSLIDIANVM
REV^{dus} ADM. AC ILLV^smus D^{nus} HIERONIMVS BVSLIDIVS FVNDAVIT
ANNO DOMINI M. D. XVII. x KALEN. JULII

From that front gate an alley led to a second, inside, gate, also newly erected⁴⁾; it joined de Leeuwe’s house as an out-jetting, as a kind of porch, and had, as the accounts mention, some places over it on the first floor⁵⁾. The way between the two gates had been levelled and paved⁶⁾, and a bell had

¹⁾ In de scepstrate wuijtcouende tusschen die erfuen van Peeteren die naen, Jans van butselle ende het huys geheeten die waghe: *Inv.*, 3, r.

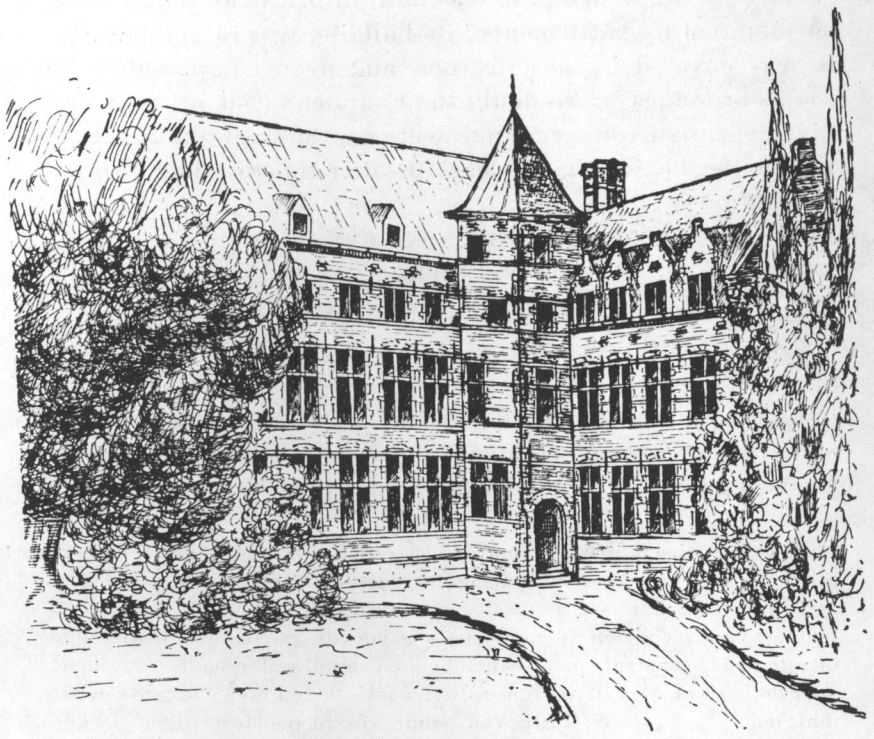
²⁾ In den jersten soe js besteeft geweest aen mr. aerdt de wreede metser van mechelen te metsene ... beyde de porten deen voer aen tstrate jnde scepstrate met hennen boogen samaranden ende den ghevel voer aen straet al van witten orduyn ende bouen met viercante witte malgien... *Rek.*, 51, v; Uitgeuen aende vorste poorte te doen decken met scaelgien... *Rek.*, 56, v; Item want de vors. metser de vorste poorte van blauwen steen gemaect heeft by ordinantie vanden testamenteurs ende hij die mair van witten steen hadde aengenomen te maken ende de mailgien bouen oick grooter ende beter gemaect heeft dan die aen hem besteeft waeren: *Rek.*, 52, r, 102, r. — On account of the material used, the chief entrance gate was styled in the account ‘*de blau poort*’: *Rek.*, 75, v, 102, r.

³⁾ *LouvEven*, 589. That the gate was wide, follows from the fact that in 1777 it was replaced by a house, let for the account of the College. The entrance was henceforth in Shrine Street, where a fine gate, which still exists, was built in 1762 at the same time as ‘The Three Cups’: cp. before, p 45; also *LouvBoon*, 326, b.

⁴⁾ In den jersten soe js besteeft geweest ... te metsene ... beyde de porten deen voer aen tstrate jnde scepstrate ... ende dander binnen: *Rek.*, 51, v. — Item betaelt iij ticheldeckers van xj dagen dat sij gedect hebben bouen de porte binnen aen den wendelsteen ...: *Rek.*, 59, v.

⁵⁾ The accounts mention a room over that gate in which there was a ‘heymelijcheyt’, a water-closet, with a window: *Rek.*, 72, r.

⁶⁾ Item van te doen nederen deertrijcke tusschen beyde poorten ende de eerde ewech te doen vueren betaelt tsamen iijj £. — Aende vutgeuen van den cautssien te maken tusschen beyde de porten aende scep-



View of the College from the garden (reconstruction by M. de Muynck, arch., 1935).

been arranged to allow the servants inside the College, or on the premises, to answer the door opening on the street ¹⁾.

The building of those two gates, as well as that of the lecture-room with the chapel, the winding staircase and the chambers aloft, had been entrusted to the Mechlin builder Arnold de Wreede, or de Wree, who had erected there, in Cow Street, the magnificent mansion which has made Busleyden's name immortal in the history of that town ²⁾. That humble craftsman ³⁾, who does not seem to have been spoiled

straete ... Item betaelt geerde den cassier van vj3 Royen een vierden min te cassien de vors. plaetse ... : *Rek.*, 66, r, 67, v (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ roeden represent about 650 square metres).

¹⁾ Item ... om een corde totter bellen aende poorte eenen s iiiij3 d ... Item v lb cooperdraet tpont iij s omde belle te hanghen : *Rek.*, 80, r, 81, r.

²⁾ *MalGod.*, 340-45 ; *Busl.*, 50, sq ; cp. before, I, 364.

³⁾ He does not even seem to have been able to write his name, for

by lavish rewards from the great Mæcenas ¹⁾, planned the new building and adapted the existing house so that the two formed a homogeneous construction. He came to work for several months in Louvain, boarding and lodging in the 'Old house' ²⁾, and created the School which, through the purity of its style and the elegance of its features, deserved Erasmus' praise : Collegii locus et honestus est, nec inelegantis structuræ ³⁾. It is no doubt to his good taste and able craftsmanship that are due the fine wide cross-windows with their frames of white stones, contrasting with the deep-red bricks, as well as the high and slender gables, the dormer-windows, the elegant columns all over the building, as well as the monumental staircase tower with its little turret ⁴⁾. In the first days of July 1520 the construction was so far advanced that the master-measurers of Louvain and Brussels were

when on October 6, 1520, he was paid 987 Rhine guilders, at 20 stivers each, by van Vessem for the masonry in the College, he applied to the town secretary Arnold van der Halvermylen to write the receipt which he signed by his mark (a St. Andrew's cross of which the right line is prolonged below and provided with a hook) : *Rek.*, 102, r.

¹⁾ In van Vessem's account is mentioned, amongst the debts of honour which Jerome de Busleyden had contracted, that Arnold de Wreede, builder, complained that he had rendered many services, and gone on several journeys for the testator at the time his house was constructing, for which he had not been rewarded, although a good tabard had been promised, which had not been given : as his services were well known, the executors granted him ten pounds by common consent, as dean Robbys had advised : *Rek.*, 28, r. He was, no doubt, then regularly entrusted with all masonry work in the family, for not only was he requested to bring about some changes in the testator's house just before he left for Spain, but also to provide the large stone slab that closed the tomb in St. Rombaut's Church : *Rek.*, 45, r, 95, r : also 2, r, 3, v ; *Busl.*, 50-51.

²⁾ Ander uutgeuen van montcosten gedaen bijder marten gehuert jnt collegie zoe voer meester aert die wrede metsser van mechelen die den cost toegheseet was jnt werck vanden grooten huise... : *Rek.*, 83, v.

³⁾ Letter to Daniel Tayspil, July 5, 1521 : Allen, iv, 1221, 18 ; cp. further, p 78.

⁴⁾ Jtem... twee rollen loots totter ghoten achter den torre... : *Rek.*, 57, r. — Jtem... van xij groote sperren omde cappe vanden wendelsteen : *Rek.*, 53, v. — Jtem van xijj voeten blau trappen voer de deure vanden wendelsteen liggende : *Rek.*, 64, v. — The turret, like the outer gate, was covered with slates, whereas the other roofs were in small red tiles : *Rek.*, 56, v, sq, 59, r, sq.

applied to for the gauging of the masonry ¹⁾, whilst the carpenters and joiners continued the work of the builders ²⁾. Arnold de Wreede returned to Mechlin, and Bartholomew van Vessem took over the supervision. The great artist who had erected the Mechlin mansion, probably had suggested also the arrangement of the existing constructions, and van Vessem, who had been his master's steward for several years back, was the right man to supervise the alterations, having become an expert in mending and transforming older constructions, which Jerome of Busleyden continued incessantly until the day he left for his fateful journey.

The second double-storied gate, which, from the alley coming from the outer gate of Ship Street, opened into the College, to which it was the proper entrance, was adorned in front with a lion and a griffon, as well as with four juts carved in white stone by the Louvain town measurer Matthew ³⁾. It connected the new building with the winding staircase ⁴⁾, as well as with the 'Old House' ⁵⁾, where were most of the ordinary living rooms ⁶⁾. From the first day of September 1519 to the first in October 1520, several craftsmen had been set to work to adapt that house to the new destina-

¹⁾ Item noch eenen boode gesonden by h. bartho. van loeuen tot bruessel aen Nispen om te commen tot loeuen met eenen ghesworen lantmeter om te metene tsteenwerck van aerde de wree : *Rek.*, 40, r. — De werken... volmaect zijnde heeftmen die doen meten bijden twee gesworen meters vander stat van louene ende van bruessel xiiij Julij anno xx : *Rek.*, 52, r. The measuring took three days from July 10 : *Rek.*, 84, v.

²⁾ Ander vutgeuen vander timmeringhen vanden nieuwen huise <which had already been ordered from John de Becker and August van Thienen on July 27, 1519> : *Rek.*, 62, r, sq. — Vutgeuen van dach hueren van scrijnwerkers die gemaect hebben jnt College Ramen vensteren scutsels bancken porten &c <from June 30 to October 6> : *Rek.*, 69, v, sq.

³⁾ Item betaelt meester matheeus meter der stadt van louen van eenen leeuwe ende griffoen ende vier sayen van witten steen gemaect staende opten gheuel vander porten binnen aen den weyndelsteen van den stucke xij stuuers : *Rek.*, 52, v.

⁴⁾ Noch gecocht tegen Jan de becker eenen balck liggende tusschen den weyndelsteen ende de poorte coste xxxiiij s : *Rek.*, 54, v-55, r.

⁵⁾ Item ijeycken plancken van xix voeten totten looten goten liggende tusschen tdak van der porten ende 'tgroot huys ende windelsteen coste xix stuuers : *Rek.*, 55, r.

⁶⁾ At the chief entrance to the 'Old House' there was a 'græet', a staircase, of 25 stairs : *Rek.*, 71, r.

tion ¹⁾). There was on the ground-floor a large sitting room provided with a 'stove', a fire-place; it had eight windows, four with crests ²⁾; next to it was the dining-room, which had also eight, four of them with the coat of arms ³⁾). Adjoining to it was the kitchen ⁴⁾, with the usual annexes for storing, baking and for keeping fuel ⁵⁾, whereas, on the same ground-floor, there was the President's office ⁶⁾, the *contoir*, and other rooms ⁷⁾. On the first floor of that house there were chambers ⁸⁾; over the dining-room and the 'stove', a room had been arranged for the Library, with ten windows ⁹⁾; it was adorned by means of a cornice in white stone ¹⁰⁾. As the house of de Leeuwe thus served for the domestic life of the

¹⁾ In his account van Vessem marks the money spent on materials and on the working hours of the craftsmen who were busy at the arranging of the 'old house' from October 22, 1519 to a good way in the month of October 1520 : *Rek.*, 57, v, sq. — Thus the roof was taken off and enlarged : *Rek.*, 59, r, 62, v, sq. — Ander vutgeuen van dachueren van metssers jnde Reparatie vanden huisen vander collegie ende van diuerse nieuwe mueren deuren ende vensteren allomme te makene : *Rek.*, 60, sq.

²⁾ Jnde stooue van ij nieuwe gelasen groot viij voeten een quartier vanden voet betaelt iij s vz. metten wapenen tsamen xxiiij s vj d. Jn de selue stooue noch iiij gelasen vermaect ende verbynloot daeraf bet. ix s : *Rek.*, 71, r, v.

³⁾ Jnde eetcamer bijde stooue vermaect vier gelasen ende nieu geloot viij s vj d ende aldair van vier wapenen xvj s jnde selue eetcamer van vier nieu gelasen xiiij voeten groet staende jnde ramen betaelt xxviiij s : *Rek.*, 71, v.

⁴⁾ Jtem jnde Coeken van vj gelasen te vermaken verloopt &c betaelt xvij s vj d : *Rek.*, 71, r. — Inden jersten van een schouwe staende jnde Cokene... Jtem van lvij semijnsteenen liggende jnde schouwe vander Cokenen : *Rek.*, 64, r.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 71, v : thouthuys; 76, v, de bottelrie; 77, r, t backhuys, den corensolder, de cnapen camer &c.

⁶⁾ Noch op des regents camer jnden muer by tsecreet vermaect een gelas ij s : *Rek.*, 71, r.

⁷⁾ Windows in : de camer bouen den kelder... inde camer beneden by den putte... : *Rek.*, 71, r-v.

⁸⁾ Windows made : in de ij Cameren bouen de Coekene... de camer bouen thouthuys... bouen h. bartelmeeus camer... camerkens bouen de gaelderie : *Rek.*, 71, r-v.

⁹⁾ Jtem opte liberarie van x nieu gelasen houdende lxxvij voeten van den voet ij s vz. vi £ xiiij s : *Rek.*, 71, v.

¹⁰⁾ Jtem noch van xxxiiij voeten dacklijsten <in wit steenwerck> aende liberarie... : *Rek.*, 64, r.

community, ample use was made of the outhouses extending towards Fish Market. The President and the professors had probably their rooms in the same building, whereas the other places upstairs were occupied by the paying boarders ¹⁾, the 'bursars' having as common dormitory the big room over the lecture-hall and the chapel ²⁾. The College thus formed by the 'Old House', the outhouses and the new building, stood within a wide area : judging from various allusions, the 'pit' seems to have been between de Leeuwe's house and Ship Street ; and although an ample playground with a fives court was laid out ³⁾, there was still space for wash- and wood-sheds, and for a large garden, with gate, summer-house, chicken-run, and even with a vineyard, which it took several days to arrange and to prune ⁴⁾. All that applies to the prosperous years of the beginning : later on adversity, caused by wars or economic subversions, compelled the College to sell some of the superfluous ground, and even the houses or sites near the street and the outlets, to repair damage done and stave off further ruin ⁵⁾.

B. THE FURNISHING

Without delay the buildings were fitted and made ready for use and efficiency in compliance with the will of the Founder, whose crest was placed, in grateful remembrance, in the windows of the lecture-room, the chapel, the dining- and the common room, as well as in the President's office ⁶⁾. An altar was built in the chapel, and adorned by John van Rillaer with a picture representing the four Doctors ⁷⁾. The beams in

¹⁾ One of the rooms in de Leeuwe's house is called 'de camer van Enkenvoert' : *Rek.*, 78, v : he was one of the two students of that name amongst the first inmates of the College : cp. further, pp 63, sq.

²⁾ That results from the mention of the many blue curtains bought or made, even from linen dyed blue : *Rek.*, 79, v, sq, 82, r. — 'Bursar' is used, here and further, for *bursarius*, as is still done in Scotland : *NED*, s.v., 2.

³⁾ It joined the property of Peter van den Putte, owner of *Die Handt*, on *Fish Market* ; its boundary caused contestations in 1516 and 1523, judged in favour of the College : *Inv.*, 6, r, v.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 65, r, 69, r, 83, r.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, pp 58, sq.

⁶⁾ Also on keystones : *Rek.*, 71, r-72, v ; cp. before, pp 47-53.

⁷⁾ Jtem Jan van Rillaer schilder... van een lynen doeck gheschildert metten vier doctoren staende inde capelle xxx s : *Rek.*, 79, r. — John

the lecture-room and in the chapel were decorated ¹⁾, and other parts of the building painted ²⁾. Meanwhile oaken forms were provided ³⁾, and furniture was either made there and then, or bought right and left ⁴⁾, in addition to that which had been purchased from the family de Leeuwe about the same time as the estate ⁵⁾. By means of ships plying on the neighbouring Dyle, a considerable amount of the Founder's property had been forwarded to the College ⁶⁾: the larger part of his books became the nucleus of the new library ⁷⁾, and the chapel was enriched with his vestments, his ornaments and his sacred vessels ⁸⁾.

It was van Vessem's foresight which, during several months, prepared the Institute for the part it had to play in University life: not only did he see to the most efficient rooms and halls for study and teaching, but he also provided the

van Rillaer was from 1547 to 1568 the official painter of Louvain town; in the town-hall are shown four cupboard doors on which he has painted scenes from Bible, history or legend: *LouvEven*, 277.

¹⁾ Jtem Jan van Rillaer schilder... van te stofferen ende schilderen de nieuwe balken inde schole ende capelle... : *Rek.*, 79, r. At each end those beams were nicely adorned by lines and rays sculptured in the wood, as can still be seen.

²⁾ Jnden jersten betaelt... van Roye veruwe dairmede de appellen ende de yseren leene aende capelle gheueruwt zijn... Jtem Jan van Rillaer schilder van te schilderen de oude vensteren ende deuren ende de gailderie met gheel veruwe... : *Rek.*, 79, r. — The account also mentions the tiles, 'dobbel paueytichelen', to pave the lecture-room and the chapel (*Rek.*, 58, v), the hinges, latches and locks for doors and windows (*Rek.*, 77, v, sq); also three leaden 'apples' for the gable windows over the gallery: *Rek.*, 57, r.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 54, v, 55, r, 56, r, 65, v (forms conveyed from the house of the Hebrew lectures, and from the *Béguinage*), 68, v.

⁴⁾ The account mentions beds, sideboards, tables and armchairs made or bought in Mechlin and Louvain: *Rek.*, 68, r, v, 81, v, sq; also: Ander vutgeuen van allerhande ghecochten huisraet jnt collegie te besighen van bedden liwaet van coperwerck tenwerck yserwerck end des dairen cleeft: *Rek.*, 79, v, sq. — Also kitchen utensils: *Rek.*, 74, v, 80, r.

⁵⁾ Jtem bet. M philips de beka van den bancken die plagen te staen inde groote camer... van een vouseel sluitend inde stoue staende &c... : *Rek.*, 68, v.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 68, r, 69, r, 82, v.

⁷⁾ *Rek.*, 82, v: drie groote kisten ende drie groote packmanden met boecken te mechlen tscepe te doen om tot louen te vueren.

⁸⁾ Jtem betaelt van vracht te vueren van mechelen tscepe tvoirs. liwaet metten ornamente vander capelle ende twee bedden: *Rek.*, 82, v.

endless amount of items which are indispensable in any well-conducted household, — from the sheets for the beds of masters and inmates ¹⁾ to the steel die with Busleyden's coat of arms to mark the pewter ²⁾; from the big bell in the yard ³⁾ to the small one on the dinner-table ⁴⁾. He saw to the covering of the walls and partitions of the chief rooms with wainscot, for which he had to buy the material ⁵⁾, just as he had provided the beams and the rafters which covered the various rooms and buildings; in any one of the endless number of transactions, his accounts show his foresight, his sagacity and his zeal to get the largest return for the smallest possible outlay; he used all means at his disposal to further the welfare of the Institution, condescending as well to become the godfather of the new-born child of a purveyor ⁶⁾, as to offer a pair of slippers as a present to the wife of another, so as to dispose them to generosity and benevolence in the execution of their agreement ⁷⁾.

C. THE FUNDS

Meanwhile, with his co-executor Nicolas de Nispen, Bartholomew van Vessem had been constantly looking out for safe investments of Busleyden's money, so as to secure for the College the funds necessary for the regular working ⁸⁾. To that effect the house in Shrine Street was repaired and let ⁹⁾,

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 81, r, v.

²⁾ *Jtem van jn een yser te grauen des testateurs wapene om dair mede het tennewerck te tekenen vj s : Rek.*, 81, r.

³⁾ *Jtem vanden yserwerck dair jnne de belle hangt ende van yseren assen dairae de ij yseren ketenen hanghen metten ooghen ende ander yserwerck dairtoe gemaect... : Rek.*, 76, r.

⁴⁾ *Jtem voer een belle om ter taeffelen te luyden... : Rek.*, 81, v.

⁵⁾ *Jtem gecocht tantwerpen een quartier wagescoot... Jtem noch tot mechelen gecocht een quartier groot wagescoot &c : Rek.*, 69, r.

⁶⁾ *Jtem Jan van Rillaer schilder... den seluen van zijn kijnt te heffen bij heer bartelmeeus gegeuen xiiij s vj d : Rek.*, 79, r.

⁷⁾ *Jtem betaelt van wijn verdroncken jnde leueringhe vanden houten bij Jaques de Wauringhen vj s ix d, ende van een paer pantoffelen voer zyn wijf hair jnde comesscap toegeseet vj st : Rek.*, 53, v.

⁸⁾ *Rek.*, 30, v-33, r; *Inv.*, 20, r-24, r; *Busl.*, 112-117; cp. further, Ch. X, 1.

⁹⁾ *Jtem a Magro Hiero^o Loettre pro precio locationis domus Collegij site in de Scrienstrate pro anno xix incipiente et finiente Natiuit. Jo. Baptiste xv C xx^o ; AccMeerb.*, 1, v; also *Inv.*, 6, r; *Rek.*, 56, v, 60, v.

as it did not prove of any use to the Institute, except for as far as it provided an exit and an entrance, which seems to have been practically reserved to the president ¹⁾. Of paramount importance for the regular life of the new community was an extensive farm, called Ormendael, which Nicolas de Nispen had acquired on July 7, 1520 ²⁾ from Mary van der Voirt, widow of John Mostinck, secretary to Archduke Charles of Austria, acting through the manager of her husband's estate Paul Mechelmans. That most important farm was situated on the 'Driesch', in Heverlee parish, one of the finest and most fertile spots of the neighbourhood of Louvain. Mostinck had bought it on March 31, 1502 from Nicolas Viruli ³⁾, the son and successor of Charles, founder of the Lily, and, by successive purchases, he had extended the estate over a large amount of lands, which still are called by their old names : pasture ground, orchards, vineyards and tilled fields, under the parishes of Heverlee ⁴⁾, Eegenhoven ⁵⁾, Berthem ⁶⁾ and Corbeek-Dyle ⁷⁾. For several centuries that farm was the chief source of income for Busleyden's Institute : besides being

¹⁾ In Vessem's account are mentioned two keys for the gate in Shrine Street and two for that of the Augustines Street, whereas six had been provided for each of those of Ship Street and of Fish Market : most probably of the latter two gates, the professors and the housekeeper could freely dispose ; of the *wendelsteen* there were 12 : *Rek.*, 77, v.

²⁾ The estate was bought for 1334 Rhine florins 8 stivers : *Rek.*, 33, v, sq ; 103-113 ; *Inv.*, 12, r-19, r.

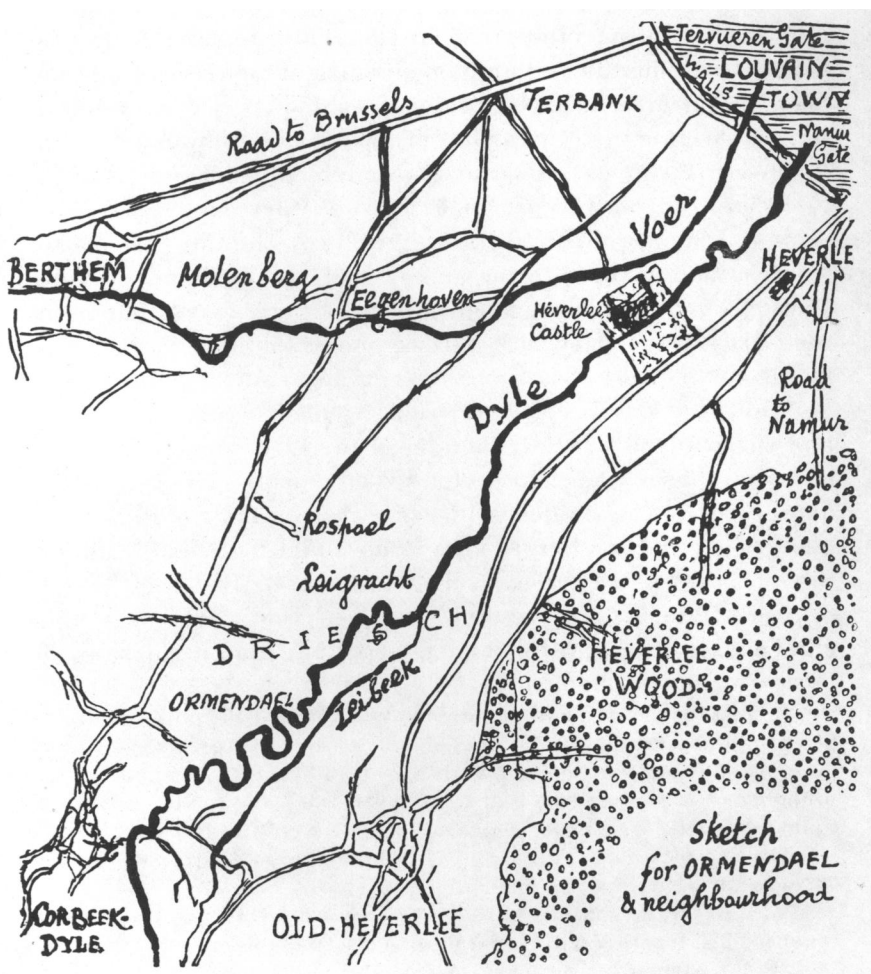
³⁾ Nicolas Viruli, son of Charles, succeeded his father in the Lily in October 1493, together with Leo Outers ; he sold his interest by October 1494, to his partner for the *pensio* of a capital of about 800 florins. Since Outers claimed to have laid out more than he perceived, their agreement was changed in 1501, which explains the right Viruli still had in the Pedagogy : cp. before, I, 91-92 ; the date of his becoming a priest after his wife's death, may be connected with the matriculating on July 24, 1504 : 'Merken tslaes ancilla dni nicolaj viruli pauperula : *LibIntIII*, 112, v. — Viruli sold the Ormendael estate to Mostinck on March 31, 1502 : still he reserved some free lands, which, on Oct. 12, 1520, were transferred through Paul Mechelmans to van Vessem : *Inv.*, 17, r-18, v.

⁴⁾ Viz., lands on places called Ralenbeke and Crommenham.

⁵⁾ Lands on Raesborne (probably identical with Rospoel, Rotspoel), Holtomme, Overhoutvelt, Borghelken, Molenberch, tGemeinebroeck, Eegenhovenvelt, Leyegracht and Elsbroeck.

⁶⁾ Lands on Laesendelle, Waeyenberch, Dingelboutsdelle, Varenberch, Couteren, Overbiest, Moysyehage and Vossenhage.

⁷⁾ Lands on Broeckwech and Clercspoel.



an almost inexhaustable store for the necessities of material life, it ensured a peaceful comfort to professors and bursars, except when pitiless war or the overpowerful elements laid waste and bare the otherwise luxuriant landscape : under such circumstances the living had necessarily to be restricted and the students who relied only on scholarships, had to be refused or even dismissed, as often happened in the last quarter of that century ¹⁾. To that misery came the insecurity of the life in a town continually infested by rapacious soldiers, short of pay, in so far that not only students, but even

¹⁾ In 1597-98, only Gabriel Hannaerts, lower canon of St. Peter's, lived in the College with two poor 'bursars' : LouvBoon, 326, b.

professors and the very presidents of this and other colleges abandoned Louvain : when peace and safety returned to the country, the poor town proved merely

Ludibrium status prioris et fati

Atque umbra, somniumque floris antiqui. ¹⁾

Thus in the first years of the xviith century, Busleyden's Institute had had to be restored and adapted again to the work ; the lectures had to be re-organized, yet the means were as good as lacking : all revenue from property in Holland was irrevocably lost, and the income perceived from this country was insignificant, since even the Brabant States were years behindhand in the payment of their rents. Sacrifices had to be made ²⁾, and some parts of the estate had to be abandoned to hard-hearted business people ³⁾, so as to put

¹⁾ Justus Lipsius, quoted on VAndEx., 59.

²⁾ The *Trilingue Collegium* was entrusted to the presidency of Adrian Baecx, of Mechlin, on February 4, 1606 ; he sacrificed a large part of his fortune to restore the ruined buildings, and even started a new chapel, of which George of Austria, Provost of St. Peter's and Chancellor of the University, blessed the first stone, July 11, 1614. He caused the Latin and the Greek lecture to start again in 1609 and the Hebrew one in 1612 : *ULDoc.*, iv, 500 ; *NèveMém.*, 104, sq.

³⁾ During the xviiith century, the gate in Ship Street was replaced by a house (in 1777 : cp. before, p 49). On Fish Market, except for an alley, the ground was also made into money ; at the suppression of the University, not only the line of the street consisted of habitations, but the house of de Leeuwe and the various outhouses were rented to people ; a set of small houses was constructed in the playground, and the large lecture-room and the building of which it is part, were arranged as lodging for several families of the lower class, who turned the winding staircase into a very busy artery of communication. Unfortunately the fine ornamentation of the old building was not respected, and a restoration was urgently required. It was effected in the beginning of the xxth century, owing to the interference of the Commission for Monuments. What, in 1520, was the 'New Building', was then employed as a printer's office until after the first World War, when the idea of buying the place and arranging it into an international centre for humanistic studies, into a kind of College, with a library and an equipped staff, as well as with accommodation for board and lodging, highly interested and long occupied the mind of Mgr Ladeuze, the Rector. Financial disability and the frustration of help promised caused the brilliant scheme to be postponed and abandoned, whilst the venerable old building was left to the mercy of business : in the old chapel, herring have since been smoked, and in the lecture-room, ice has

an end to that and subsequent periods of misery. Still about 1520 all was peaceful and prosperous yet, and thanks to the care and providence of van Vessem and his co-executors, the new Institute was being fully equipped in the summer of that year and made ready to start its grand work.

4. THE INSTALLING IN THE BUILDING

A. PRESIDENT AND PROFESSORS

Although John Stercke of Meerbeke had been appointed President of the new Institute in the autumn of 1518 ¹⁾, he had continued the managing of St. Donatian's College, which had been entrusted to him by the Faculty of Arts on November 24, 1514 ²⁾. His predecessor, John de Palude, had been enjoined to leave, before the following Candlemas, the College of which he had been the first president ³⁾. He had been the host of Erasmus on his first long stay in Louvain, from September 1502 to, at least, the closing weeks of 1504 ⁴⁾: he had been honoured by the dedication of the *Panegyricus Gratulatorius*, pronounced to Philip the Fair on January 6, 1504 ⁵⁾, which had been composed under his roof, and which recalls, not only the subjects of their conversation, such as the excellence of the too soon deceased Francis de Busleyden ⁶⁾, but also their intimate friend the noble Valasco, or Velasco, de Lucena, Margaret of York's loftily minded orator and councillor ⁷⁾, who often visited them: so probably also did

been manufactured for the lowest of all trades. As those concerns prosper, they want to enlarge the building, of which they are not allowed to damage the strong old walls; they therefore surround it with new constructions, which give them full freedom to continue their work of destruction in the privacy of their shops. The gem of architecture praised by Erasmus is now in a heart-rending state of dilapidation! *Quousque tandem...*?

¹⁾ After the autonomous college had been decided on, August 26, 1518: cp. before, I, 359, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 15, 286.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 286, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 185, sq, 287.

⁵⁾ EOO, IV, 507, A, sq; Allen, I, 180.

⁶⁾ EOO, IV, 528, F-529, D; Allen, I, 180, 184, sq; Busl., 4-10.

⁷⁾ Cp. Allen, I, 180, 11; Erasmus asserts that the judgment of Paludanus and 'Valasci nostri' is sufficient to him: this is apparently a friend they are used to see and talk to; some information about that generous

their neighbour, the Provost of Utrecht, Philibert Naturel, the Archduke's favourite ambassador ¹⁾). When Erasmus returned to Louvain for his second long stay, in July 1517, he again accepted John de Palude's hearty hospitality, but since his host had left St. Donatian's, there was not space enough to open books for his comparative studies, and he removed to the Lily in the second week of September, as by then the dissension about the property of the Pedagogy had been settled in favour of his old friend John de Neve ²⁾).

John Stercke had found a miserable solitude in Haneron's foundation, which had dwindled by 1516 to such an extent that only the president could be maintained instead of six bursars; he possibly kept paying boarders to make some money; assuredly it all made him convinced that grafting Busleyden's Foundation on it, would be the only way to save the helplessly ruined College ³⁾. Even after he was appointed as the head of the new Institute, he continued living in the

benefactor of studies and of the University is given in *Busl.*, 427-28, where he is referred to as friend of Martin van Dorp and as living in Mechlin Court (1512).

¹⁾ Cp. Allen, I, 178, 42 : *Præpositus Traiectensis, vicinus noster, frequenter... de te loquitur.* — Philibert Preudhomme, (le) Naturel, *Naturelli*, of the de Plaine (*Busl.*, 293-4) family, was already councillor of the Archduke in 1484; he was appointed to the Privy Council, January 22, 1504 and again in 1517; he was sent on embassy to the Emperor Maximilian, 1501, to Rome, 1506, and France 1504, 1510 and 1518-19. He had been nominated Provost of the Utrecht Cathedral, February 11, 1500, and Chancellor of the Golden Fleece, November 30, 1504. He was also Abbot of Ainay and Villers, Provost of St. Mary's, Bruges, and, for a few months, of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin. He enjoyed Charles V's confidence, but not Margaret of Austria's sympathy: he often quarrelled with John de Berghes. He died on July 22, 1529, and was buried in Villers Abbey; he erected (1524) a stained glass window in St. Waldeudis, Mons. Cp. Hoyneck, III, I, 158-60; Bergh, I, 2, 27, II, 176, 197, *sq.*, 216; *FlandIII.*, II, 85; *GallChrist.*, III, 591; Bruchet, 146, 156, 190, 342; Laenen, I, 179; Walther, 23, 85, 158; Henne, I, 52, 73, 91, II, 133, 201, 226, *sq.*, 270, *sq.*, III, 320, V, 108; *MargoOK*, 140, 157, 168, 187; Allen, I, 178, 42; *Busl.*, 305.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 287; *MonIII.*, 183-87.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 13, 15, *sq.* In 1519, the professors of Law, whose students were entitled to Haneron's scholarships, complained that the College *tendat ad ruinam*, and that the president was the only bursar: they even proposed to let the premises if there was no other remedy: *ActArtInd.*, 18, 21; cp. before, I, 289.

solitary college until he had to enter actually on his duty ¹). Most likely Paludanus returned to his old resort : it was evident that hardly anybody could manage the wreck better than he who had been its first commander; he is mentioned as 'præses' in 1521, and remained until his decease, February 26, 1526 ²).

The solemn transferring of the *Collegium Trilingue* from the management of Bartholomew van Vessem in the name of the executors into that of John Stercke took place on Thursday, St. Luke's feastday, October 18, 1520. The great event was duly celebrated by a feast and a liberal treat of wine offered to all friends and well-wishers, and, according to the custom of the country, to all those who in any way had contributed by their work or assistance to the success of the enterprise ³). At that festivity was present, no doubt, Erasmus, at least as an encouragement to the well-begun task and as an acknowledgment of the continuous efforts to make his great scheme a real entity with an actual individual life. For certain were present the group of young inmates, from the choicest families of the country; moreover, the first set of 'bursars', and at least two of the professors. From that day the College really started : the President took up his abode definitely on the new premises, and the students were assigned their respective places. Rutger Rescius entered the College at once ⁴), but Goclenius became only an inmate from the first of November ⁵). On the next day, the lectures were given for the first time in the Great Institute, and a grateful farewell

¹) *Rek.*, 93, r, v : Jtem den seluen [Janne van Meerbeke] betaelt by ghelijck ouerdrach voer zijn verlies ende verlet bij hem geleden mits dat nae dat hij aenveert was om te comen. resideeren jnt collegie bijcans een jaer lang heeft moeten verbeyden mits der timmeragien <inden> collegie van st. donaes sonder proffijt te doene de somme van xxv £.

²) *ActArtInd.*, 21 ; cp. before, I, 287.

³) *Rek.*, 84, v : Jtem van vij gelten lantwijns te voeren ten diuersen tijden aldaer gedronken als de Regent met zijn commensalen jerst jnde collegie quam.

⁴) *Rek.*, 92, v : Jtem noch betaelt den seluen Rutghero [Rescio] zijn montcosten van prima septembris xx tot xviii^{am} octobris dair na eodem anno dat hy metten anderen gecomen is jnde costen van den collegie.

⁵) *Rek.*, 92, v : Jtem... ingro conrardo... voer zijn costen van prima decembris xix tot primam nouembris xx als hy quam jnde cost vanden collegie.

was said to the room in the Convent of the Augustines ¹⁾. Although, for the first year, van Vessem advanced the necessary funds to put the College into, and keep it in, working order ²⁾, Stercke was responsible as 'eiusdem Collegij Economus seu Rector' to the Founder's executors, 'Inchoando xviiij Octobris, festo videlicet beati lucæ annj xv C vigesimi', as he wrote in the beginning of his first account ³⁾.

B. THE FIRST INMATES

That account of the first President John Stercke of Meerbeke mentions five student boarders who entered the College with him on St. Luke's day 1520. There were first the two brothers William and Michael of Enckenvoirt ⁴⁾, nephews of William of Enckenvoirt, of Mierlo ⁵⁾, who held several offices at the Papal Court from 1489 ⁶⁾, and who, at that period, was Protonotary of Leo X; he was also procurator in Rome of his friend Adrian of Utrecht, who afterwards appointed him as his Datary, as his successor to the see of Tortosa, and as Cardinal ⁷⁾. Although considered as one of the most upright men in his time in Rome ⁸⁾, he did not come up to his great countryman in perspicacity or abnegation: he was almost as eager after prebends and preferments as his colleague in the Pope's *familia* John Ingenwinckel ⁹⁾, but made up for it by his generosity to the hospice S. Maria dell' Anima ¹⁰⁾ and to the

¹⁾ A fee was offered to the Convent porter: *Rek.*, 93, v: Jtem den portier vanden augustijnen cloester te louene van te hebben de porte op ende toe ghedaen jnt cloester als men die lessen jn latino & greco aldair ghedaen heeft die wyle men jnt collegie timmerde ende metste voer dringgelt gegeuen vj s.

²⁾ Cp. Ch. X, 1, A.

³⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 1, r.

⁴⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, r: Inprimis Mgr Wilhelmus Jnckeuoert pro anno integro predicto <Oct. 18, 1520-Oct. 18, 1521> debet xl Rh. — Item eiusdem frater magr. Michael similiter pro eodem anno...; cp. *Rek.*, 78, v.

⁵⁾ Cp. for his biography, and for bibliography, *Cran.*, 141, k-o; *Busl.*, 281-82; *Anima*, 264-65; *Brom*, II, 92-105; *Aléandre*, 285-86, 344.

⁶⁾ Cp. *FugRom.*, I, 28, 46, 75, 87, 91, 283, 286, 289, 295, 297, sq, 301-4, II, 67.

⁷⁾ Cp. *FugRom.*, I, 230-34, 241-43, 265.

⁸⁾ Cp. *FugRom.*, I, 230, 241, 243.

⁹⁾ Cp. *FugRom.*, I, 289-91; *Anima*, 264-65; *Cran.*, 141, m.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *FugRom.*, I, 204; *Anima*, 210, 214-16, 228-59, 306, 360, 376, 406.

memory of Adrian VI ¹). Yet the latter's tomb was hardly closed, when he resumed his old hostile attitude towards the Louvain Faculty of Arts and her Privilege of Nominations ²), as, no doubt, it was the only way to secure the liberalities of the insatiable Erard de la Marck ³) : it was Erasmus' interference and his appeal to Enckenvoirt's successor as Datary, John Matthew Giberti, that preserved the Alma Mater from the loss of that most effectual means to keep at work and at research about her a choice of young scholars, especially at that most important period of the renewal of studying methods and teaching standards ⁴).

Although not particularly favourable to the University, William of Enckenvoirt was placed in a position which allowed him to appreciate the advantages offered by the Foundation of his old friend and correspondent Jerome de Busleyden ⁵). No doubt he encouraged his nephews to crown their training by a stay in the new Institute. They had matriculated as early as October 11, 1512 ⁶), and had become Masters of Arts : the elder, William, had even acted on March 28, 1517, as a witness to a Nomination in the Faculty of Arts ⁷). They stayed at least one year as boarders in the *Collegium Trilingue* ; probably they remained longer, as studies are not likely to be interrupted hardly three weeks after a new academical year has started ⁸).

¹) *Anima*, 264-72 ; *Cran.*, 141, l.

²) Cp. *Cran.*, 141, a-j, and o, with references indicated. Bishop de la Marck was the chief adversary of that Privilege of Louvain : cp. *Marck-Confl.* ; *MarckHalk.*, 229, sq ; *AléaLiège*, 132, 187, 226, 234, 258, 271.

³) In the Consistory of the Cardinals of March 29, 1525, — in the brunt of the perturbations caused by the Reform, — Enckenvoirt succeeded in making an arrangement to induce Erard, Bishop of Liège and Archbishop of Valencia, to resign the see of Chartres, where he never put a foot : it secured him 9550 pounds of yearly pensions on the sees of Chartres, Tournai and Cambrai, as well as on the Abbey of Afflighem, on none of which he could materialize the least claim in the spirit of the Church : *Aléandre*, 126 ; *LiègeDoc.*, II, 128, sq ; *MarckHalk.*, 60-61 ; cp. *MonHL.*, 481-82.

⁴) Cp. *Cran.*, 141, g.

⁵) Cp. *Busl.*, 39, 281-83, 409.

⁶) *Excerpts*, 97 (*LibIntIII*, 186, v) : Guillermus et Michael enckeuord Leod. dyoc. Jsti duo erant minorennes pro quibus jurauit Nicolaus Mys.

⁷) *LibNomI*, 120, r.

⁸) Cp. the entry in *AccMeerb.*, quoted before, p 63 ; the subsequent accounts of the first President are not extant.

The two boys Lombarts van Enckenvoirt — as they are generally called ¹⁾, — evidently availed themselves of more than of their uncle's and mother's name : the elder soon married, and probably was, at least for a time, at Hertogenbosch : he sent one of his sons, Godefridus, to study in Bologna in 1547 ²⁾, whereas another, William, entered the Papal service in 1549 ³⁾. The younger Michael went from the *Collegium Trilingue* to Italy, becoming *scriptor* of the Chancery in 1525, no doubt through his uncles ⁴⁾ : for besides Cardinal William there must have been there 'Godefredus ab Enckevoort comes Sacri Lateranensis Palatii Consistoriique', who afterwards, thanks to his brother, was created 'Eques Auratus' and 'Imperialis Comes Palatinus' by Charles V, probably at his coronation ⁵⁾. Their nephew Michael did not

¹⁾ They were the sons of the Cardinal's sister Isabella (Aug. Wichmans, *Brabantia Mariana* : Antwerp, 1632 : II, 371 ; Hoynck, III, I, 206 ; *ULAnn.*, 1867, 352), Lombarts, or Lumbarts, being the father's name : they had all interest in adding their mother's. Even their uncle is wrongly styled thus : *Turnhout*, 82. — Cp. A. F. van Beurden, *De Kardinaal Willem van Enckenvoirt en zijne Bloedverwanten* (Letterk. Jaarb.) 1913 : XIX, 131-39 (which I have not seen) ; *RHE*, XLV, 180-85.

²⁾ Knod, 320 : 'd. Gotfridus Lumbarz de Euckemort Buscoducensis dioc. Leod.' is inscribed as having given 'libras duas' to the '*Natio Germanica Universitatis Bononiensis*' in 1547 (331-9, 1547). He probably was identical with the 'Godefredus Lombarts, alias ab Enckenvoirt', Lic. V. I., in favour of whom his uncle Michael resigned the provostry of St. Saviour's, Utrecht, which Paul III approved of on October 17, 1549 : Brom, I, 119 ; still on Sept. 2, 1550, that same office was attributed by Pope Julius III at Charles V's request to Robert de Berghes (Brom, I, 122), who actually became provost : Hoynck, III, I, 207-8.

³⁾ William Lombarts of Enckenvoirt was *scriptor* of the Papal Chancery from 1549 : *MélMoell.*, II, 113 ; *LibInt* IV, 228, r ; Hoogewerf, I, 635, 637. He also was one of the *provisores* of the '*Anima*' like his great-uncle, and was buried there in 1614 : *Anima*, 472, 496. — His uncle Michael wished to leave to him the Archdeaconry of the Campine ; that succession was contested by William of Poitiers, who was appointed in 1556 : in return William Lombartz was provided on Dec. 16, 1556 with that of the Famenne : *BerghAutr.*, 338, 343.

⁴⁾ *MélMoell.*, II, 113.

⁵⁾ Hoynck, III, I, 206. He may be identical with the 'Dom. Godefridus van Inckvoort', who was one of the Antwerp aldermen for 1548 : *AntwAnn.*, II, 306.

stay long in the *Curia*, as his uncle ¹⁾ procured him a canonry at Liège, and his succession as Archdeacon of the Campine ²⁾; he also became canon of St. John's, Hertogenbosch, April 8, 1527 ³⁾, and, before Oct. 21, 1528, provost of St. Saviour's, Utrecht ⁴⁾. In 1531 he took possession of Utrecht diocese in his uncle's name ⁵⁾. He is praised as most generous and died prematurely, on May 1, 1550, at Liège, where he was buried in St. Lambertus' : he had disposed of his archdeaconry and his provostry in favour of his nephews William ⁶⁾ and Godfredus Lombarts van Enckenvoirt, but their rights were contested.

The third inmate who entered the new College on October 18, 1520, was Petrus Ægidii ⁷⁾, — no doubt a relative of Erasmus' great friend, the Antwerp secretary Peter Gillis ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ William of Enckenvoirt is mentioned from June 19, 1506 to April 30, 1515 as archdeacon for the Famenne; on June 19, 1515 he was appointed as archdeacon for the Campine : *LiègeDoc.*, I, 451; *MarckHalk.*, 269-73; Although he continually helped the Bishop in his various difficulties (*MarckHalk.*, 57, 60, 229, 236), he obtained with his colleague John Copis a bull on December 21, 1517 to safeguard the archdeacons against Erard's restricting measures : his nephew and successor handed that document to the Cathedral Chapter on Sept. 22, 1546 : *MarckHalk.*, 66.

²⁾ Michael Lombarts succeeded his uncle before his decease (July 19, 1534) as Archdeacon of the Campine : *BerghAutr.*, 65, 248, 329, 337-38; also as canon of O. Lady's, Antwerp : *AntvEpisc.*, 107; *AntwKan.*, 81.

³⁾ Coppens, II, 88, 113, 116, 125, 323; *SylvEpisc.*, 139-40, 318.

⁴⁾ Hoynck, III, I, 63, 206-7; Brom, I, 693 : papal approval of an exchange of patronage, April 19, 1545.

⁵⁾ Hoynck, III, I, 114, *sq.*

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 65. — The 'Sigerus Enckeuort de aquisgrano', who matriculated in Louvain on Aug. 29, 1532 (*LibIntIV*, 50, r), was probably of a different family.

⁷⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, r : Item Petrus Egidij similiter pro integro anno xl Rf.

⁸⁾ Peter Gillis, Ægidii, born about 1486 from an old Antwerp family, second actuary from 1509, secretary from 1512, met Erasmus when a corrector at Martens' office in 1503, and became his friend and, after his marriage, his host on his many visits to the rapidly growing metropolis. The development of his native town made his office increase in importance, in so far that the famous *Utopia* was connected with his genial home and conversation. From 1510 he started a long series of publications, which he continued to about 1520, when he limited himself to commendatory letters (e. g., to Goclenius, May 21, 1519, in Eobanus Hessus' *Hodæporicon*, or to the Reader of Peutinger's praise of Augs-

most probably a son of his brother Francis, who may have been active in the book trade, as he went to the Frankfurt Fairs ¹⁾. Not only Peter, but his father Nicolas, and his brother Giles, the Canon Cantor of Our Lady's ²⁾, were intimate friends of Erasmus, and their interest in Busleyden's Foundation seems indicated by the fact that, when the Great Humanist edited in August-September 1524, the *Epithalamium*, celebrating Peter's wedding with *Sandria*, Cornelia Sanders, in the summer of 1514, Erasmus introduced some fine allusions to the lofty-minded Busleyden and his great Institute into that ideal nuptial song of his well beloved friends and hosts ³⁾. Unfortunately, of this young student nothing seems known.

The fourth boarder entering on October 18 was Charles Laurin ⁴⁾, son of Jerome, Lord of Watervliet and Poortvliet,

burg, May 1, 1521) or poems (on Lierre and Afinius in *Questiones tres*, 1517, on Valla's *Elegantiae*, Aug. 1526) : cp. before, pp 25, 36 ; NijKron., I, 42, 764, 1709, II, 4005 : his heavy solicitude for his ailing wife and his many children made him even remiss in obliging his great friend, and shortened his life : he died on Nov. 11, 1533. Cp. *Busl.*, 464-65, 362 ; *Cran.*, 159, a-f, of which the bibliographical notes have to be supplemented by the recently provided information in NijKron., and *MonHL*, 358, 361, sq. — The 'Frater Peter egidius', who contributed distichs to Georgius Bruxellensis' *Interpretationes* of P. Hispanus' *Summulæ* (Paris, April 3, 1497) : Polain, II, 1574, is evidently different.

¹⁾ Francis Gillis, Peter's brother, took money and parcels from Antwerp to Frankfurt, and handed them to John Froben : cp. letters to Erasmus Schets, December 24, 1525, answered March 17-18, 1526, and Peter Gillis, April 21, 1526 : Allen, VI, 1654, 17, sq, 1681, 10, sq, 1682, 9, sq, 1696, 1, sq.

²⁾ That brother Giles, who called himself after his father's Christian name, Nicolai, already a canon of Our Lady's, was precentor since 1510 : Erasmus sent him his greeting on August 29, 1526, and on January 23, 1534, he wrote to Schets : De diplomate Anglico scripsi per Viglium D. Aegidio Cantori. Cum illo poteris colloqui : Allen, VI, 1740, 28, x, 2896, 24-25. Maybe that document did not reach him any more : John Campensis wrote to Dantiscus from Venice, Febr. 4, 1535 : 'In Flandria veteres amici omnes recte valent, præter Petrum Ægidium et fratrem illius Canonicum et Cantorem Antwerpiensem qui anno superiore ambo mortui sunt' : *ErmArEp.*, D 3 : 103, r ; FG, 290 ; Allen, XI, 3019, 14-15.

³⁾ Allen, II, 312, 86, 356, 13, III, 715, 25-26, 56 ; EOO, I, 746, D ; BB, E, 453. Of the eight children of Peter and Cornelia, the eldest was called Nicolas after the grandfather ; another John, was graphiarius : *AntvAnn.*, IV, 75 (1582) ; Guicc., 67, 106 ; cp. also Allen, V, 1432, 2 (Michael G.).

⁴⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, r : Item Carolus Laurinus similiter pro eodem anno xl Rf.

treasurer general of Archduke Philip, also general receiver of the 'Franc' of Bruges, 1487-1498, and of his second wife Mary Strabant ¹⁾; he was born at Bruges, April 23/24, 1506, and belonged to a family in which Erasmus was most familiar, having made the acquaintance of the three step-brothers in Louvain and again in Bologna ²⁾. The second, Mark, who recently, September 24, 1519, had been appointed Dean of St. Donatian's ³⁾, was a most intimate friend of the Humanist, whom he often welcomed in his house, kept by his sister and sisters-in-law ⁴⁾. Charles afterwards entered the army, being referred to as 'Viro militari equestrique auxiliario' in the common epitaph on him and on his brothers Mark and Peter: it mentions his age, 46 years, 6 months, 16 days and the date of his decease, November 10, 1552 ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ His first wife, Jacqueline Pedaert, died on May 4, 1502; Jerome himself died in 1509: both were buried in St. Bavo's, Ghent: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 363-64; *Cran.*, *xlvi*, 6, a. Jerome sold his house in Mechlin, 1507: it was made into Margaret of Austria's palace: Henne, I, 137.

²⁾ *Excerpts*, 94: Mathias... Marcus... Petrus lawrijn, filii Iheronimi de brugis lilienses diuites: August 31, 1502. — Knod, 295-96: 1507 (268, 40-41) 'a nobilibus dominis magistro Mathia lawen domino de Watervelt et Marco et d. Petro Lawen Brugianis Tornacensis dioc. et preceptore eorum d. Wilhelmo Obrecht Delfino Tračensis dioc. utriusque iuris licentiatu accepimus duos ducatos'. Matthias (Greek form for Matthew), who inherited the father's estate, married Frances Ruffault, and was the father of the great antiquarians Mark and Guy Laurin: cp. Ch. XXIII. Matthias was often mayor of the Franc, and became councillor for Flanders in 1538: *Cran.*, *xlvi*, 82, 21, &c; *FlandCon.*, 136-37. — Peter, Lord of Leeskens, married Ann Isabella d'Onche, but died at 33, on Febr. 27, 1521/2: his widow married Cornelius de Schep-per about 1529: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 365 66; *Cran.*, 249, b.

³⁾ Mark Laurin, born on May 17/18, 1488, after his studies and his promotion to I. V. L., was made canon of St. Donatian's in 1512, and after a few years of coadjutorship, Dean: *BrugSDon.*, 166, 85. He was a great favourer of letters and learning, and the centre of a group of eager humanists: he died on November 4, 1540, and was buried in the church where he had officiated nearly thirty years. Cp. before, I, 516; *Cran.*, 6, d; Schrevel, I, 72, 223 (dedication to him, March 19, 1532, of Aristophanes' *Plutus*, translated by Adrian Chilius: Antwerp, M. Hil-len, 1533: *NijKron.*, I, 136); *BrugInscr.*, I, 159.

⁴⁾ Viz., the widow of his brother Peter, Ann Isabella d'Onche (1498-Aug. 20, 1548), and that of his brother James, who died in 1512: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 364; *Cran.*, *xcvii*; Allen, v, 1271, 122, 1342, 1017, 1458, 67, VII, 1871, 18-21; FG, 83, 25; *BB*, J, 34.

⁵⁾ *BrugSDon.*, 85-86; *BrugInscr.*, I, 159; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 363-64.

The fifth boarder, who entered the College on St. Lucas' feast, William Someren, had already promoted M. A. ; he may have been the 'Wilhel. Henr<ici> de Zoemerem de Endovia', who, in 1512, was classed the twelfth of his year ¹⁾ : if so, he showed his great eagerness for the study of languages, not wanting to leave Louvain after his long stay without, at least, a few months' sojourn in Busleyden College : he went on February 11, 1521 ²⁾. Three months later, on May 12, 1521, arrived as new boarder student, Adam Verduneus or Verdunius ³⁾ – either a Fleming, Verduyn, or a Walloon, Adam de Verdun. He may be the 'Verdunius' who wrote to Erasmus through Goclenius, to whom the great Humanist praised him for his proficiency on February 6, 1522 : Verdunii epistola mire delectauit, si tamen ille tantum potest. He could not, however, grant Goclenius' request, and take it up in his next collection : Additurus eram operi nostro, sed erat quur non fecerim ⁴⁾.

By the end of the summer holidays, on September 27, a Magister Gobelinus was inscribed as boarding student ⁵⁾ ; since the second and following accounts of Stercke are not extant, no information is available about him or his companions in the beginning academical year. The account that closes on October 18, 1521, mentions that on February 17, 1521, a 'Petrus Lovaniensis' was admitted as servant of the brothers Enckenvoirt : he boarded in the kitchen at a reduced rate, and so did from March 31, the servant which Rescius engaged, and Henry, an amanuensis, who entered Goclenius' service on May 25 ⁶⁾. The paragraph in which Stercke detailed

¹⁾ The Louvain list of promotions, *ULPromLv.*, 5, notes for 1512 : '12. Wilhel. Henr. de Zoemerem de Endovia' ; whereas, for 1513, the fifth is a native of Zomeren : '5. Wilhelmus de fine de Zomeren F' <= studens in Falcone> : it is most likely that the first is meant, for it is natural that, if the patronymic is well determined, it should be used for identification rather than the birth-place. Still there was no proper rule.

²⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, r : Jtem Mgr. Wilhelmus Someren, a festo Luce xv C xx usque xj februaryij inclusive xij Rf xv s iiiij d.

³⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, r : Jtem Adam Verdune⁹ a xij Maij annj predicti vsque in Luce xvij Rf vj s xij d.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1257, 11-13.

⁵⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, r.

⁶⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, v.

the money due for the boarders, was marked by him with this title : *Ad cognoscendum melius statum Collegij pro anno predicto sequuntur precia conuictorum seu commensalium pro suis expensis eidem Collegio debita* ¹⁾).

C. BURSARS

Besides those paying boarders, the College started with a number of bursars, to whom the Founder gave the right to free board and lodging ²⁾ : consequently they are not mentioned in this account, nor in any following. By accident it is known that a Nicolas of Marville — possibly a nephew of the future president ³⁾ —, had spent about ten years in the College, when on January 7, 1533, Rescius declared to Nicolas Olah, Mary of Hungary's secretary, that he had known him several years, and that he was then the learned preceptor of a small boarding-house conducted by 'Petrum canonicum Moguntinum', which he strongly recommended for his young 'protégé', John Henckel, since there was no room left in his own ⁴⁾. That the Nicolas of Marville had been a bursar in the *Trilingue Collegium* is as good as certain : the founder's will stipulated that of the eight scholarships, two had to be granted to poor boys of Marville ⁵⁾ ; it also stated that the young men could enjoy their *bursa* for eight years, and no longer, except in case they were so excellent in their studies that they were able to give additional private lectures to those who were weaker ; in which case the *provisores* were allowed to grant them two years more ⁶⁾, — which was apparently the case for this Nicolas. The presence of bursars, although not mentioned in the accounts, is further proved, for the very first years even, by the fact that on April 26, 1526, when the counting of the inhabitants took place in

¹⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 84, r.

²⁾ The number of scholarships was to be eight for the first ten years, and afterwards ten ; since there were no young men from Bauschleyden, Busleyden, at the time, the Founder had decided that the amount unclaimed should be used for the general economy : *Test.*, 3-6, 24, 66-67.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XI.

⁴⁾ *OlaE*, 188 : the name is written erroneously 'M. Nicolaum Mermil-lanum' ; cp. further, Ch. XV.

⁵⁾ *Test.*, 6.

⁶⁾ *Test.*, 54.

Louvain, it was expressly stated that the College of the Three Tongues sheltered nine bursars besides the three professors, the three commensals, or paying inmates, and one servant ¹⁾. Yet in Nicolas Vary's account, which goes from Jan. 21, 1526 to Jan. 17, 1527, there is only an accidental mention of two bursars, for the price they paid for a bed, whereas, four paying students are named and the length of their stay as well as the sums paid are duly recorded ²⁾.

5. COLLEGE LIFE

A. WORK AND RECREATION

From October 18, 1520, the day on which John Stercke solemnly entered on his presidency of the fully organized college, its work started regularly. It would not last long before all the professors should be able to board and lodge there, and thus offer to the inmates the advantage of a life permeated with erudition and literary practice, which the Founder had contemplated ³⁾. The lectures which, no doubt, had already started in the Convent of the Augustines, were continued from the 'solemnis introductio' in the big room of the School.

Those lessons, once begun, followed one another quite regularly, and the working service of the College became as regular and as peaceful as that of a clock, with its orderly succession of hours of study and of rest. That calm regularity was only disturbed by small accidents, such as those resulting naturally from boys at their games ⁴⁾, for which ground and

¹⁾ Cuvelier, 314. ²⁾ *AccMarvI*, 1, v, 2, v. ³⁾ Cp. *Test.*, 9, 44, 49.

⁴⁾ Thus it is recorded that in 1527, the President had to pay for a window broken by the students in the neighbouring house of Master Jerome <le Norman> : Item voer een vinster die by den hof stont toe behorend Meester Hieronymus noster dwelke onse commensalen ghebroken hadden om dat doen te hermaken... : *AccMarvII*, 66, r. The M. N., or Doctor of Theology, meant, is the 'Hieronymus N.' who is recorded to have promoted along with Henry Vermolanus de Gravia, *Gravius*, Dominican, in 1504 : *VAnd.*, 98 ; his name is given in *LibActV*, 116, v, as 'le Norman'. — In the same account are mentioned window panes in the bursars room which, most suspiciously, had been broken from the neighbouring inn 'Jnde hant' : *AccMarvII*, 66, r.

court had been laid out ¹⁾; or by the sudden ringing of the bell at the entrance gate, breaking on the still evening, and demanding admission for one or more new inmates who had just arrived from some corner in Belgium or in the civilized world this side the Alps — from Vienna and Basle as well as from Antwerp and The Hague, — which occasionally necessitated some hasty, furtive purchase or other, as is natural in very young households ²⁾. There were, moreover, at regular dates, various little feasts and events characteristic of the social and civic life of those days, in which the College now took a conspicuous part : on St. Martin's Eve the bursars and the servants received their traditional number of pots of wine ³⁾. A few weeks later, about the middle of December, the Boy Bishop of St. Peter's, stately carried on the shoulders of his companions, came with his choristers in full number to sing carols in the College, and received the usual gift ⁴⁾; on New Year's Eve it was the turn of the town fifes and chanters, who, during the night, came to play and sing at the main entrance ⁵⁾, on which occasion the bursars were also treated to wine, as they were further on the Eve of Epiphany, on Shrove Tuesday ⁶⁾, — the 'blijde (joyful) auonden', — as well as on the Thursday of Holy Week ⁷⁾. And when Spring came, and the storks built their nest in one of the chimneys of the College, both president and all the inmates rejoiced in the

¹⁾ The records often refer to a 'caetsspel', court for playing ball, a kind of fives court.

²⁾ Thus, in 1527, on the arrival of the three young Squires of Trazeznies, the President had to send in haste to the pewterer's to fit out their rooms : *AccMarvII*, 65, r.

³⁾ Jtem op Ste Martens auont nae ouder gewoente voer ij potten wijns gegeuen den borsiers ende eenen pot voer die marten... : *ManBorchI*, 52, r; *AccGocl.*, 38, v.

⁴⁾ Jtem 16 Dec. voor den bisscop ende choralen van Ste Peeters die in die collegie quamen singhen iiij s : *AccGocl.*, 38, r; cp. *ManBorchI*, 50, r.

⁵⁾ Jtem den stad pipers ende sangers die op den Jaersnacht voer die collegie speelden ende songhen iiij s : *AccGocl.*, 38, r; *ManBorchI*, 50, r.

⁶⁾ Jtem voer de wijn ghegheuen den bursieren ende de Maerten op Sinte Marten auont, op nieuwe Jaer auont op drij Koninck auont, Vastenaunt tsamen xxvj s : *AccGocl.*, 38, v; *ManBorchI*, 50, r, v; *AccHoevII*, 42, r.

⁷⁾ Jtem opden wittendonderdach den xxven martij <1540> voer den wijn van den borsieren ende dienstboden... : *ManBorchI*, 51, r.

good omen, and had their festive treat of wine, as happened for the first time on March 31, 1521, a few months after Stercke had started his management ¹).

Nor was there any longer any ill feeling between the University and the *Collegium Trilingue*, as results from the share it had in all the feasts and *Acta* of the *Alma Mater* : in so much that the candidates for the *Licenciate* or the *Doctorate* in Theology or Laws came to invite the College authorities, who were greatly pleased partaking the rejoicing of the various Faculties, and welcomed them with a brotherly treat — which is ample proof that the days of dissension had long past, and that perfect understanding reigned ²).

B. FEASTS AND VISITS

Other feasts were of a more intimate character : every year the Louvain Fair, which was an occasion for a bounty to

¹) Item enen pot wijns voer de Oieuaers Die Dominica 31 merte : *AccMeerb.*, 34, v.

²) Item voer dri pot Rinsche wijn gesconken die Doctoren <in Jure Utr. : John de Myrica, Van der Heyden (who died the following year : F. Titelmans made an *Oratio de prematura Morte Bonorum*, 1527, on that occasion : it is published in his *De Trinitate* : Antwerp, M. Hillen, Jan. 1530 : *Nijkron.*, 1, 2043) and Dominic Cakaert : June 18, 1526 : *VAnd.*, 184, 41, 157, 395 ; *Mol.*, 545 ; *ULCinqS.*, 19> doen sy quamen bidden in Junio : *AccMarvI*, 104, v. — Item tsmaendags xxvja Januarij <1534> als iiij theologg <Martin Cuper, Walter Roest, Nicolas de Castro (future president of the *Collegium Trilingue*) and the Carmelite Gummars de Lyra : de Jongh, *62 > pro gradu licencie <3 February 1534> ghinghen bidden voer den wijn hen geschonken : *AccHoevII*, 42, r. — Item tsmaend. ixa febr. als twee doctorandj in Jure reden bidden ad aulam doctoralem voere wijn hen geschonken (Francis Sonck and John Lobellius, de Bolonia : Febr. 10, 1534 : *VAnd.*, 186-87) : *AccHoevII*, 42, r. — Jt. tsmaendags xvija augustj als dns. Jobes. Cuyper prior carmelitarum ende D. gommarus Molle <de Lyra> religiosus <carmelita> mechliniensis bidden gingen ad vesprias et aulam magistraten in theologia geschonken een gelte Rynswyns... (Aug. 25, 1534 : *VAnd.*, 107) : *AccHoevII*, 42, r. — Item tsgoensdags vltima septembris als dns. michael rollay de haffligem bidden ghinck ad gradum magisterij in theologia voer j gelte most geschoncken (Michael Rullegius, Roelley, de Wavria : Oct. 6, 1534 : *VAnd.*, 107) : *AccHoevII*, 42, v. — Item opden xven dach van Junio... geschoncken licentiaten als die bidden quamen ad magisterium et aulam doctoralem een ghelte Rynswyns... <Cornelius Erbornen, Dominican, and Christopher Vieira, of St. Thomas, a Portuguese : July 20, 1540 : *VAnd.*, 110> : *ManBorchI*, 51, v.

bursars and servants ¹⁾), brought together those who had devoted the best of their energies and a considerable part of their lives to put into effect the Founder's scheme ²⁾). Bartholomew van Vessem regularly returned for three or four days to the College, accompanied by Nicolas de Nispen ³⁾), seemingly to examine the accounts of the year past, but chiefly to see how their work was progressing, and to meet the old friends with whom they evidently lived again the excitement and incidents of the struggle ⁴⁾). For the president and the professors

¹⁾ Item voer den wijn ghedroncken op den kermissen dach van Loeuen zoe met vrinden ende commensalen : *AccGocl.*, 38, r. — Item op der kermissen van louene voer den wyn als doen ghedroncken zoe in die groote Tafelle als van den borsieren ende jnder coekene byden boden na ouder gewoenten : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

²⁾ Item voer den wijn vande voers. M. Claes <de Nispen> ende Bartholomeus inde selue kermisse oeck ter visitacien van der Collegien wesende iijj daghen : *AccMarvI*, 104, v. — *AccMarvII*, 70, v ; *AccMarvIII*, 84, r ; *AccHoevI*, 50, r, v ; *ManHoev.*, 15, r ; *AccHoevII*, 42, r ; *AccEdel.*, 17, v ; *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

³⁾ From May 1530 he was accompanied by Adrian Josel, the Antwerp canon : *AccMarvIII*, 84, r ; *AccHoevI*, 71, r ; *ManHoev.*, 6, v ; *AccHoevII*, 44, r.

⁴⁾ These meetings were often repeated during the year at occasional stays of van Vessem or of van Nispen : Item voor de ghelaeghen van heer bertolomeus voors. met den ghenen die hy mede ghenoot hadde van den vj Nouember totten xj eiusdem <1529> : *AccMarvIII*, 84, v. On such occasions were invited John Stercke of Meerbeke, Joh van Hove, notary : *AccHoevI*, 50, v ; *ManHoev.*, 6, v, 11, v ; *AccHoevII*, 42, r ; even occasionally the Brabant councillor Arnold van der Beken : 'metten wijn dni. m. becanj cancellarii presidentis in compotu &c' : *ManHoev.*, 15, r (1530). That Becanus was, without doubt, the Arnoldus de Beca, van der Beken, who promoted I. V. D. on July 4, 1481, and was primary professor of Canon Law from 1481 to 1487, when John Gousset took his place, as he entered the Council of Brabant, — where, as an expert lawyer, he may have actually worked as the 'chancellor' of the President, — although about that time the President took the title of 'Chancellor of Brabant'. Arnold may have continued residing in Louvain, where, from 1502 to 1504, he probably made Erasmus' acquaintance amongst the friends to whom Paludanus and John de Neve introduced him. It would explain the epitaph he made on his daughter Guillelma, who, in the sunny side of her thirties, was plucked away from her able father, her loving husband Antony Isbrand, and their eight children :

Sum Guilelma, patre Arnoldo cognomine Beka, is
Iuris fons gemini, non modo rivus erat.
Cui gener, Antoni, placuisti ex omnibus unus,
Isbrandum referens ore animoque patrem &c.

those visits must have been most gratifying as they could show their gratitude to those who had so arranged the College that on such occasions they naturally reaped the harvest of their sowing. On that account welcome and hospitality were occasionally most heartily and abundantly offered to their great patrons and protectors, as they were to Giles de Busleyden ¹⁾, and to all those connected with them, like Sucket's son, John ²⁾; and that was done eminently to Erasmus whenever he crossed the threshold of the Institute which had been conceived by his far-seeing spirit, brought into vital reality by his communicative enthusiasm and preserved from failure and ruin by his shrewd and perspicacious tenacity ³⁾.

The few occasions on which the Scholar, who felt happy nowhere except amongst his books, left his room in the Lily for the new College, were most memorable events, evidently celebrated with all the means placed at the disposal of the resourceful President. Thus amongst the items of the account for the fare of the first year, are found these most extravagant expenses for Saturday, December 15, 1520, considering the smallness of the family :

To xx herrings	To a quarter of currents
To a quarter of cod	To a back leg of a wether
To a carp	To ij capons
To ix bleak	To ij 'swemen' ⁴⁾
To cabbages and turnips	To ij lampreys
To a leg of beef	To one patridge
To a piece of meat of v pounds	

The president John Stercke judged it necessary to conclude that list with these words : 'That you should not be struck

EOO, I, 1219, D, E. Cp. Vern., 106, 291; VAnd., 155, 174-75; Mol., 538; BruxBas., I, 93; Brants, 8; BrabCon., I, 63, II, 165, sq, III, 348.

¹⁾ He came to look at the College on January 23, 1521 (*AccMeerb.*, 20, r); he afterwards frequently helped the President, who either called on him or sent him a messenger : *AccMarvII*, 68, r; *AccHoevI*, 50, v; *ManHoev.*, 11, v; *ManBorchI*, 50, r. — His son Nicolas, who continued the solicitude of his late father, came to the College with some friends on Sept. 14, 1540 : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

²⁾ He visited the College on March 25, 1521 : *AccMeerb.*, 33, r : 'Voer tgelach van meester Jan Sucket'; that eldest of Antony's sons, who matriculated in Louvain on January 27, 1519, died before his father : *Excerpts*, 100; *Busl.*, 124-25.

³⁾ Cp. section 6, A; *Gran.*, 26, c-e; *MonHL*, 185, sq; Allen, IV, 1209, 4.

⁴⁾ Kiliaan (ed. 1642) : *sweem, rusticula (gallinago) minor* (= snipe).

by the great expenses — D. Erasmus, had been invited to dinner with Magister Noster Dorpius and a few others' ¹⁾. — Some weeks later, the account stipulates for Wednesday, January 23, 1521 :

To half a wether	To wheaten bread
To a duck and ij 'swemkens'	To saffron
To ij partridges	To mace
To one coney	To apples
To sausages	To oranges

To a measures of Beaune

Once again that prodigality was explained by a note indicating that 'Dnus Erasmus' was at that dinner as well as 'Dns Egidius Buslidius', with some other guests ²⁾.

C. FIRST AND FAVOURABLE REPORT

If Erasmus was highly appreciated and heartily venerated by the President and the staff of the *Collegium Trilingue*, he himself, in return, was greatly pleased at its way of working and its unequivocal good success. Before nine months had elapsed, there offered an occasion for him to declare openly what he thought of the newly installed School and of the Community that had recently gathered in the new premises, and thus to provide as a testimony of the very beginning Institute, of which the renown was spreading ³⁾.

It was mentioned, no doubt, that the third professorate, that of Hebrew, was not occupied, although John Campensis

¹⁾ *Acc.Meerb.*, 11, r : Sabbatj : Aen xx haringen... Jtem een vierendeel cabeljaus... Aen enen kerper... Jtem ix wytuischen... Aen coelen ende rapen... Jtem aen enen schinkel van enen osse... Jtem aen een stuck vlechs van v ponden... Jtem aen j vierendeel corinthen... Jtem aen een achterste quartier van enen hamel... Aen ij capponen... Jtem ij swemen... Aen ij lamprasen... Jtem een ueelthoen... Tsaderdachs den xv^{ten} Decembris op iij Rf xvij s 1 d vij mit. Ne vos tantarum expensarum capiat admiratio / fuerat enim ad prandium vocatus .D. Erasmus. M. noster Dorpius cum nonnullis alijs.

²⁾ *Acc.Meerb.*, 19, v : Mercurij — Aen 3 hamel... Jtem enen entuogel met ij swemkens... Aen ij patrisen... Jtem een conijn... Jtem aen woersten... Aen wijttebroot... Aen sofferan... Jtem aen folye... Aen appelen..., Jtem aen araende appelen... Aen een ghelte beaune — Interfuerunt prandio Dns. Erasmus et Dns. Egidius Buslidius cum quibusdam alijs.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 505.

was appointed, and was even then expected to return from the journey undertaken to perfect himself in the language he had accepted to teach ¹⁾. The news of the absence, which may have been considered as a proper vacancy instead of a temporary interruption of a lecture, induced an Italian Hebraist, Agathius Guidacerius, Calabrian clericus, who had studied Hebrew in Rome for seven years under the Portuguese Jew Rabi Jacob Gabbai, to apply for that situation ²⁾. In October 1518 he had visited Andrew Alciati at Avignon in quest of employment ³⁾, and he availed himself of his acquaintance with Daniel Tayspil, suffragan of the Bishop of Théroutanne ⁴⁾, to offer his services. Bishop Tayspil wrote to his friend Erasmus, communicating to him the Hebraist's letter, in compliance of which the Humanist, who was then at Anderlecht, near Brussels, submitted both letters and his own proposal to Giles de Busleyden, with the result that the Italian Scholar was invited to Louvain, as follows from the reply to Tayspil, July 5, 1521 ⁵⁾.

That invitation was evidently not any more than an occasion to come to a mutual understanding. For Erasmus, it was

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 504, sq; he was back by January 1522 since Erasmus mentions him on February 6, 1522: Allen, v, 1257, 16.

²⁾ Cp. Allen, iv, 1221, 6; he had written a *Grammatica Hebraicæ Linguae* (n. d.), dedicated to Leo X.

³⁾ *M. Gudii Epistolæ*, edited by P. Burman, 1697: 75.

⁴⁾ Daniel Tayspil, of Nieuwkerke, near Armentières, entered the Premonstratensian abbey of St. Augustine, near Théroutanne: *Gall-Christ.*, iii, 539; and was appointed suffragan of the Bishop of that town, Francis of Melun († Nov. 22, 1521), and of his successor, John VI of Lorraine, with the title of Bishop of Gibel (*BelgChron.*, 444-45). In 1524 he was elected Abbot of Voormezele, an abbey near Ypres, and he died on June 20, 1533 (*Ent.*, 133). He was one of Erasmus' friends and protectors, being himself greatly interested in learning and study, as well as in the enforcing of ecclesiastical discipline. His brother Peter († 1541), Councillor of Mechlin, became President of the Council of Flanders in 1527, and of the Privy Council in 1531; his two other brothers, John and George, were canons of St. Donatian's, Bruges: *Cran.*, 83, 7, 118, 2; F. V(an de Putte) & C. C(artou), *Cronicon Vormesense*: Bruges, 1847, 14-15; *FlandIll.*, ii, 410, 415; *GallChrist.*, v, 351; Allen, iv, 1221, pr; *FlandCon.*, 64-65; *BrugSDon.*, 158, 176; *BrugInscr.*, i, 179, ii, xvi; also before, I, 505, and p 51.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 8-9, 34-35.

a means to secure an apparently able man, who, in the protracted absence of Campensis ¹⁾, would fill to advantage the Hebrew chair, and in the case of his deficiency, would preclude the trouble of finding an expert holder of the professorate, which had caused already so much annoyance ²⁾, and yet was as indispensable to the Institute as the keystone to an arch. Even in the supposition that the titular was to return within a short while, there always remained the possibility to eke out the scanty salary ³⁾, which Giles de Busleyden was ready to grant to Agathius; moreover, his own excellence and his activity, was sure to induce the Founder's executors to be more liberal ⁴⁾. For he would be allowed to teach, independent from the regular lectures, at his choice either Greek or Hebrew ⁵⁾.

In exposing to Bishop Tayspil the situation in all reliability, — *non placet secus quicquam... scribi quam res habet* ⁶⁾, — Erasmus tries to make up for the absence of alluring wages, by picturing all the advantages offered by Louvain, with its pleasing climate and its gentle inhabitants ⁷⁾, as well as by its University, whose students are outnumbered only by those of Paris: they count about three thousand, and there are new arrivals every day ⁸⁾. Still in Erasmus' mind the great attraction lies in Busleyden's Institute, that *ornamentum* of the University, of which he adds an unconditional praise. He commends the handsomeness of the building: '*Collegii locus et honestus est, nec inelegantis structuræ*' ⁹⁾; also the selectness of the community: besides the President, entrusted

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 76.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 369, *sq.*, 379, *sq.*, 500, *sq.*

³⁾ *Salarium pro modo redituum satis amplum, pro rationibus professorum, ut ingenue dicam, nimis angustum est*: Allen, IV, 1221, 19-20.

⁴⁾ Allen, IV, 1221, 20-21: *Salarium... pro respectu personæ aut industriæ possit executorum arbitrio augeri nonnihil.*

⁵⁾ *Et licebit illi extra ordinem profiteri, seu Græcæ malit seu Hebraice*: Allen, IV, 1221, 22.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 1221, 8-9.

⁷⁾ *Placebit illi cælum hoc nostrum, nec displicebit gentis humanitas*: Allen, IV, 1221, 17.

⁸⁾ *Academia Louaniensis frequentia nulli cedit hodie præterquam Parisianæ. Numerus est plus minus tria milia, et affluunt quotidie plures*: Allen, IV, 1221, 10-12.

⁹⁾ Allen, IV, 1221, 18.

with the *cura familiaris*, and the three professors, there are only about a dozen bursars and a few paying inmates, boarding with the 'præfectus' and his staff ¹⁾; and above all, the unmistakable good success : the lecture-room contains at times, he declares, an audience of three hundred students ²⁾. Though the salary be not considerable, the applicant will have to deal with most upright and straightforward men who will improve the wages if required and if possible, for there is every hope that the revenue of the College will soon increase, thanks to the liberality of the princes, especially if men like Bishop Tayspil should help it with their favour and patronage ³⁾. Of this generous enterprise, which will become the glory of the University and of the Emperor Charles, the first merit is due to Jerome de Busleyden's beneficence ; but they will not lack their desert who should contribute assistance to the magnificent undertaking ; posterity could not ignore what will be recorded in a trilingual eloquence ⁴⁾ ; a great share of the glory is ensured to those who will have started the lectures, of which the renown will increase as time advances ⁵⁾. If man's praise leaves one cold, it is for certain most meritory to deserve that of Christ ⁶⁾.

Notwithstanding that plea, which Erasmus closes with the words : 'Aduolet igitur te autore ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ tuus Agathius' ⁷⁾, the invitation was not accepted, as, instead of a definite appointment, it only offered a temporary supplying and a chance tutoring. About that time Guidacerius seems to have been teaching in Rome under Leo X ; he continued under

¹⁾ Collegium domi paucissimos alit, Præsidem vnum, cui rei familiaris cura delegata, professores treis, et duodecim, opinor, adolescentes, atque hos gratuito. Extra hos paucos capit domus, qui suo sumptu viuunt apud præfectum ac professores : Allen, iv, 1221, 12-15.

²⁾ Auditorium est, vt in hac Academia, satis frequens, aliquoties non pauciores habens trecentis : Allen, iv, 1221, 15-17.

³⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 23-25 ; about that time Erasmus tried to interest some of his wealthy friends in the *Collegium Trilingue*, like John Sucket and Erard de la Marck.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 25-31.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 31-33 : nec minima famæ portio redibit ad illos qui primi professionem hanc, olim futuram longe clarissimam, fuerunt auspicati.

⁶⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 33-34.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 34-35.

Clement VII, until the *Sacco* of 1527 afflicted him considerably, and bereft him of his Hebrew documents. He found a shelter at Avignon, and was entrusted in 1530 with the royal professorate 'in originalibus linguis' ¹⁾, which he kept till his death, in November 1540 ²⁾; he left some works, which do not strike by their value, nor by their freedom from the old routine ³⁾.

6. ERASMUS AND THE TRILINGUE

A ATTACHMENT TO THE LILY

It would have been an inappreciable advantage for Busleyden's Institute if, instead of receiving Erasmus as a welcome visitor, it could have glorified in having him as an inmate. No doubt, circumstances prevented the great Erudite from following the impulse of his preference, at least for the time being. He had in mind the contemplated edition of the works of the Fathers of the Church, which necessitated at least a temporary stay at Basle, and thus made any precipitate removing most inopportune; nor did the work he had in hand allow of a change in residence just then, as it would have entailed a most untoward delay in his studies. He had been greatly hampered in the first weeks of his residence in Louvain, in the summer of 1517, by the exiguity of the rooms which John Paludanus could place at his disposal, since he was no longer president of St. Donatian's ⁴⁾; still he had not accepted the urging invitation of John de Neve to come to the Lily, as his right to the Regency of that Pedagogy was just then in dispute ⁵⁾. In the last days of August, when the

¹⁾ Lefranc, 144, 181-82, 381, 394, *sq.*, &c.

²⁾ Lefranc, 160, 188, 409-10 : at his death his belongings, as those of a foreigner, came to Francis I, who gave them to his colleague William Postel, with the exception of his oriental manuscripts and his books, which went to enrich the Royal Library.

³⁾ In 1519 Agathius published a *De Bello Gothorum*; during his stay in France he wrote several others : Allen, IV, 1221, 6.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 185, *sq.*; *MonHL*, 183, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 94, 459; *MonHL*, 179-185.

question had been settled in his friend's favour ¹⁾, Erasmus accepted the offer of the largest and best room in the Institute, on the first floor, in front of the wide staircase, the one that had been occupied by the founder Charles Viruli, and by his successor Leo Outers ²⁾. He soon provided it with everything conducive to his work and his comfort, dating from there a letter on September 16, 1517 ³⁾. He introduced both shelves and a large table to lay open his books and the manuscript originals for his comparative studies of texts ⁴⁾; also a *lectica*, or couch, to lie down for a rest, as well as two *sellæ*, or arm-chairs, made in Brussels, which he bought in the summer of 1517 ⁵⁾. He had there, moreover, his drinking cups and, in the College cellar, a provision of wine, for the carriage of which he had paid fourteen gold florins ⁶⁾.

Still it was not merely the comfort of his rooms that attracted him, but also the knot of old trusty friends ⁷⁾: the staunch and sagacious de Neve ⁸⁾, 'hospes humanissimus et

¹⁾ The question was solved by the agreement of August 26, 1517; on August 31, Erasmus announces to Tunstall that he is going to remove to rooms where he can open his books, and on September 7, to Mark Laurin, that in 4 days he hopes to be in the Lily with de Neve: *MonHL*, 183-84; Allen, III, 643, 6, sq, 651, 10, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 254, 259, and p 34. — Rescius had occupied during two years the room under it, as he is said to have declared to his pupil Henry Ravestein, *Coracopetræus*, of Kuick, who noted it down at Nijmegen, Oct. 27, 1569; it was reproduced from G. J. Vossius' *Aristarchus*, I, 28, in EOO, I, 911.

³⁾ Louanii ex Liliano gymnasio pridie Lamberti: Allen, III, 666, 5, probably addressed to Mark Laurin. ⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1355, 19, sq, 34, sq.

⁵⁾ In a letter of the first days of August 1517, Erasmus mentions to Peter Gillis: Dederam Joanni tuo negocium de sella Bruxellæ emenda: quid actum sit scire cupio. On August 28, he writes: De sellis gaudebo vbi videro: Allen, III, 616, 16-17, 637, 11. The 'Joannes' may be a servant or messenger of Gillis, who had some experience of such things: it does not seem necessary to identify him with the *Joannes Phrysius*, who served Erasmus as amanuensis in Antwerp, and whom he expected when he wrote the letter of August 28.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1355, 22, 28-31.

⁷⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 351.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 200-202. Dorp praised de Neve for his ready and natural eloquence, for his subtlety in arguing and his prudence in guiding youth: dedicatory letter to his *Dialogus Veneris*: *MonHL*, 357, 366-67, 375, 395, 462; *DorPaul.*, 54-55; *Cran.*, 26, a-f, and sources quoted; also *LibNomI*, 108, v-170, v.

doctissimus' ¹⁾ and the faithful John Becker, of Borselen ²⁾, both of whom had brightened and gladdened the days of his first long stay in Louvain. There was also Josse Vroeye, *Lætus*, of Gavere, whom he had known as a fellow-student of the Martin van Dorp ³⁾ who had recently left the Lily to take the lead of Holy Ghost College ⁴⁾; Vroeye was Erasmus' confidential friend, and his welcome *convictor*, being well versed in Latin and in Greek ⁶⁾, of which language he gave private lessons, as well as in jurisprudence and in the various branches of philosophy; in the spring of 1521 he removed to the 'Collegium Juristarum' or of St. Yves, of which he had been appointed president on May 6, 1521. Another old acquaintance was the '*Jacobus medicus*', whom Becker greets on March 28, 1519, along with de Neve and Vroeye, namely James van Castere, of Hazebrouck ⁷⁾, physician, who taught philosophy in the Lily from 1511 to 1519, and of whom little

¹⁾ He praises de Neve as *hospes omnium humanissimus, nec minus doctus quam humanus*, in several letters of September 1517 and the following months: Allen, III, 651, 10-13, 695, 17, 696, 5-6, 14-15, 717, 20-21, &c. 'Nihil est Nevio meo in hac academia vel eruditius vel melius vel festivius vel denique syncerius', he wrote on Nov. 16 to Geldenhouwer, who congratulated him for his host and his '*convictores*' on Dec. 5: Allen, III, 714, 23-24, 727, 22-24, also 932, 52-53.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 201, 256-62; *Busl.*, 341-44, &c. — In October 1517, Erasmus wrote to Peter Gillis: *Adest Ioannus Borsalus, huius collegii contubernalis, convictor omnium festiivissimus*; and on December 12, he praised him to Councillor John de Berghes as: *vir notæ tum integritatis tum eruditionis*: Allen, III, 687, 16-17, 717, 21, 737, 7-9.

³⁾ Erasmus had known Dorp as student in the Lily: *MonHL*, 138.

⁴⁾ Dorp was president of the *Collegium Sancti Spiritus* since September 1515: *MonHL*, 152-53.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 222-26, &c.

⁶⁾ Letter to Mark Laurin, November 19, 1517: Allen, III, 717, 21. Writing to Erasmus on March 28, 1519, John Becker sends his greetings to '*M. Jodocum Gauricum*': *ibid.*, 932, 53.

⁷⁾ *MonHL*, 128; Allen, III, 932, 54-55. Allen wrongly identifies him with James Bogaert, who evidently was not at all so short of means as to be obliged to live in a pedagogy: although being a priest, he kept his professorate and his canonry, which amply supplied his wants: the fact that he was often elected as Rector proves that he was an opulent man; moreover he had had seven children, some of whom may have been unmarried and constituted his home: cp. before, I, 443, 453.

more is recorded than that he was '*Erasmio amicus*' ¹⁾, and that he was procurator for the Flemish Nation for the three months beginning with June 2, 1516 and Sept. 30, 1518 ²⁾; he also was one of the executors of de Neve's will ³⁾, and probably had then left the Lily.

More numerous, but no less devoted, was the younger generation : John Heems, of Armentières, who after his promotion to Master of Arts studied medicine, and who in 1521 became de Neve's *co-regens* ⁴⁾; Peter de Corte, *Curtius* ⁵⁾,

¹⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 246; he most probably had started the studies of Medicine after he had promoted Master of Arts, and had advanced far enough to be allowed to practise. ²⁾ *LibNomI*, 125, v, 140, v.

³⁾ He is mentioned as *medicus* by Vroeye in his letter to Erasmus of March 27, 1523 : *Allen*, v, 1355, 11, which gives the impression that, like Zwynghedau, he was not living any longer in Louvain : he may have then been practising in his native country : cp. further, p 88.

⁴⁾ John Heems shared, from November 1522, the direction of the Lily with Peter de Corte : *ActArtInd.*, 22; he succeeded Adam Bogaert as professor of Medicine and as canon of St. Peter's on November 23, 1525, and promoted Doctor of Medicine on April 25, 1526 : *VAnd.*, 232, 222. He was elected Rector in August 1529, and February 1532, 1535 & 1550 : *LibActVI*, 83, v, 85, v, 112, r, 134, r, 145, r; *VAnd.*, 42-43; *ULDoc.*, i, 264-67. On Nov. 1, 1525, he abandoned the regency : *ActArtInd.*, 27, but since Peter de Corte resigned in his turn, in April-May 1531, on entering the Faculty of Divinity, Heems requested and obtained once again that regency; he even claimed in 1550 the property of the Lily against the Faculty of Arts, which caused a long contestation of which he did not see the end : he died on July 1, 1560, founding several scholarships in the '*Fleur de Lys*' : *ActArtInd.*, 51-74; *FUL*, 1138, 1227-31; *ULDoc.*, iv, 178-211; *Cran.*, 26, g, 186, a, 13, &c. He gave to the *Capella Clericorum* (now St. Antony's) a stained-glass window with his coat of arms and device *Nil Invita Minerva*; his portrait in Rector's robes was preserved in the Lily : *PF*, i, 361, 426.

⁵⁾ Peter de Corte, *Curtius*, born at Bruges in 1491, matriculated as a student of the Lily on September 3, 1509 : *Excerpts*, 96; and was the second at his promotion to Master of Arts, April 16, 1513. He was admitted to the Council of the Faculty on October 2, 1515, as teacher of eloquence; in 1518, he became *legens* or professor of philosophy, and promoted Bachelor of Theology. He was an influential member of the Faculty, and was appointed successor to de Neve. He was 'receptor' of the University in 1528, Rector from February to August 1530 and 1538 : *LibActVI*, 77, v, 88, r, 187; he was appointed *plebanus* of St. Peter's at William Joannis of Vianen's death, November 20, 1529, and thus became professor of theology and *provisor* of the *Trilingue* : cp. further, Chs. XV, XX, sq; *Cran.*, 83, pr, 186, pr; *Paquot*, iv, 440; *VOO*, vii, 184.

who, realizing Erasmus' views ¹⁾, organized a regular course of Greek in the Lily after he had taken up de Neve's succession ²⁾; John van den Cruyce, *Crucius* ³⁾, whom he sent as tutor to his friend William Mountjoy, which occasioned on his return after five years preceptorate, a letter of effusive gratitude ⁴⁾; Adrian Amerot ⁵⁾, highly valued as well for his erudition in both languages, in philosophy and in civil law, as for his *mores candidæ* ⁶⁾; and, amongst the latest arrivals, Herman Stuve, *Stuvius*, or *Stuveus*, of Vechta, Westphalian ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ De Corte wrote to Erasmus on January 21, 1525, that he would always be as welcome in the Lily as in de Neve's time; he did not allow the Master's spirit to get extinct in the Pedagogy: whereas the other schools dropped Erasmus' books, he kept them as classics: Allen, vi, 1537; *Cran.*, 83, b.

²⁾ Those lectures started on January 1, 1528: *Cran.*, 257, 8; Allen, vii, 1932, 91, 125.

³⁾ John van den Cruyce, *Crucius*, or *Gutius*, of Bergues-St. Winock, matriculated as student of the Lily on Aug. 31, 1514, and was the third at his promotion as Master of Arts in 1517: *Excerpts*, 98; *ULPromRs.*, 71. He studied Greek under Amerot, and was recommended by Erasmus to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as preceptor for his children. He left before November 1522, for he recalls de Neve's afternoon lessons of Latin (at 2 p. m.), and he stayed five years, until, at de Corte's request, he left the *Milesia Montjoica* for the *Phiditia* of the Lily in October 1527, and started teaching Greek on January 1, 1528. It is not known whether those lessons continued in the Lily after de Corte left. Unfortunately *Crucius*, a priest, died before his time: for on Aug. 22, 1533, the Rector approved of the execution of his will by Peter de Corte and Louis de Germes, of Frasnès: *ExTest.*, 175. Cp. *Cran.*, lix, 257, b; Allen, vii, 1932, pr.

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 1932: January 28, 1528.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 223, 255, 273-74, and further, Ch. XXIV.

⁶⁾ In his letter of Sept. 24, 1521, Erasmus praises him to Bernard Bucho: Est in eodem collegio <Liliensi> Adrianus Suessoniensis, præter exactam vtriusque literaturæ peritiam et philosophiæ gnarus et iuris Cæsarei non ignarus, moribus mire candidis: Allen, iv, 1237, 28-31.

⁷⁾ Herman Stuve matriculated in Cologne on October 29, 1510, after having been Murmellius' pupil at Münster. About 1517, he became teacher at Zwolle; he there gave hospitality to his former master, who, with his wife and young son, had fled from Alkmaar (Gelder, 104-5); in return he was honoured with the dedication of his *Tabularum Opuscula Tria* (Deventer, 1517), and, together with his colleague Alexander of Meppen, with that of the *Scoparius* (Deventer, c 1517), Murmellius' last work. *Stuvius* soon afterwards came to Louvain and gave private lessons, until he returned to his native country, where he was parish

praised for his untiring zeal in forming, directing and teaching youth ¹⁾. To those 'convictores', Erasmus owed much of the comfort and satisfaction he experienced in the Lily, which made him declare to Gerard Geldenhouwer already on November 16, 1517, that he had never been so happy before : *nec vnquam vixi magis ex animi mei sententia* ²⁾.

That continuous contact with men who thought and felt as he did himself, was the chief support in the trouble and the annoyance which some of the divines, and especially Edward Lee, caused him on account of his *Collegium Trilingue* or of his writings. For although he counted many reliable friends in the University town, — from his staunch John Paludanus to the zealous Adrian Barlandus, — nowhere did he find that considerate sympathy of John de Neve, ever ready to interpose his authority on his behalf ³⁾, and, with all that, so enthusiastic in his humanism that he, *Regens*, taught Latin until his dying day ⁴⁾. The other inmates of the Lily did what they could to stem the opposition of the Faculty of Arts, where bachelors and licentiates of theology were, unfortunately, in majority. Thanks to the soothing friendship and the prudent solicitude he experienced in the Lily, Erasmus could devote his attention to his Paraphrases on the New Testament, to the *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, to the emendations of his *Novum Instrumentum* and to many other works which he published during that period ⁵⁾, or planned, as the *Opus Concionandi*,

priest of Wildeshausen until his death, about 1540 : *Murmell.*, 82, 121, 107-8, 163-4; *MurmO.*, v, xxviii, 3, 114; *MünstSchule*, 64; *MünstFestschr.*, 46; *MünstBib.*, 136; Keussen, II, 488, 17; Allen, IV, 1237, 25; Hamelmann, 135, sq, 296, 298.

¹⁾ Erasmus wrote to Bernard Bucho, September 24, 1521 : *Hermannus Vuestphalus... agit in Collegio Liliensi : iuuenis probus quidem, et vndiquaque doctus, sed præcipue indefatigabili diligentia in formanda, curanda, erudienda adolescentia* : Allen, IV, 1237, 25-28.

²⁾ Allen, III, 714, 24-25.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 403, sq, 577; Allen, IV, 1225, 135.

⁴⁾ Writing to Erasmus about his Greek lessons, on January 28, 1528, John Crucius states that 'Designata est huic exercitio hora .2. pomeridiana, qua consuevit Næuius ipse Ciceronem elucidare' : Allen, VII, 1932, 128-129. Crucius left for England in October 1522, and de Neve died the month following : *LatCont.*, 392-93.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, III, 687, 15, 717, 19, &c.

or the '*Ecclesiastes*' that was to be, conceived during the confidential talks with John Becker ¹⁾).

On the other hand, Erasmus' example and the power of his influence greatly benefited his 'convictores', such as Peter de Corte, as is shown in many letters of the following years ²⁾; nor is it a mere effect of blind accident that, for two decads coming, the most remarkable erudites and pioneers of progress in the University — as well theologians like Judocus Ravesteyn ³⁾, as jurisconsults, like Mudæus ⁴⁾, Driutius ⁵⁾ and Bernaert ⁶⁾, or diplomatists like Andrew Masius ⁷⁾ — besides many others ⁸⁾, owed their training and, in many cases, the direction of their activity to the Lily. Thanks to the masters he formed and to the tradition he created, the presence of a

¹⁾ On March 28, 1519, John Becker urged Erasmus to write an *Institutio Concionatoris*, since he had composed an *Institutio Principis*, and an *Institutio Christiani Hominis*; he appealed to his devotion and to his affection, to the welfare of Church and faith, as well as to their common friendship, and concludes: cogita quod id te facturum mihi superiori hyeme, quum tuo semper lateri vel cum importunitate hærerem, sis pollicitus: Allen, III, 932, 16-40. It seems that the work was begun in 1523: Allen, I, p 34, 19, sq, III, 985, pr; but not continued. On January 28, 1528, John Crucius, who evidently knew of that promise, reminded Erasmus, expressing the hope that on the *Augustinus* would follow: non magno... interuallo... Concionandi ratio, si (he adds) multos cupias messi huic Euangelicæ operarios: Allen, VII, 1932, 137-139.

²⁾ Allen, VI, 1537, VII, 1932, 73, sq; *Cran.*, 148, 152, 189, 213, 257.

³⁾ Josse Ravesteyn, of Thielt, one of Louvain's greatest professors of Divinity in the XVIth century: cp. further, Ch. XII.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Chs. IX and XII.

⁵⁾ Michael Drieux, of Volkerinchove, was a great professor of Canon Law: cp. Ch. XII.

⁶⁾ Vulmarus Bernaert, of Eecke, professor of Canon Law: cp. Ch. XII.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁸⁾ There was just then — not Toussaint Hosey, as Allen, IV, 1209, 4, suggests: cp. further, Ch. IX, — but John de Backer, *Pistorius*, of Woerden, who was executed for heresy in 1525, and whose father, John Diericksoen de Backer, declared in court to the Louvain professors, his judges, that before, at the Lily, he had taken meals with them and with Erasmus, whose schoolfellow and 'convictor' he had been; no doubt, he had gone to visit his son at study in the Pedagogy, and may have seen one or other of the Louvain professors, although it is most unlikely that Erasmus should have ever invited Coppin or Rosemondts or Tapper — whereas Bucho was then not even in Louvain: Allen, I, p 579, IV, 1209, 4; *CorpInq.*, IV, 408, 483.

man like Erasmus must have made a lasting impression on the minds of the young students, especially since he was ever ready to make them benefit by his own experience and his vast knowledge — as he promised to do for Antony, the son of John de Berghes, Margaret of Austria's great Councillor ¹⁾; he readily recommended them to his own friends, even for matters that had no connection with study or learning ²⁾. It follows that, attached by so many ties, he did not leave the Lily, the more so as he expected to go soon and work at Basle, at least for some time. Against all prevision his stay near John Froben's office lasted so long, that *Regens de Neve*, being short of place, decided on occupying provisionally Erasmus' room where there were still many of his books and all his furniture: he intended leaving the apartment at the first intimation of his great friend's return to Brabant.

Unfortunately de Neve died suddenly and prematurely on November 25, 1522, from a stroke on the steps towards his room, which the great Humanist had trodden so often ³⁾; being very eager to secure a good heritage, the heirs claimed as their property the various objects belonging to Erasmus found in the room which he had actually occupied. The matter was strictly prosecuted by one of the executors, Henry Zwynghedau ⁴⁾, the Bruges Official ⁵⁾. Erasmus wrote about it to a co-executor, his friend Judocus Vroeye ⁶⁾, but the business part of the letter of March 1, 1523 to him, has been

¹⁾ Dec. 12, 1517: Allen, III, 737, 43, sq; cp. before, I, 260-61.

²⁾ He sent *Theodoricus*, student of the Lily, to Abbot Antony de Berghes on December 13, 1517, having recommended him through Antony of Luxemburg on Sept. 17, 1517: Allen, III, 739, 27, 673, 15.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 26, 2-9; Allen, v, 1347, 6-10.

⁴⁾ Henry Zwynghedau, of Bailleul, was renowned as jurisprudent from the time of his studies in Louvain, where he started the corporation of students of law, devised to provide the occasion to exercise themselves, known as the '*Collegium Baccalaureorum I. V.*': VAnd., 209; Vern., 213. He was the Official for the Bishop of Cambrai in Brussels, as well as that of the Bishop of Tournai in Bruges, where he enjoyed a canonry in St. Saviour's, near which church he lived. He was an intimate friend of Cranevelt's: *Cran.*, 43, b, 212, 12. He had assisted as juridical council at the signing of the agreement about the Regency between de Neve and Outers on August 26, 1517: *MonHL*, 182.

⁵⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 187, correcting Allen, v, 1355, 12.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1347: Basle, March 1, 1523.

lost. Vroeye promised his help ¹⁾, and therefore urgently requested some proofs, since the two Brussels armchairs had already been sold, and the drinking cups, as well as the wine, whom he and his friends knew for certain to be those of Erasmus ²⁾, were claimed by the heirs and those who seconded them, as if they had been given in return for the cost of board and lodging over several years : he consequently wanted to prove by the receipts for the 'victus', or otherwise, that de Neve had had them in trust, not in property. Above all Erasmus was concerned about his books, and he had already written about them to Peter Wichmans and to Peter Gillis ³⁾. Unfortunately no further information can be gathered from the correspondence, although Vroeye's earnest promise to see to Erasmus' interests, and the absence of all trace of whatever complaint on the subject, constitute proof sufficient that satisfaction was given to the man who brought more fame to the Lily by his four years' stay than its founder or than any one of those who ruled or inhabited it during the three and a half centuries that it existed. When on January 23, 1527, he made his first will, he gave one more proof of his grateful attachment to the Pedagogy : in distributing the sets of his complete works, which were to be published, he desired the 'tertiam decimam reponendam in Collegio Liliensi' ⁴⁾.

B. HIS ROOM IN THE TRILINGUE

It was not exactly and uniquely the hearty affection and the easy comfort offered to him from the very beginning that

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1355 : Louvain, March 27, 1523.

²⁾ Most probably the 'medicus' whom Vroeye mentions amongst the executors : — Sed non tota res ex me pendet, cui et alii coniuncti sunt, medicus atque Officialis Brugensis atque alii preter heredes ; quos penes est nobis omnem facultatem abrogandi potestas, cum hereditatem adire voluerint, — is not John Sucket's son-in law : Allen, v, 1355, 11, but the James of Hazebrouck, who used to be de Neve's and Erasmus' 'convictor', and who may have left the Lily where he taught from 1511 to 1519 (*ULDoc.*, iv, 246), to practise as a physician in his native country : the title of *Doctor Medicinæ* was not required in those days to exercise the art of *Æsculapius* ; cp. Allen, iii, 932, 54-55. Cp. before, p 82.

³⁾ Wichmans refers to the *bibliotheca*, about which he had once talked to Gillis, in his letter of March 22, 1523 : Allen, v, 1351, 28.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, p 505.

kept him in the Lily ¹⁾, but also his solicitude for the development and the welfare of his favourite *Collegium Trilingue*. When, in the first days of November 1517, he wrote to Giles de Busleyden about the professor of Hebrew, declaring that if his brother's Institute would come about, as he hoped it would, it would make Louvain brighter and brighter for him ; he added that he would not like to be the guest of any other community, evidently at his own expense. He pointed out the advantage it would cause to the College itself : My presence, I am sure, will not be without profit for such an Institute ; nor do I want, after all, any other heir for my collection of books' ²⁾.

When Erasmus wrote those lines, he may have expected some opposition, and he mentioned it in the very same letter to prevent the Founder's brother from being influenced by any obloquy or dissuasion ³⁾. Still he could hardly have foreseen the continuous and malevolent difficulties opposed to the magnificent scheme, and, for certain, he could not realize then the trouble which was caused to it on his own account. He had already acted on that experience, and kept out of the struggle a few months before the final admission ⁴⁾. He therefore rightly judged that, since all opposition was not extinct, it would be safer for the peace and the welfare of the new College, if he kept out of the way, and avoided whatever might be interpreted as a provocation of latent hostility. Of

¹⁾ He refers to it in several of the letters of that period praising the *humanissimus de Neve* : cp. before, p 82.

²⁾ <Nov., 1517> : Si processerit <institutum>, vt spero fore, mihi magis ac magis adlucescet Louanium. Nec vllius contubernii malim hospes esse, idque meopte sumptu ; et puto meum conuictum non inutilem fore tali collegio. Postremo non malim vllum alium hæredem bibliothecæ nostræ : Allen, III, 699, 15-18.

³⁾ Quare te rogo per optimi fratris memoriam... ne patiare te ab eo quod cœptum est abduci... Nihil vnquam nouæ rei tam plausibiliter fuit institutum quin vnus aut alter reclamarit : Allen, III, 699, 7, sq, 12-14 ; cp. before, I, 246.

⁴⁾ When, in October 1519, Hoogstraeten, on his arrival in Louvain, broke the peace and the agreement concluded in September after so many vain endeavours, Erasmus judged it wise to leave Louvain for Antwerp, and start a struggle of influences, which brought final success : cp. before, I, 418, sq, 429, sq, 514, sq.

course, his stay at Basle would cause calm and sedate moderation to take the lead, so as to allow the young Institute to develop in the most advantageous conditions. On that account he even did not think that the time had come to act inconsiderately when Goclenius, in the spring of 1522, suggested to have his belongings removed from the Lily to the *Trilingue*; for the old enmity had not subsided, and there was always some danger that, unable to harm the old opponent, then safe at Basle, they would make him suffer in the object of his solicitude, on which they could take their revenge ¹).

Still the President of the incipient Institute did not lose sight of Erasmus' promise to come and live in the community entrusted to his care, thus putting the crown on the great enterprise: a fine, comfortable and large room was reserved and put in order for him. Stercke and his advisers, however, perfectly understood and appreciated as well the thoughtfulness of the prudent Humanist as the requirements of his absorbing work. On that account the visits he paid to the *Trilingue* were made as the occasions to show the immense affection and gratitude felt for him, and judging by the account of the first year, they were, no doubt, continued until he left for Basle. When his return, which his friends longed for, was put off further and further ²), and when, in June 1522, the plan of having a house and garden secured

¹) Probably in the spring of 1522, Goclenius had asked Erasmus, whether it would not be advisable to take his belongings from the Lily to the *Trilingue*: on June 16, he got as reply: Georgium <the messenger>, opinor, iam vidisti; ex quo cognouisti rem: Allen, v, 1292, 12. On June 26, Goclenius replied: De τοῖς σοῖς facturum eram ex Georgii verbis; sed ille negabat te quicquam innouare velle, aut <te velle> in aliam coloniam demigrare, nisi rebus creperis. Itaque nondum quicquam est tentatum. Quod si quid πανυχὸν extiterit, aut videatur imminere tempestas aut etiam calamitas, prospiciam indubi<tato> ut semper tuum sit tibi sartum tectum: Allen, v, 1296, 17-22. — Six months later, at de Neve's sudden death, Erasmus' belongings were in jeopardy indeed: cp. before, p 87. No doubt the last sentence quoted refers to Erasmus' wish that Goclenius should provide a house and garden for him in Louvain, a *nidum paratum*, where he should end his days: Allen, iv, 1209, 1-4.

²) Cp. Allen, v, 1257, 10, 1342, 450, 1351, 28, &c.

was again mentioned ¹⁾, the President, who was in want of rooms for his inmates, decided on allowing Goclenius to remove from his into the one which had been reserved for Erasmus. On November 24, 1522, John Stercke advised him of it, as also of the state of the School, and assured him that Goclenius would return with great pleasure to his old den ²⁾, so that Erasmus' room would be made ready whenever he, who was their *decus presidiumque*, would wish to come, as he wrote, '*in hoc nostro, ymmo tuo, Collegio Trilingui*' ³⁾.

C. HIS SOLICITUDE AND PROTECTION

That feeling of intimate connection was fully reciprocated and realized by Erasmus : if the College was not directly involved any longer in the difficulties to which he himself was exposed after its final admission by the University, he showed a never flagging solicitude for its welfare. Whilst staying in Louvain, he was a constant adviser and literary mentor, as results from the letters he sent to Goclenius ⁴⁾ during his temporary absence. He placed his books at the professors' disposal ⁵⁾, and he was ever ready to encourage their efforts, to praise the qualities of their work, and to impart to them whatever eulogy was expressed to him about their lectures. Deamo te, he wrote to Goclenius, qui tam gnauiter te geras in professione linguæ Latinæ, tuaque doctrina pariter et ingenio exornes Collegium Buslidianum. Felix iuuentus nostra quæ in hoc seculum inciderit. Prorsum inuiderem, nisi toto pectore faverem vtilitati publicæ ⁶⁾. Such praise from such a man, and the accompanying advice not to mind what *οἱ βάρβαροι* obstrepunt, was evidently the best of incentives, and the excellency of the teaching must, in a certain part, be attributed to the never failing en-

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 90. ²⁾ Allen, v, 1322, 12-14. ³⁾ Allen, v, 1322, 4, 18.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1209 (Anderlecht, June 8, 1521), 1223 (Bruges, August 12, 1521). — The letter to Rescius from Anderlecht, dated only 1521, which Allen (iv, 1240) supposes to belong to October 1521, was certainly written in the second half of August 1520 : cp. before, I, 476-77.

⁵⁾ Mitto librum quem petit Rutgerus : Erasmus to Goclenius, June 8, 1521 : Allen, iv, 1209, 4.

⁶⁾ Bruges, August 12, 1521 : Allen, iv, 1223, 14-20.

couragement. He full-heartedly tried to secure for them what was denied to him in Louvain, a peaceful existence, free from any immixture with any quarrel and dissension. He knew from experience that the College still had her contradictors ¹⁾, and that the two professors themselves were criticised and slandered : he reminded them that never any great thing was started without contradiction ²⁾ ; he besought them not to waste their time in idle discussions, but to turn to profit all the obloquy and ill feeling. For the more the enemies should impugn literature and erudition, the more fervent and zealous they will make their students ³⁾, and the most efficient way for the professors to take a revenge for being criticized and calumniated, is uprightness and moderation in their lives and teachings. What will sensible men say, he asks in one of his letters, on hearing that, in Louvain, poetics and rhetoric are professed without the least obscenity or slander, whereas the lectures of theology and even holy sermons are often so leavened with false abuse that even idiots loathe them ⁴⁾ ?

Erasmus' advice apparently was sincerely followed, for although some of the old antagonists, like Nicolas Bæchem ⁵⁾

¹⁾ In May 1520, Erasmus reminded Vives of the opposition to the *Trilingue*, which was so much the more surprising since there was not the least suspicion of that lack of morality with which the Italian Renaissance was generally blamed : *Non ferunt professores moribus inculpatissimis, professione casta, doctrina longe Faustinae* (<viz., Andrelini : cp. I, 170-71, &c> *præferenda* : Allen, iv, 1104, 18-22. One month later, he again refers to all the difficulties created to ruin the young Institute : Allen, iv, 1111, 64-67 ; cp. before, p 5. That hostility did not die out completely : at Antony Sucket's death, in 1525, Erasmus wrote : *rem egregiam aliena benignitate datam, non desunt qui conentur amoliri* : Allen, vi, 1556, 19, sq. Two years later, on March 30, 1527, he even considered it necessary to protect the College against the attacks of John van Paesschen by appealing to John de Carondelet's patronage : Allen, vii, 1806, 3-7.

²⁾ Allen, iii, 699, 12-14.

³⁾ On Febr. 21, 1522/3, Erasmus wrote to Herman Lethmatius, advising him '*patrocinari linguis et bonis litteris*', saying : *Franciscus Hulst et Ecmondanus magis has persequuntur quam Lutherum. Ea res conciliabit tibi animos plurimorum, et præcipue iuuentutis vbique subolescentis. Hæc tempestas ne potest quidem durare diu* : Allen, v, 1345, 38-42.

⁴⁾ Allen, iv, 1223, 14-36.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1225, 32 : *Trilingue Collegium* (<ortium esse>... male habebat quosdam præsertim Nicolaum Carmelitam.

and Vincent Dierckx, remained hostile to their dying day ¹), probably for personal motives, there was evidently a change for the better in the general opinion. The study of languages and Busleyden's Institute were no longer suspected of having anything in common with the enemies of orthodoxy and of its most zealous, though often not quite unprejudiced, upholders. That was, without doubt, due to some extent to the personality of the President; for John Stercke remained one of the most influential members of the Faculty of Arts ²), and was entrusted with missions which testified to the confidence placed in him by all his colleagues of the University ³). Still even more than his character, the dignified and calm teaching in the New College ⁴) contributed to that improvement of public feeling: it is not without significance that Erasmus, in his letter of August 12, 1521, after a year's regular working, congratulated the two professors, — Campensis was still absent, — on the purity and modesty of their lives and of

¹) Even the quiet and calm Goclenius wrote to Erasmus on Nov. 12, and Dec. 10, 1526, that he hoped that, through the decease of Vincent Dierckx and of Nicolas Baechem, which happened in that year, their studies were going to be much safer and quieter: Allen, vi, 1765, 27-32, 1768, 2-9. It was with sadness that, on Febr. 28, 1527, he had to write that, though with patience they had got the better of their enemies, Nicolas Baechem was succeeded as bawling antagonist by another friar of his order, Paschasius, John van Paesschen, Doctor of Divinity: Allen, vi, 1788, 27, sq; *Cran.*, 213, a, b, 9, sq.

²) He was chosen procurator of the Brabant Nation on June 1, 1520; on Oct. 29, 1529, he was one of the committee of seven members who granted John de Langhe the necessary dispensation from the regulation requiring a year's actual presence in Louvain for every nomination to a vacancy, in consideration of his office of secretary to Archbishop John de Carondelet, who was helping the Faculty successfully to have her Privilege recognized at the Court and by some unwilling collators: *LibNomI*, 125, v, 158, r, 182, v; *Cran.*, 141, i.

³) Thus on Monday, Sept. 14, 1523, the Faculty of Arts gave to him and John Paludanus, John Glaviman and Roland de Castel the mission and the authority to examine and to alter the rules for the use of the Privilege of Nominations. With his three colleagues, he consequently submitted to the deliberation of the Faculty a new set of regulations and oaths on Sept. 25, 1525, which were approved of on May 11, 1526: *LibNomI*, 6, v, to 10, v.

⁴) Allen, iv, 1104, 20, sq, 1111, 55-59, 1223, 29-30, &c, vi, 1788, 27, &c.

their teaching ¹⁾. He continued that solicitous care of a fond, yet wise, father for his well-beloved sons until the very day of his decease.

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1223, 29-32 : Illud imprimis mihi semper in vtroque vestrum placuit, quod vt mores absunt ab omni turpitudine, ita casta est et professio, neque casta solum, verumetiam modesta.



ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
Ground-plan of the <i>Trilingue</i>	<i>pp</i> 46
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	50
Ormendael and neighbourhood	58
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	94
Nicolas Cannius	139
Corridor leading to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	224
<i>Wendelsteen</i>	296
Entrance to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	386
Door-way to Lecture Room	515
The Founder's Crest and Device	637

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

On p 85, nn, l 1, please read	1560	instead of	1540	
» 92, n 5, l 1, » » ortum		» »	ortium	
» 137, l 7, » » messages ⁴⁾ .		» »	messages.	
» 166, n 4, add : Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.				
» 166, nn, last l but one, read ⁵⁾		instead of	⁶⁾	
» 269, l 18, » 1530		» »	1529	
» 323, l 12, » B		» »	E	
» 358, n 6, l 7, » <i>PolE</i> Fr		» »	PolE	
» 359, n 6, l 1, » Wotton		» »	Wotten	
» 403, l 1, » dus,		» »	dus ⁷⁾ ,	
» 517, l 27, » Thomas		» »	William	
» 636, l 16, & n 6, l 3, » Josse		» »	John	

CHAPTER IX

STERCKE'S PRESIDENCY

I. LECTURES AND STUDIES

1. THE PROFESSORS' STATUS

A. UNADEQUATE RETRIBUTION

If Busleyden's Institute had been prosperous beyond expectation before it was housed in a proper College, it was eminently so after it had been installed with its staff in the newly equipped building under the vigilant care of the President John Stercke. The lectures did not take place any longer in an indifferent convent refectory, hardly adapted to the matter explained, but were given in the fine, extensive room, with its wealth of light and its sparkling blazoned windows, in an atmosphere of continuous excitement caused by the clever and enthusiastic professors, and, no less, by the very eagerness and attention of the audience, spurred on at times by the presence of listeners from foreign countries, and continuously impelled by the zealous knot of inmates and bursars, as well as by the growing interest of the ever increasing number of hearers. The fame of the new School grew apace, for the impression of the auditors was spreading at large, and was tested by all those who in and about Louvain could lay a claim on knowledge or experience.

The unequivocal success, which thus greeted the *Trilingue* after its installation in its College, was due to a large extent to Goclenius' excellence as professor. Although very fastidious, Erasmus was far from sparing in his praise of him, as results from a letter of the first days of July 1521, by which he introduces him to More as the man whom he could love

'totum, totus, totoque pectore' ¹⁾). He is a Westphalian ²⁾), the description continues, thus belonging to a race which is generally held as too little civilized ; yet he possesses all its innate qualities : love of work, sincerity of faith, uprightness of morals, simple prudence, and prudent simplicity. He professes Latin literature with greatest distinction to the highest profit of the whole University, and that with such an integrity and affability that the 'letters' which he teaches, have become agreeable even to those who used to be their opponents. He has that sharpness of mind which shows with great felicity, even in the disciplines of the solemn public lectures. For his Attic wit and merry jests he might compete with More himself. His verse is characterized by a grace which makes bright and agreeable even the most unpleasant theme, and his prose is such that nothing appears farther away from him except poetry. He seems as if made for lasting friendship ³⁾), seeing that he has neither ill nature, nor the weaknesses which make others sacrifice their friends to their objectionable instincts : he is not ambitious, nor revengeful either ; not envious, nor pleasure-seeking ; he is so candid of mind that he ignores what jealousy means. He is easy of company, for he loathes morosity and venality, and,

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1220, 12.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 484. In his Συμμίστων, sive *Miscellaneorum Decas Una* : Louvain, 1548 : 309, Peter Nannius quotes Goclenius' opinion about the etymology of the name *Westphalia*.

³⁾ Erasmus had become heartily attached to Goclenius, as is evident from all his letters and his references to him. A few days before writing to Thomas More, June 8, 1521, he sent him a few lines from Brussels with a book asked for by Rescius, and with some letters ; he also added a strange shirt sent by Gertrude Lachner, John Froben's wife : Accipe ab hoc snaphano camisiam imperfectam, quam mihi misit vxor Frobenii. Videtur enim hic illam sibi qualificasse. — *Snaphaan* is the Flemish name of the gun-lock ; it was used for the gun itself and for the hand-gun soldier, later on for a gaudy swaggerer. The few lines of the letter held an even greater proof of the confident intimacy sprung up between Erasmus and Goclenius : for the latter was reminded *de domo conducenda*, which would please, and provide accommodation and a garden, and would make '*nidum paratum*' : that house was also wished *ob nomen* : it would, namely, prevent the obloquy that he should have left Louvain for good on account of his contradictors : Allen, iv, 1209, 1-7, and v, 1342, 450 ; cp. before, pp 90, 91.

though his present state of fortune only provides him with a decent living and with the necessary literary 'apparatus'¹⁾, yet his value is such that if Belgium's civil and ecclesiastical princes were to follow their Italian colleagues in their esteem and treatment of men of great intelligence, Goclenius would be gold all over ²⁾).

Far from allowing the suspicion that his great praise to More was exaggerated, Erasmus assured Goclenius himself, a few weeks later, on August 12, 1522, that on purpose he had not said all the good things he knew ³⁾; and, as already mentioned before ⁴⁾, he expressed again his appreciation for the diligent way in which he fulfilled his duties as lecturer, and adorned the College through his doctrine and his abilities⁵⁾. He communicated to his friends the high opinion in which he held the Louvain professor: 'he is a man of a sharp judgment', he wrote on September 24, 1521, to his old friend Bernard Bucho ⁶⁾, 'a man of an extraordinary erudition, of an untiring

¹⁾ No doubt, Erasmus realized at that time already the insufficiency of Goclenius' wages: cp. further, p 102.

²⁾ Allen, iv, 1220, 12-43: that letter which is ascribed to July 5, 1521, finishes on the remark that, as soon as More and Goclenius will know each other more closely, they both will thank Erasmus for having introduced them to one another, just as recently he had been thanked by More and by Cranevelt for having brought them together: Allen, iv, 1220, 49; *Cran.*, 115, d; Stapleton, 75.

³⁾ *Moro depinxeram tui imaginem, adeo nihil affingens de meo vt quædam etiam prætermiserim*, Erasmus wrote to Goclenius, Aug. 12, 1521: Allen, iv, 1223, 37, sq; and added: *Malo enim vt hoc nomine mecum expostulet, vbi mutua consuetudine vterque alteri noti fueritis. Miro quodam desiderio tenetur videndi tui.*

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 91.

⁵⁾ Allen, iv, 1223, 14-16.

⁶⁾ Bernard Bucho of Aytta, a native of Zuichem, belonged to an old noble Frisian family; he studied in Louvain, where he was the first at the promotion of Masters of Arts in 1487: *ULPromRs.*, 61. He afterwards remained, for a time, in his Pedagogy the Falcon, teaching, whilst studying laws, in which he became licentiate. Having been ordained, he was appointed parish priest, first of Zuichem, and afterwards of the chief church of Leeuwarden. Duke Albert of Saxony, Governor of Friesland, made him enter the Senate in 1499, and his successor, Duke George, the Executive Council, in 1504, whereas, in 1515, Charles of Austria placed him as Regent over part of the country.

activity, of a lofty spirit, of affable and pleasing manners, of a tried faith, and, which generally is wanting in a scholar, of a great experience in ordinary things ¹⁾'. The deep affection connecting the two men developed as years went on, and lasted their lifetime. A consequence was the regular correspondence between them after Erasmus had left Louvain, as he thought, for a few months only, but in fact never to return ²⁾.

He rendered great services to his sovereign, strengthening his authority in that province, and defending his interests when sent on embassies to England or to France : he was rewarded by being appointed to the Council of Holland and by the office of Dean in The Hague, 1519. He was sent to receive the allegiance of Dordrecht in October 1523. He died on December 3, 1528, at the age of sixty-two. He had a great share in the development of his nephew Viglius, son of his younger brother Folcard. He had him educated first in Friesland, later on at Deventer, 1519-20, afterwards, together with his brother, by a private tutor at Leyden. The letter which Erasmus wrote to him on September 24, 1521, seems to be a reply to an inquiry about the best way to continue their instruction. In fact, Viglius was sent to Louvain in 1522/23, and in the latter half of August 1526 (ViglEB, 9) to France (cp. further, sect. 4, A) ; by his will he bequeathed to him a fine collection of books and a considerable sum of money. In his correspondence (Hoyneek, II, i, 1-6 : 1525-1528) as well as in his edition of Theophilus' *Institutiones* (Basle, 1534), Viglius expressed hearty gratitude, which he also manifested in a letter of February 15, 1529, to Erasmus, whom the uncle had greatly esteemed, and had frequently defended against his detractors ; in fact it was on his insistence that the young man visited the great Humanist : Allen, VIII, 2101, 32-40. Bernard Bucho was one of the most erudite men of his time in Friesland, and his prudence and sagacity made him one of the benefactors of his nation and his country in the dreadful ordeal through which they passed from 1499 to 1525. Cp. Hoyneek, I, i, 4-8, 55-63, 258-60 ; ViglEB, 36 ; Worp, 2, 38, 63, 172, 339-67 ; *HEpL*, 48 (called *Brito Aita*), 51-52, 108-111 ; Ubbo Emmius, *De Rebus Frisorum sub Leocordia* : Leyden, 1615 : 43 ; Allen, IV, 1237, VIII, 2101, 34, sq.

¹⁾ Allen, IV, 1237, 34-38 : Erasmus recommended him with Barlandus, Ceratinus and Rescius, Herman Stuvius and Melchior Viandulus, as private tutor for Bucho's two nephews, Viglius and his brother, whom he advised to send to Louvain.

²⁾ APPENDIX IV. As mentioned before (pp 90, 96), Erasmus wished to keep a *nidus paratus* in Louvain ; on February 6, 1522, he expressed the intention of returning during Lent : Allen, V, 1257, 10 ; cp. 1292, I, 1296, 17. He again announced his return for the spring of 1525, and, later on, for that of 1528 : Allen, VI, 1547, 13, VII, 1926, 15, 1971, 12, 1972, 10.

Those letters exchanged between Basle and the *Trilingue*, unfortunately, have not all come to us : they are one of the chief sources for the history of the College in its first years. They show us, except for a passing doubt or weakness, the great eagerness of the professors and patrons, and the good result which crowned their efforts. The very successful Latin lectures evidently greatly influenced the teaching of Greek : it is quite natural that Rescius should have felt the obvious superiority of his colleague ; moreover, the considering of the fact that the third member of their staff had refrained from starting his lessons, although he could have stuffed them, at least for some time, with what he had been taught, just as he himself was doing, made him even more conscious of his inferiority ; and that would become more conspicuous as time advanced, for he lacked the sound basis on which his fellow-lecturers could continue building : he had been appointed as Greek professor, not after a free choice amongst well-equipped men, but rather under the compulsion of economy, since his youth and his evident inexperience made him accept the very low wages which Ceratinus, the much cleverer candidate proposed by Erasmus, could not possibly have agreed to ¹). On the other hand the immediate preparation, which is expected from any conscientious teacher, must have been for him little more than illusory, since his nomination was only made after the executors had had time to examine the purport of the decision of the Faculty of Arts of August 26, 1518, refusing to admit Busleyden's Foundation in St. Donatian's, and to decide on an autonomous Institute with all its consequences : yet, on September 1 following, the Latin and the Greek lectures were started ²). If Barlandus could face the audience with an experience of at least ten years to back him ³), Rescius was a complete novice at the desk : even if he had to teach the mere rudiments in the beginning, he could not rely on any method, nor on any thorough acquaintance with the subject : although he had corrected some Greek editions in Martens' office, Erasmus judged him '*grece magis studiosus quam peritus*' ⁴).

¹) Cp. before, I, 281-82, 294, 491.

²) Cp. before, I, 290-94.

³) Cp. before, I, 267-71.

⁴) Cp. the letter on p 248 of part I ; also 277-79 ; *MotJuris*, 17, 24.

It would speak highly in favour of Rescius' character that he devoted himself to the unequal task, if there had not been any ambition or presumption in him, as Erasmus implies ¹⁾. Fortunately he earnestly desired to make up by study for his want of experience. Now that the College was regularly at work, he felt that he could no longer content his audience with elementary subjects. He felt the radiance of the lectures of the Latin professor, which necessarily brought out his inefficiency; and in the first months of 1522, he must have deeply regretted not to have had the courageous frankness of his Hebrew colleague, and devoted some time to that which unavoidably requires time ²⁾. Judging from Erasmus' sibylline reply of June 16, 1522 ³⁾, Goclenius must have announced that his Greek colleague had lost all hope and confidence: he had decided on leaving the College, and accepting a post which Erasmus had offered ⁴⁾. The great protector of the College protests: he does not mention a name, but refers to the 'one who is not a priest' ⁵⁾; considering that Stercke, Goclenius and Campensis are, there is no doubt possible. — 'Tell him, he says, that I do not approve of his leaving, and that if he should insist on it, he has to wait and hold out: δέῃ θάρσειν: indeed this is just the beginning of the battle: *Prima coitio!* he proves to be a downright coward: *Nebulo magnus est!*' ⁶⁾

It appears, in truth, that, already before, Rescius' inadequate formation had been duly considered by Erasmus, who most probably had advised him to avail himself of the providential

¹⁾ The executors wanted to make a start with the Greek lesson, at which Rescius was *multum anhelans*: he began it on Sept. 1, 1518, in the house of the Hebrew professor: *MotJuris*, 24; cp. before, I, 294.

²⁾ Campensis meanwhile had started his lectures: cp. further, p 102.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1292, 1, : *Accepi tuas literas*: no doubt Goclenius had asked Erasmus in his message, entrusted in the last days of May to Hilary Bertolf: cp. 1296, 11, *sq.*, about removing his belongings from the Lily to the Trilingue: cp. before, pp 87, 90.

⁴⁾ It seems that the rumour of Rescius' leaving had spread abroad, to the adversaries' great delight, and had caused even Peter Gillis, — who had a nephew in the school, — to announce the sad news to Erasmus: Allen, v, 1296, 1-11.

⁵⁾ The letter reads: *illi non sacerdoti* — which Allen wrongly applies to Melchior Viandulus, who was not at all connected with Goclenius.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1294, 2-4.

presence of James Ceratinus to get some tutoring from that very erudite Hellenist, who, by September 1521, had had to leave Tournai, and had taken shelter in Louvain, where he, likely, found some occasion to teach privately ¹⁾. Rescius had made abundant use of that clever man ²⁾, — which may have also caused some annoyance and discouragement, as his own auditors may have got to know of that inadequacy, and could themselves apply to Ceratinus. Erasmus must have seen clear in the muddled situation, and therefore he advised to hold out, at least for a time : 'If he stands on leaving', he continues in his letter, 'let him come *bonis avibus* at the next Frankfurt Fair, in September, and I shall see to a good employ. But I should prefer that the staff should not be dissolved : *malim non solui chorum, multis de causis* : I want the three professors to keep together, and I am sure that there will be a result that is not expected : all will be good in the end, at least for the *bonæ litteræ*, if not for the material or financial advantages !' ³⁾ — He also adds that, when recently he offered the position of Greek corrector, he did not think of Rescius, but of Ceratinus : 'Let *him* come' ⁴⁾. He then closes the few oracular lines by which he imparts his guidance, by six Greek sibylline imperatives : Σίγα — do not spread about what I reveal, but : *φρόνει* — be prudent to whom you communicate it ; and : *νῆψε* — be attentive that it might not do any harm to *our* sake, and to *our* staff ; also : *ἀπίσται*, — be diffident about whoever might turn it to harm : one cleverer instructor may make hard and difficult the work and the position of another, whose place he should like to take ; and then he suggests the capital remedy : *καὶ θάρρει* — have confidence in all serious and earnest efforts, and : *καὶ ἔρρωσο* ⁵⁾.

Although short and most enigmatical — evidently only to the present-day reader, — Erasmus' letter was also most efficient : Rescius remained at his post, and, far from mentioning again his leaving, he worked the temporary weakness into a more decided determination to do honour to his study and to his lecturing.

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 522, and 281-82, 491.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 26 ; and before, I, 505.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1292, 4-6.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1292, 7 : *Scripseram de Ceratino. Saltem ille veniat.*

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1292, 7-8.

Meanwhile John van Campen had returned from his studious journey throughout Germany about the end of 1521, at any rate in the first weeks of 1522, for he had then begun his teaching, and was giving full satisfaction. On writing to Goclenius on February 6, 1522, Erasmus congratulated him ¹⁾, and expressed his pleasure in sharing their happiness, — evidently on account of the success of the College which was now in regular working order ; it allowed the great Humanist to take at least some part of the glorious result, and to rejoice that he had contributed to it by efforts which, at a look backwards, appeared quite Herculean ²⁾.

The mention of his unrewarded Herculean labours in a letter to Goclenius, and through him to Rescius and Campensis, may have been intended as a well-meant consolation and an incitement to patience. For now that the College was fully at work, the difficulties of the teaching were unavoidably felt ³⁾, as well as the onerous conditions in which the professors had to toil : of course, the necessity of starting a new organism had compelled the executors to lower the wages : still was it right to make the sacrifice weigh only on those men who alone could give real life and prosperity to the enterprise ? Would they not accept the first offer in other schools or in other countries, which, as Erasmus said, would make them gold all over, instead of giving them only just what prevented starvation ? ⁴⁾ If the Hebrew professor assumed the charges of two years' study in Germany, and the Greek one, those of the lectures of Ceratinus, for the sake of the excellence of their work, was it equitable that the College should pay them so very scantily ? And if Goclenius' teaching caused the greater part of the success, was it right to pay him far less than his colleagues ? And if one professor's exertion and influence occasioned a liberality from one of his wealthy pupils, was it judicious to detract it from him and divide it in three equal parts, as the Will prescribed ⁵⁾ ? Did there not lurk the

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1257, 16 : Campensi gratulor.

²⁾ Decebat, he wrote to Goclenius, vt ego senex iam particeps essem vestrarum felicitatum ; sed video meos labores plane fuisse Herculeos : Allen, v, 1257, 16-18.

³⁾ Such as those which, at the time, made Rescius lose courage : cp. before, pp 99, sq. ⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 97. ⁵⁾ Cp. Test., 15, 16.

danger that those richer or more distinguished amongst the auditors might cause their admired professors to accept better remunerated positions, so that the very prosperity of the *Trilingue* should bear the germ of its decay and ruin? Those doubts, and for certain the complaints about the inadequate retribution, haunted more and more the minds of the professors as the months advanced.

B. SOLUTION OF 1522

Already in August 1521, they had resolved to approach the executors on that account, and when, on the 31st of that month, John Robbyns, Nicolas de Nispen and Bartholomew van Vessem came to the College to audit John Stercke's account of the year past, they handed them their complaints in a memoir, and requested them to examine it and to answer it at a next visit ¹⁾.

The executors did not lose any time in investigating the various griefs, and considered some of the Founder's prescriptions which experience had shown to be rather a disadvantage than otherwise: 'The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men Gang aft a-gley', as Burns sang. They communicated with Giles de Busleyden, and finally agreed upon some changes in the Statutes which were duly discussed, written down and signed at a meeting which took place in Brussels on February 6, 1522. The document proposing and authenticating the text of those altered regulations is as follows ²⁾:

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 50, v: Jtem vltima augusti anno xxj zijn de deken h. bartholomeeus ende Nispen vergadert tot louen om aldair te vernemen vanden regiment vanden collegie ende van den costen van den seluen aldair zij seker zwaerheit vernamen vanden professeurs die huer clachten ende gebreken in scriften ouergauen om ter naesten Reysen hen dair op te antwoerden... From June 24, 1521 to the same date in 1522, van Vessem had also made several journeys to Louvain in order to regulate the professors' condition: 'den professeurs eenen staet te geuene' with John Stercke's help: *Rek.*, 88, v, 89, r.

²⁾ These regulations have come to us in a copy from the register kept by Judocus van der Hoeven, who was President of the College from December 1529 to September 1536; he presumably reproduced the contemporary report (probably the one by John Stercke) of the introduction of those changes, together with Nispen's letter and the regulations, for he himself was not in the *Trilingue* at the time, and could

F

DE MUTATIONIBUS ET MODERATIONIBUS
CIRCA FUNDATIONEM COLLEGII
PER EXECUTORES FACTIS

Quia juxta tenorem testamentj Reuerendj Patris Domini
 5 Jeronimj Buslidij, sancte sedis apostolice prothonotarij,
 Prepositi Ariensis &c dum vixit, collegia sancti Donatianj
 aut Atrebatense obtinerj non potuerunt; Sed pro erectione
 collegij per eundem erigi petito, de quo jn eodem suo
 10 testamento fit mentio, necessario alius fundus emj debuit
 ad lectiones et alia jn eodem testamento descripta aptus et
 qualificatus, pro quo comparando multæ exsolutæ sunt
 summæ pecuniarum; Et propter diuersas alias causas,
 pregnantisque Rationes et obscuritates ex eodem testa-
 15 mento emergentes, de quibus Domini Executores sese
 temporis tractu bene jnformarunt; jpsi vnacum Domino
 et Magistro *Egidio Buslidio, Cesaree maiestatis consule,*
eiusdemque collegij patrono, jn opido bruxellensi, Came-
racensis diocesis, simul congregati Anno a natiuitate Dni.
xvC vigesimo secundo mensis februarij die sexta, vnani-
 20 *miter concluderunt eiusdem testamenti mutationes et mode-*
rationes jnferius per capitula descriptas, et propriis eorum
manibus subscriptas et signatas; Quas Dns. et magr. Johes.
stercke de meerbeke, artium magister et jn sacra theologia
licenciatus, dicti collegij presidens, vnacum literis magri.
 25 *Nicolai de nispen manu eiusdem scriptis, de data xiiij^o diej*
mensis februarij, Recepit Easque eiusdem collegij profes-

1. De Mutationibus &c] on p 67 (first page of the document); over it has been added by another hand (in different ink) Copia ex Registro Jodoci quondam vander Hoeven — evidently after it was used as document F of the Motivum Juris, since that F, similar in style to the other marks (cp. before, I, 249), is almost covered by the g of Registro.

18 Anno &c] in left margin is added .1522.

not write down from his own knowledge the preamble relating how the executors were induced to accede to the professors' requests, and how they made some innovations in the Statutes; they were accepted by the professors and the students. The original was probably kept by van Vessem in Mechlin, and sent back by him to Louvain, where Rescius took it away: cp. further, Ch. XXII. The copy from van der Hoeven's book takes up a double folio leaf; it was appended as annex F to the memoir against Rescius: *MotJuris*, 67-70.

soribus, bursarijs, et alijs, observandas publicavit, ad eorumque noticiam deduxit; Quasque ijdem domini professores ceterique acceptarunt, Mutationibusque moderationibus, et ordinationibus eorumdem Dominorum acquiescere se velle et obedire declararunt

Tenores literarum magistri Nicolai
de nispen et mutationum ac moderationum
successiue sequuntur

35 Venerabili et egregio Dño magro Johannj de meerbeke, sacre pagine licenciato, Presidenti collegij trium linguarum jn Vniuersitate louaniensi, dño. et preceptorj suo percolendo, vester servitor Nicolaus de Nispen

Venerabilis Dñe Licenciante

40 Post commendationem mitto vobis papirum per dominos meos dñs *Anthonium sucket*, Coexecutorem meum primarium, et *Egidium de busleiden*, patronum collegij, ac Dñm *Bartholomeum* et me signatam, articulos mutationis seu moderationis conceptos et conclusos circa foundationem
45 collegij, considerata moderna facultate eiusdem nil plus supportare valentis; Quos dñis professoribus communicabitis, et vos supra tenorem eorumdem deinceps jn Regimine ipsius collegij Regulabitis donec aliam mutationem ex crescentia facultatis, Domino annuente, jmposterum
50 forsán fierj continget; Cum hijs paucis cupio D. vestram feliciter valere, me commendans dñis professoribus prefatis
Ex bruxellis Raptim xiiij februarij xxj stilo Camerac.

1522 a natiuitate februarij die 6

55 Circa foundationem collegij buslidianj, quod trium linguarum vocant, Louanij fundatj per pie memorie R. P. et dnm. dnm. Jeronimum buslidium, Protho-
notarium apostolicum et Prepositum Ariensem &c. *propter diuersas et pregnantes Rationes facte sunt mutationes quedam et moderationes* per
60 spectabiles et egregios viros dnm. Egidium buslidium, predicti collegij patronum, ac executores testamentj præfatj fundatoris, videlicet dñm Anthonium sucket, Equitem auratum, ac Cesareæ maies-

65

tati a consilijs, M. Nicolaum de Nispen, Secretarium Dni. Cameracensis ac Dnm. Bartholomeum de Vessem, Canonicum mechliniensem

1. — Jn primis, non placuit Dñis. clausula disponens de muneribus, quæ forsitan per prelatos et nobiles professoribus dono darentur, jnter eosdem æqualiter diuidendis, Sed gaudeat quisque suo munere
2. — Secundo, placuit Dñis quod professores singuli pro stipendio supra expensas mensæ, habeant *nouem libras grossorum flandricas singulis annis*, absque eo quod habeant jus aliquod acceptando commensales, vel lucrum aliquod ex eisdem aut etiam quoduis aliud emolumentum ex parte jpsius collegij
3. — Tertio, quod singulis dominicis et festis diebus tantummodo celebrabitur missa jn sacello eiusdem collegij, pro qua dabitur celebrantj stipendium trium grossorum flan.
4. — Quarto, quod bursarij juuenes, qui juxta tenorem foundationis deberent jn ipsa missa legere vigilias mortuorum, liberabuntur lectione septem psalmorum penitentialium.
5. — Quinto, quod laudes cantabuntur jn dicto sacello dumtaxat dominicis et festiuis diebus
6. — Sexto, quod presidens collegij nihil participabit de lucro proueniente ex commensalibus, quia cum jllo conuentum est de certo salario, Ratione cuius supra Regimen domus, etiam subibit onus receptionis

2 aliquod ex &c] on p 69

1. In &c] These regulations will be referred to as : *Mut.*, followed by the number of the paragraph.

1. de muneribus] cp. *Test.*, 15, 16.

2. pro stipendio &c] cp. *Test.*, 17-20 : it stated as fees for the professors of Hebrew and Greek, 12 flemish pounds for the first ten years, and afterwards eight ; for the Latin professor only six. — *Test.*, 44 and 47 gave the preceptors a right to some fees from the 'commensales', besides a share in the profit made on them ; cp. *Mut.*, 7.

3. missa &c] cp. *Test.*, 25-33 ; the daily Mass of the college, in which the Foundation was to be erected, had been augmented by the testator from 20 to 30 Rh. flor. ; evidently the new daily Mass exceeded the means.

4. vigilias &c] cp. *Test.*, 30.

5. laudes &c] cp. *Test.*, 34, 35.

6. presidens &c] cp. *Test.*, 40, 41.

6. onus receptionis] cp. *Test.*, 37.

7. — Septimo, quod, premissis attentis, non tenebitur presidens facere computum de illa libra grossorum flandrica quæ per commensales supra precium expensarum juxta foundationem exsoluenda esset; Non poterit tamen pro expensis huiusmodi recipere minus *quadraginta florenis* Renensibus, vberiores tamen summam tenebitur procurare si possit; Predictam vero libram grossorum professoribus ascriptam nullatenus poterit exigere, sicut nec poterunt professores
8. — Octavo, loco articuli disponentis de fructu bursariorum absentium quem decreuerunt abolendum, placuit quod etiam ad horam non poterunt bursarii iuvenes esse absentes a collegio absque licentia presidentis; Absentibus autem etiam de licentia prouisorum vel presidentis ex ipsarum bursarum cursu nihil commodi proueniet
9. — Nono, quod deinceps non poterunt professores tenere ministros in ipso collegio habitantes
10. — Decimo, quod nullus admittatur ad legendum in eodem collegio preter eiusdem collegii professores ac prædicens
11. — Undecimo, quod ientacula ministrabuntur omnibus in collegio habitantibus in coquina dumtaxat, nisi forsitan mala validudo aliud exposcat
12. — Duodecimo, Si presidentes velit dare alicui ex conuictoribus clauem bibliothecæ, id solum faciet fide prestita de non auferendis libris, ac non admittendis extraneis, nisi ipse continue sit presens; Et diligenter obseruet ne libri distraherentur, aut alias damnum aliquod afferatur; Idem iudicium erit de professoribus

Sic subsignatum

Busleiden

Suckert

Nicol. de Nispen

B. Vessem

12 Duodecimo &c| on p 70

7. Cp. *Test.*, 47.

8. Cp. *Test.*, 56.

9. *AccMeerb.*, 84, v, mentions the amanuenses of Goclenius and of Rescius: cp. before, p 69.

10. That regulation was evidently meant to prevent any possible difficulty with the University or the Faculties, and to avoid all animosity which might be caused to one of the three lecturers by the activity within the College of an eventual competitor: cp. before, pp 78, 100, sq, and I, 318, sq, 453, sq.

C. ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Those regulations were communicated to John Stercke by Nicolas de Nispen together with his letter, dated Brussels February 14, 1522 ¹⁾ : he read them out to his professors, his bursars and his inmates, who readily accepted them and promised to obey and observe them. The *Mutationes* corrected two dispositions, of which the result had been quite different to what had been expected, namely the lower wages of the Latin professor, and the sharing of all the free gifts of the students equally amongst the lecturers. Moreover some ill-fated arrangements had been taken in the haste to counteract the refusal of the Faculty of Arts to accept the Foundation in St. Donatian's ²⁾ : they had sacrificed the principal to the accessory. Instead of diminishing the number of bursars, or dropping some of the religious ceremonies, or some of the luxuries either of the domestic life or of the housing, they had expected to find the adequate and indispensable funds to keep the College in a constant working order chiefly by cutting down the professors' wages to a minimum ³⁾. It had proved to be, as well in the continuation as in the very appointment, a constant danger for the excellence of the teaching, which, after all, was the only aim of Busleyden's Foundation. Therefore the salary for the three professors indistinctly was raised to 9 flemish pounds ⁴⁾ and to prevent the listlessness necessarily resulting from a strictly identical footing, emulation was created by the stipulation that what should be offered by any of the students, should go entirely to the professor for whom it was intended, in the understanding that nothing could be exacted, nor even expected ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 67-68. Those regulations are referred to in the 1547 document made up against Rescius' claims, and commented upon by the old students, like Cornelius Suys and Arnold Sasbout, in their evidence against the Greek professor : *MotJuris*, 50, sq, 59-64 ; cp. also Ch. XXIV.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 292, sq.

³⁾ The professor of Hebrew was paid only 9 pounds, and Rescius only 8 pounds, instead of 12 as the Will stipulated (*Test.*, 17) ; the Latin professor was only paid 6 pounds (*Test.*, 19), which had already caused the loss of John Becker and Adrian Barlandus.

⁴⁾ *Mut.*, 2.

⁵⁾ *Mut.*, 1, 2 and 7 ; cp. *Test.*, 15, 16, 44, 45, 46, 47.

To balance that 'rise', the daily Mass and the afternoon service were sacrificed, and only those on Sundays and feasts were provided for by the College ¹⁾ : that stipulation probably refers to solemnly celebrated Masses, and not to the private low Masses, which were coming into practice about that time ²⁾. Further economies prescribed were to be borne by the professors, who were not to have their amanuenses kept any longer at the expense of the College ³⁾, and by the president, who lost all right in the profit on the inmates' boarding and was definitely charged with the burden of the accountancy ⁴⁾.

2. THE TEACHING AND LECTURING

A. THE LATIN LECTURE

The new regulations and the executors' liberality must have acted as a powerful encouragement to the already most zealous professors. Especially to Goclenius, who benefited most by the change, although it was hardly more than his due, considering that his share in the prosperity of the College was by far the largest. It is to be regretted that very few documents remain to enlighten us about the methods, and even the subjects, of his teaching : the only indications seem to be those amongst his writings that were published : although few, they show the direction in which he moved. It appears that he based his teaching chiefly on Cicero, without, however, considering that author as the exclusive representative of unobjectionable Latinists. Erasmus who,

¹⁾ *Mut.*, 3 ; *Test.*, 25-27.

²⁾ The 'private' or 'low' Masses, celebrated without singing and without the assistance of deacon and subdeacon, became general by that time : they were fiercely objected to by the Protestants, who called them *by-masses*, *side-masses*, *corner-masses*, and attributed them merely to the desire of lucre : cp. *CorpCath.*, XVIII, 2, 16, 19, *sq.*, 69, *sq.*, 125, 134, 140, *sq.*, 145, VI, 17, 18, XIV, 11, 38, XV, 28, XVI, *ccxix*, 8, 11, &c; the Anglicans were quite as bitter against them : Gough, 526-528. Cp. Joannes Fabri, *De Missa Evangelica* (translated by Laurence Surius) : Cologne, 1556 (v, ix) : 283, v, *sq.*

³⁾ *Mut.*, 9.

⁴⁾ *Mut.*, 6.

already in 1501/2, had edited the *Officia* ¹⁾, dedicating them to James de Vocht by a letter dated Paris, April 28, <1501> ²⁾, had that book reprinted, probably for the *Trilingue*, by Thierry Martens twenty years later, and, on September 10, 1519, he once more ascribed it to his old friend de Vocht, who, meanwhile, had been appointed as Pensionary of the growing Metropolis of Trade, Antwerp ³⁾. He had emended the text : 'rursus accuratissime recognita', and, as before, added that of *De Amicitia*, of *De Senectute*, and of *Paradoxa*, with some explanatory notes ⁴⁾. That edition, which is not

¹⁾ Allen, I, 152, 151, 16 ; the '*Officia Ciceronis solertissima cura Herasmi Roterdami ex multis exemplaribus exactissime castigata*', was without date, printed and sold by John Philippi, Paris : *CatSél.*, 285-86, n° 966 : it also contains *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, *Paradoxa*. — That first edition seems to have been reproduced by G. Le Rouge for Denis Roce, Paris : Allen, IV, 1013, *pr* ; and by other printers : *EraBib.*, II, 18.

²⁾ James de Vocht, Voecht, Tutor, born at Antwerp about 1477, matriculated in Louvain on April 28, 1491, promoting Bachelor, 1493, and Master of Arts, April 12, 1494. He applied himself to jurisprudence, and after becoming Licentiate, he went to Orleans, where by 1500, he had promoted Doctor and was taking and tutoring students in his house, amongst them the two sons of Count John of Nassau-Dillenburg, Henry and William. Driven out of Paris by the pest, Erasmus found a shelter with him from September to December 1500, and built up a hearty friendship, which made him write on July 17, 1501 : *nefas... putavi, si Erasmicum quicquam Tutor ignoraret* : Allen, I, 157, 48. By the end of 1505, Vocht was appointed with Adrian Herbouts (*Busl.*, 320-21, 230-38, 395-6) as successor to the Antwerp pensionary Antony Ysebrant (*p* 74), taking the oath on February 10, 1506. In 1509, he was sent on a mission to England, where Thomas More officially received 'Jacobus de Wocht', and conducted the negotiations with him (Lyel and Watney, *Acts of Court of the Mercers Company* : London, 1936 : 328, *sq*). The two men, both enthusiastic admirers of Erasmus and humanism, became intimate friends, and no doubt met when More came on embassy to the Continent in 1515. James de Vocht was sent on several other missions by the Antwerp authorities or by Margaret of Austria's Court, which did not prevent him from being most popular in his native town, as he aimed at realizing his name for the poor and for all those in want of protection. He resigned in 1537 on account of his health, and died at Antwerp on January 29, 1541, leaving several children : *SweMon.*, 116 ; *AntwInscr.*, III, 76, b ; *Excerpts*, 91 ; *ActArtV*, 105, v, 117, r, 118, r ; *BN* ; *Busl.*, 32, 316, 323 ; Allen, I, 152, *pr* ; *AntwHist.*, VII, 614 ; *AntwAnn.*, II, 392, IV, 40, 91.

³⁾ Allen, IV, 1013.

⁴⁾ NijKron., II, 2657 : *Officia Ciceronis Rursus accuratissime recognita per Erasmum...* : Louanii apud Martinum Alostensem : *cp.* before, *p* 11.

dated, either belongs to the last weeks of 1519, or, more probably, to the first months of 1520. It was reproduced by John Froben, with the 1519 preface to James de Vocht, as well as that of the first issue, which is — evidently wrongly — dated : quarto Calendas Maias Anno M. cccc. xcviij ¹). A copy of that edition was offered by the printer to Goclenius, who, most probably, used it for his lectures, for it is provided with numerous notes in his writing, and may have been actually used when he read before his audience : that precious book has escaped destruction : it is preserved in Göttingen University Library, as the great Cicero-scholar J. C. Orelli remarked as early as 1836 in his *Onomasticon Tullianum* : I, 344 ²). It may even have served for the third edition, which was issued in 1528 by Jerome Froben and John Herwagen, this time with *Somnium Scipionis*, and with Goclenius' help and his notes ³).

It also appears that Goclenius explained in his lessons Cicero's orations *Pro Milone*, *Pro Lege Manilia*, as well as the *Paradoxa* and the *Somnium Scipionis*, since in Valerius Andreas' time, in the middle of the xviith century, there was still a manuscript in the *Collegium Trilingue* with notes taken on those works during his lectures ⁴). In all probability those and several other great masterpieces of the old Roman literature were read and explained, and copies may have been printed, as has been suggested already, for the special intention of those who attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, by the ever ready Thierry Martens ⁵), and may not have been in the trade. On the other hand some of the latter's editions may have been devised for private study, such as Barlandus'

¹) *M. T. Ciceronis Officia, de Amicitia, de Senectute et Paradoxa*. — That edition was reproduced in Basle, Paris and Lyons : *EraBib.*, II, 18.

²) It has as inscription at the Index : Frobenius Conrado Goclenio dono dedit, hic vero notis philosophico-criticis copiosissimis illustravit : *NèveMém.*, 298-99 ; Allen, IV, 1013, *pr.* Cp. further, Ch. X.

³) *M. T. Ciceronis Officia, De Amicitia, De Senectute, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis* : omnia recognita per D. Erasmum et C. Goclenium : Basle, Jo. Herwagen and Jer. Froben, 1528 : cp. Allen, IV, 1013, *pr.* — That edition was reproduced that same year and soon after in Paris, Cracow, Cologne (*EraBib.*, II, 18) ; also by Mich. Hillen, Antwerp, 1534 : *NijKron.*, I, 567.

⁴) *VAndEx.*, 47-48.

⁵) Cp. before, p 11.

In omnes Adagiorum Chiliadas Epitome, of June 1521 ¹⁾; Vives' *Veritas Fucata, sive de Licentia Poetica*, January 1523 ²⁾ and the same author's *Declamationes pro cæco contra novercam et pro noverca contra cæcum*, (one of which is wrongly ascribed to Marcus Fabius Quintilianus), February 1523 ³⁾; or Franciscus Philelphus' *Elegantes et Familiares Epistolæ*, of about 1525 ⁴⁾; and for certain Barlandus' *Dialogi*, of March 1524 ⁵⁾. At any rate they hardly seem fit for the large audience that attended the Latin lectures, — which at times may have been given with the help of short texts, printed on small loose leaves : at all events, there are several fragments of such leaflets amongst the manuscript notes of Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, 1537-1552, of which the recto is taken up by astronomic, mathematical or other matters, difficult to catch exactly when only heard, and the blank verso is crowded with his notes or rough draughts ⁶⁾. If such helps are provided for the audience when, e. g., Greek chronology is explained, or the phases of an eclipse, it is more than likely that an enthusiastic professor of literature should make use of that expedient to bring home to his hearers a rather difficult, but most interesting, passage from a Juvenal or a Seneca.

Without doubt Goclenius was an enthusiastic professor. His notes give ample proof that, instead of making the text he read even more difficult and obscure by interpreting it according to a preconceived moral or philosophical conception, he brings out of it all, and only those, ideas which the author put into it. He therefore studies it thoroughly, but he also avails himself of what a close consideration of the language and literature, and of the prevailing opinions and customs of those days necessarily affords as help and enlightenment. He consequently investigated the contemporary writings, as well as the histories and all the available monuments that could give information about the life and civilization predominating when the text in question was composed. Not only did he thus apply all his time and attention to Roman Antiquity, but, on account of the close relationship of language and literature,

¹⁾ NijKron., II, 2844.

²⁾ NijKron., I, 1775.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 2360.

⁴⁾ NijKron., I, 2175.

⁵⁾ NijKron., II, 3726.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, p 119, and Ch. XVII.

even that of Hellas. According to the general use of those days, when there were no dictionaries nor encyclopedias, he perfected his knowledge of Greek by translating a literary work, and did it so thoroughly that, in 1522, he published his rendering of Lucian's *Hermotimus, sive de Sectis Philosophorum*, which he dedicated, on October 29, 1522, to no less a person than Thomas More ¹⁾.

The book, sent to the English Under-Treasurer through Peter Gillis, pleased him so much that in return, he offered a cup filled with gold coins ²⁾, and wrote a letter of praise and thanks to his new friend ³⁾. A few years later Goclenius edited the corrected text of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, with a few poems referring to the author ⁴⁾. Those Greek works evidently had no direct reference to the lectures, but denote Goclenius' broad-minded conception of his task and the many-sided culture he propagated by his instruction and his example.

Yet the acquaintance of Greek literature, which was only meant to enrich, and at the same time buttress, his knowledge of Latin and Latin authors, was such that Erasmus praised it in the explanation of the Adagium : *Te ipsam laudas*, referring

¹⁾ That dedicatory letter was signed in 'Collegio Trilingui, quarto calendas Novembres Anno Christi Millesimo quingentesimo Vicesimo secundo : APPENDIX IV ; MorE, 267-72. — The book was printed by Thierry Martens : *Luciani Samosatensis, Hermotimus, sive de Sectis Philosophorum*, Conrado Goclenio interprete. Cp. Iseghem, 324 ; Gand, 143 ; NijKron., II, 3446. — More had translated Lucian's *Menippus, sive Necyomantia*, which was printed along with Erasmus' rendering of the same author's *Icaromenippus*, by Thierry Martens, probably in 1519 : Iseghem, 305 ; NijKron., I, 1392.

²⁾ P. Nannius, *Funebris Oratio habita pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio* : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, 1542 : A 4, v.

³⁾ MorE, 272-3. Cp. APPENDIX IV.

⁴⁾ *M. Annei Lucani Cordubensis Pharsalia* Per Conradvm Goclenivm Veræ Lectioni restituta, præposito in laudem Poetæ Genethliaco e secundo libro sylvarum .P. Statij Papinij, quo ille vitam, fortunam, & omnes ingenij dotes huius autoris luculentissime explicavit, adiunctis aliquot epigrammatis e Valerio Martiale eodem facientibus... Lovanii in Taberna Libraria Seruatij Zasseni Diestensis. — That book was printed for Zassen — who was not installed yet — by Michael Hillen, Antwerp, as results from the colophon dated : m. d. xxxi. Mense Febr. — *BulBiB.*, XIX, 406, from a copy existing in the Louvain Library before 1914 ; NijKron., II, 3420.

to an inscription on Astydamos' statue, recorded by Suidas. He quotes the four verses and adds : Eos versus quoniam eleganter Latinos reddidit Conradus Goclenius, linguæ Latinæ publicus professor in Academia Lovaniensi, juvenis utriusque linguæ ad unguem doctus, & in utroque scribendi genere mirificus artifex, sive prosam orationem malis, sive carmen, olim inter primos eruditionis proceres præcipu[us] habiturus, non est, cur ego tentem aliter vertere. Latini versus Goclenii sunt hi :

Vixissent utinam mecum illi, aut inter ego illos,
Quos penes est linguæ suaviloquentis honos.
Præmia prima equidem citra certamen haberem,
Nunc adimunt, in quos nil habet invidia ¹⁾).

By a happy chance some information has been recorded about the way in which Goclenius delivered his lessons. When, by the end of 1536, Louis Carinus, Nesen's old pupil ²⁾ was in Louvain with Matthew Hermann ³⁾ and possibly other students, he announced to Viglius, who was then at work in the Imperial Chamber of Speyer ⁴⁾, that, in the beginning, the air of Louvain had not agreed with him, and that he was somewhat disappointed at the teaching of languages : at least that results from Viglius' reply of December 17, 1536. It appears that Carinus had remarked : 'Professores... bonarum literarum tam paucos esse', which surprised the great Councillor ; he had also commented on Goclenius' lecturing and that of other professors of that time, to which Viglius would agree if their audience were only made up of learned people, to whom there is no need of repeating incessantly 'eadem... trita illa & vulgata' ; he rather judged that, when *pueri* & *indoctiores* constitute a large part of the attendance, small details have often to be explained, and difficult matters have to be repeated, so as to be better understood and more faithfully kept. He then declares that it was just that explanation, that *ecphrasis*, by which Goclenius is accustomed to interpret

¹⁾ ErAdag., 627, E, F. — That remark and Goclenius' rendering were probably added to the *Adagia* in the editions by John Froben, October 1520 or January 1523 : BB, E, 96, 97.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 392-93, 456, 472, 309, and pp 24, sq, 26-28.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIX.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, section 4, A.

in clearer and easier words the text which he reads, before starting the detailed exposition of the different parts, which mostly had greatly delighted him : 'multum sæpe delectatus sum'. Although it takes some time, yet it greatly contributes to the better understanding of what is to be explained. Even the representing of the same thoughts in other words, provides a kind of model for imitation to the auditors, to which they are broken in by daily custom, and by which they necessarily must feel the development of their progress. In fact, he continues, the chief duty of him who teaches literature, consists in the explanation of the propriety of words : in that respect, he assures, I have never heard anywhere any one who does it with the zeal and the erudition of Goclenius ¹). I attended his lectures during four years, and there is hardly any difficult word of which I did not hear him explain during that time the origin, the first meaning and the various senses. Therefore, he concludes, your pupils should not at all neglect the opportunity of hearing so great a teacher ²). — That testimony from a man of Viglius' experience explains the high esteem in which Goclenius was held, as well as it gives an idea of his pedagogic method : 'tanta facilitate docuit, ut politiores litteras etiam aversantibus redderet gratiosas ³).

B. THE GREEK LESSONS

There are hardly any more documents referring to the subject matter of the Greek lectures in the first twenties than there are for those of Latin. There is only the letter by which Rescius dedicated to Giles de Busleyden the first book printed jointly by him and John Sturm ⁴), declaring that, for about eleven years, he had been teaching Greek in his brother's College, not as he wished, but as he could, since there had

¹) Neminem sane ego usquam audivi, qui ea id faciat diligentia atque doctrina, qua Goclenius : Hoyneck, II, i, 230.

²) Hoyneck, II, i, 229-230 ; cp. further, Chs. XX, XXI.

³) Hoyneck, I, i, 67.

⁴) Xenophontis Ἀπομνημονευμάτων libri quatuor (græce), 'Louanii industria & impensis Rutgeri Rescij ac Joannis Sturmij. Mense Septemb. Anno M. D. XXIX. — The dedicatory letter is dated July 31, 1529. Cp. Iseghem, 309 ; NijKron., II, 4098.

always been a want of books from which to read. He therefore had set up a printing-press, so as to provide texts for his own students, and for all who wished to study ; and he had now chosen Xenophon's Ἀπομνημονεύματα since he had felt that his audience had been pleased with that author when, on the preceding year, he explained his Οἰκονομικὸν Λόγον, his Κύρου παιδείαν and his Ἴερώνα. As, however, precisely those three texts had been reprinted by Thierry Martens ¹⁾, it seems most probable that, as has already been said before ²⁾, all the other Greek texts published by that printer, had been chosen, or at least suggested, by his former corrector ; most likely even, Rescius did not merely keep connected with his old employer for friendship's sake, but also for that of business. Apparently he still corrected the Greek editions for a supplement to his wages, which he was eager to replace by some other source of profit at Thierry's leaving Louvain, in 1529, for Alost ³⁾. Consequently it may be assumed that the Greek lectures were still held as before on Aristophanes' *Plutus*, or the first books of the *Ilias*, printed 1518 ⁴⁾, on some of Lucian's writings published in 1519 and 1520 ⁵⁾, on a choice of Greek letters ⁶⁾, on Theocritus' *Idylls* ⁷⁾, or on Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide* ⁸⁾. In February 1521, Martens printed Demosthenes' *Olynthiacæ Orationes*, with the two first books of the *Ilias* ⁹⁾. In the same year he brought out Plutarch's *Apophthegms of Kings and Emperors* ¹⁰⁾, as well as Lucian's *Nigrinus* ¹¹⁾. In January 1523 appeared Isocrates' *De Regno ad Nicoclem* ¹²⁾,

¹⁾ *Xenophontis Œconomicus, Graece* was published in April 1527 ; *Xenophontis Cyri Pædiæ libri octo*, in June 1527, and *Xenophontis Hiero, siue Tyrannus*, in August 1528 : Iseghem, 336-338 ; NijKron., II, 4100, 4101.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 8, sq.

³⁾ Iseghem, 106, 164 ; cp. before, p 8.

⁴⁾ Iseghem, 279, 281, 292-93 ; cp. before, p 9.

⁵⁾ Iseghem, 304, 305, 309 ; cp. before, pp 9-10.

⁶⁾ Iseghem, 313-14 : 1520 ; cp. before, p 10.

⁷⁾ Iseghem, 307 : 1520 ; cp. before, p 10.

⁸⁾ Iseghem, 310 : 1520 ; NijKron., I, 881.

⁹⁾ Iseghem, 316-317, S, 25 ; the two first books of the *Ilias* may have appeared separately, possibly as part of the complete edition of 1523 : Iseghem, 317-18 ; NijKron., I, 695, 1105.

¹⁰⁾ Iseghem, 317 ; NijKron., I, 1741.

¹¹⁾ November 1521 : Iseghem, 320 ; NijKron., I, 1395.

¹²⁾ Iseghem, 322 ; NijKron., II, 3242.

followed, in the same month, by the same author's *Oratio ad Demonicum* ¹⁾, and, in August, Lucian's *Charon, sive Contemplantes* ²⁾. In March 1523, Martens published the whole *Ilias* ³⁾, soon followed up by the *Odysseus*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and thirty hymns ⁴⁾; by Lucian's *Timon, seu Misanthropus* ⁵⁾, and Plato's *Cratylus, sive de Recta Nominum Ratione* ⁶⁾; in October 1523, appeared Aristotle's *Ethicorum Libri X ad Nicomachum* ⁷⁾, and in December following, a choice of other philosophical works of the Stagyrte and Porphyrius ⁸⁾. In December 1524 came out Lucian's *Somnium, sive Gallus* ⁹⁾, and in February 1525, eight books of Herodian's *Historiæ* ¹⁰⁾; in March of that year, Lucian's *Muscæ Encomium* ¹¹⁾ and Demosthenes' *Oratio in Midiam* ¹²⁾; the *Oratio adversus Leptinem* of the same author appeared in June 1526 ¹³⁾. As already mentioned, three books by Xenophon almost close the long list of the Greek editions by Martens: the *Æconomicus* ¹⁴⁾ the *Cyropædia* ¹⁵⁾ of 1527, and *Hiero, sive Tyrannus* ¹⁶⁾; they were only followed by Theocritus' *Edyllia* of 1528 ¹⁷⁾.

Thanks to those texts, and to an occasional grammar ¹⁸⁾,

¹⁾ Iseghem, 324; NijKron., II, 3240.

²⁾ Iseghem, 323; NijKron., I, 1385. On October 29, 1523, was published by Martens Goclenius' translation of Lucian's *Hermotimus*, which contains a few phrases in Greek: Iseghem, 324: cp. before, p 113.

³⁾ Iseghem, 327-28; NijKron., I, 1106.

⁴⁾ Iseghem, 328; NijKron., II, 3181.

⁵⁾ Iseghem, 332; NijKron., II, 3432.

⁶⁾ Iseghem, 331; NijKron., I, 1729.

⁷⁾ Iseghem, 329, 330; NijKron., I, 137.

⁸⁾ Iseghem, 330-31; NijKron., I, 1749.

⁹⁾ Iseghem, 334-35; NijKron., I, 1397.

¹⁰⁾ Iseghem, 335, S, 27; NijKron., I, 1060.

¹¹⁾ Iseghem, 336; NijKron., I, 1391.

¹²⁾ Iseghem, 335, S, 28; NijKron., II, 2757.

¹³⁾ Iseghem, 336; NijKron., II, 2756.

¹⁴⁾ April 1527: Iseghem, 336.

¹⁵⁾ June 1527: Iseghem, 337.

¹⁶⁾ August 1528: Iseghem, 338-40.

¹⁷⁾ Iseghem, 340; NijKron., I, 2000.

¹⁸⁾ Martens reprinted in 1523 Jerome Aleander's *Tabulæ*: Iseghem, 332; cp. before, p 9; NijKron., II, 2275; he moreover brought out new issues of Gaza's grammar in Greek (cp. before, p 9) in Nov. 1521 and July 1523; also in Latin in Sept. 1523 and May 1524: NijKron., II, 3049-50, 3053-54.

Greek study material became almost as easily available as Latin, notwithstanding the number of the editions in that language. In that respect Martens rendered to Rescius' teaching, and consequently to Busleyden's Institute, and to learning in general, a service which cannot be appreciated sufficiently. For the large number of Greek books amongst his editions is in a most remarkable contrast with the discredit still attached to that language at the time, and shows that Martens was not afraid of a venture and a risk wherever he could supply the need of the masters and the students of the *Trilingue*. Indeed it is a fact that, from the foundation of that College, the percentage of Greek books amongst his publications, grew in such a rate that it finally surpassed that of the Latin ¹⁾, whereas their correctness, excellence and reliability, as well as their clearness and elegance, were such that, having made his first, definitive fount in 1512 ²⁾, he had become in less than ten years the Father of Greek printing on this side the Alps ³⁾.

C. HEBREW TEACHING

On March 30, 1518, Thierry Martens expressed the wish to be as progressive with Hebrew printing as with Greek, and consequently appealed for help and encouragement to the

¹⁾ A comparison of Martens' editions — as recorded by van Iseghem — from 1512, when he first started printing in Greek, to 1528, shows that from 1512 to 1517, he brought out 5 Greek books on a total of 62 (viz., 8 per cent). Subsequent to the foundation of Busleyden College, he published from 1518 to 1520, 15 Greek books on a total of 40 (37.5 per cent), and from 1521 to 1528, 24 on a total of 48 (50 per cent), which gives, for the whole period 1518 to 1528, 39 on 88, an average of 44.6 per cent.

²⁾ Martens had made use of a Greek type as early as 1501, — only seven years after Aldus Manutius' first publication in that language (Sandys, II, 97-98); still that alphabet was only employed occasionally for quotations: it was the first Greek printed on this side the Alps: Iseghem, 103-106.

³⁾ Iseghem, 105-106; Sandys, II, 213; a striking illustration of the immense progress effected, both in correctness and elegance, is afforded by a comparison of Martens' publication of Constant. Lascaris' *Grammatica*, 1516, with the edition of *Ilias* of 1523: Iseghem, 104, 266, 327.

Louvain students and to scholars in general ¹⁾; he most probably contemplated bringing out a few publications in the sacred language; in fact, he had just published the *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, March 1518, consisting of only one leaf, with 42 lines on one side, and blank on the other ²⁾. He probably was looking out for tables of grammatical forms, or elementary and comparatively short texts, devised for the use of the students: in 1520, he issued the abridged list of Hebrew roots with their Latin translation, extracted from Reuchlin's treatise, which were printed as a *Dictionarium* ³⁾. In its prefatory letter he declares that, giving that which is necessary to learn and to remember, his *enchiridion* is intended to be a help in the study of the Hebrew until the complete dictionary which Germany has promised since a few years ⁴⁾, should come out; it would not prove a loss even then, for all the difficulties will have been overcome by it before the apparition of the larger work. Evidently Martens did not start printing Hebrew by a dictionary, small though it may have been, and if he was anxious to provide what was useful and indispensable for the learning and teaching of that language, he must have brought out at least a few pages of text, on which the professor in the *Trilingue* could base his teaching ⁵⁾: their smallness, their transitory

¹⁾ In excudendis latinis, nulli cedo; in græcis, perpaucis; in hebraicis ambimus similem laudem, nec deerit successus nostris votis, si vos modo conanti mihi pro vestra portione respondeatis: letter at the end of the *Declamationes aliquot Erasmi Roterodami* (Martens, 1518): s 3, v: Iseghem, 283.

²⁾ NijKron., II, 2303.

³⁾ *Dictionarium Hebraicum*: Iseghem, 315; NijKron., I, 1498: both ascribe it to 1520. Those excerpts taken from Reuchlin's *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*, 1506, although very succinct, lacking vowel points and indication of all the meanings, being intended merely as 'formas, typos, exemplaria et ideas nondum singularizatas', were a useful help and a beginning: cp. *HebStud.*, 35.

⁴⁾ Martens may have had in mind the works edited by Elias Levita's pupils Paul Fagius (*Opusculum recens Hebraicum a doctissimo... Elia Levita... elaboratum*: Algavia, 1531) and Sebastian Münster (*Dictionarium Hebraicum... ex Radicibus David Kimchi auctum et locupletatum*: Basle, 1564): cp. *HebStud.*, 60, sq, 79, sq.

⁵⁾ As announced before, p 112, there are amongst Cornelius van Auwater's papers, examples of small pamphlets on separate leaves to meet a temporary need of the students of the *Trilingue*; such is the small in-8° leaflet, which conveys to *Studiosis Adolescentibus*, Junius

value, as well as the absence of all personal character may explain how they have not survived.

The grammatical tables, as well as the *succincta in Hebræas literas introductio*, annexed to the *enchiridion* ¹⁾, were completed only in 1528 by the *Grammatica Hebraica* of John Campensis, the professor of Hebrew ²⁾. In the introductory letter addressed to his student Daniel van Bomberghen ³⁾, the author related that he had started learning and teaching the sacred tongue nine years before, and that he owed all his insight in the language and especially in the theory of accents to the famous Hebraist Elias Levita, a German Jew, — who taught at Padua from 1504, and lived in Venice and in Rome, until his death in Venice in 1549 ⁴⁾; he was the first of the Hebrew grammarians ⁵⁾, and his work was continued by his disciples, chiefly by Sebastian Münster ⁶⁾; he was the author of several writings about Hebrew, which John Campensis learned to esteem and highly appreciate in Germany : from his treatises is compiled the handbook published by Martens in 1528 : it has the advantage of being clear, concise and methodical, not being encumbered with the endless niceties and particularities introduced by the Massoretes ⁷⁾. That

Rembertus Dodonæus' explanation of the division of the year according to the Athenians ; it has the form of a letter, dated Mechlin, Oct. 1, 1550 : cp. further, Ch. XVII.

¹⁾ Iseghem, 316 ; NijKron., 1, 1498. ²⁾ June, 1528 : Iseghem, 337-38.

³⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XV, XXIII.

⁴⁾ Eliah ben Ascher ha-Levi, called Elias Levita by the Christians : cp. further, Ch. XV.

⁵⁾ Elias Levita had published *Liber Compositionis* (Rome, 1516), *Capita Eliæ* (Pesaro, 1520), *Liber Electus* (1525) ; those works were reprinted and enriched by his disciples.

⁶⁾ Münster had published *Institutiones* (J. Froben, Basle, 1520), an *Epitome* (J. Froben, 1524) and worked at a *Dictionarium*. — Other works about Hebrew were issued by Reuchlin, *Enchiridion Radicum* (c 1506), *De Accentis et Orthographia* (1518) ; by J. Böschenstein, *Hebraicæ Grammaticæ Institutiones* (Wittenberg, 1518), *Rudimenta Hebraica* (Augsburg, 1520) ; by Conrad Pellicanus, *De Modo Legendi et Intelligendi Hebræa* (Basle, 1503), and others : *HebStud.*, 18, sq ; Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebraischen Sprache*.

⁷⁾ The first edition printed by Thierry Martens, Mense Iunio, 1528 had as title : *Ex variis libellis Eliæ grammaticorum omnium doctissimi, huc fere congestum est opera Iohannis Campensis, quicquid ad absolutam*

handbook, made at a time when all the documents and even the elements of comparative linguistics were lacking, has nowadays only an historic value; yet at that period it was highly appreciated, as is apparent from the great number of reprints ¹⁾; also from the fact that it was soon summarized and arranged into tables by Campensis' pupil ²⁾ Nicolas Clenardus ³⁾. As annex, Campensis' handbook gives the original text of Psalm LXI, evidently for class use ⁴⁾; as afterwards he published a paraphrase of the whole series of psalms ⁵⁾, it may be assumed that he explained most of them in his lectures. Following the example of his predecessors Wakefeld and Shirwood ⁶⁾, he also devoted his attention to the *Ecclesiastes*, of which he wrote a paraphrase in Latin; in the introduction he called it the *primitiæ* of his work, as he had dictated it to his Louvain pupils long before it was printed ⁷⁾.

grammaticen Hebraicam est necessarium. Quod sequens pagella magis indicabit. Cp. Iseghem, 337; NijKron., I, 1201; Paquot, XI, 227; NèveMém., 238; ULAnn., 1845, 191. Paquot, XI, 227-28, mentions as first edition one which he says to be printed by Christ. Wechel, in Paris in 1520: in that year Campensis left for Germany to study, and Wechel is only mentioned in Paris in 1522, as working for Conrad Resch, whom he succeeded in 1526: the year-date 1520 thus must be a mistake for 1530.

¹⁾ Paquot, XI, 228.

²⁾ ClenE, 220, 228, 229.

³⁾ Tabula in Grammaticen Hebræam avthore Nicolao Clenardo: Louvain, Thierry Martens, '3 Cal. Febr.' 1529: Iseghem, 340-42; NijKron., II, 2676; ULAnn., 1845, 192; NèveMém., 239; NèveRen., 229. In one of his letters Clenardus refers to this *tabula*, and states that he had worked on his master's grammar: 'Campensem nollem videri emendare': ClenE, 181.

⁴⁾ Iseghem, 338.

⁵⁾ *Psalmorum omnium juxta Hebraicam Veritatem Paraphrastica Interpretatio*: Nuremberg, 1532: Paquot, XI, 228.

⁶⁾ ULAnn., 1845, 202; both Wakefeld and Shirwood wrote a paraphrase on that book (cp. before, I, 385, 501); Alard of Amsterdam provided it with a Commentary according to Rudolph Agricola's *Dialectica* (Paquot, XI, 415), whereas Amand of Zierikzee gave an interpretation of the original text: *BibBelg.*, 45.

⁷⁾ On Febr. 10, 1532, Nicolas Olah mentions Campensis' *Ecclesiastis ex Hæbreo in Latinum versio*, which the author had offered to Queen Mary of Hungary through himself (OlaE, 194), and consequently seems to have appeared in print at that time, especially since Olah refers to it as to a work which is to render service to the entire Christian world. It was added by Claud Chevallon, Paris, 1532, to the Paraphrase of the

Those evident proofs of vitality attest the value of Campensis' lectures in the *Trilingue* ; nor did his fame long remain confined within the precincts of the University town : in 1526, Sebastian Münster dedicated to him his edition of Rabbi Simeon's *Logica* ¹⁾, and Andreas Resendius sang his praise in the *Encomium Urbis et Academiæ Lovaniensis* of 1529 ²⁾.

3. AFFLUENCE OF STUDENTS

A. NOBLEMEN AND FRIENDS

The absence of documents and records of the *Collegium Trilingue* about the matter treated in the lectures, compensated to a certain extent by the lists of books chiefly printed for the use of the students, is the consequence of the nature of the Institute, which was meant to be free and generous in the dispensing of choice linguistic knowledge : whoever wished, could avail himself of what was offered in genuine benevolence. Its result did not stay out : a thorough acquaintance with the languages and literatures of Rome and Greece soon spread, and, although more slowly, yet more surely even showed its influence on intellectual activity itself : it reduced all study and research to reality and objectivity, breaking off with tradition and senseless repeating. That new impulse, which was as the very spirit of Busleyden's Institute, was exhibited in the forming of the students : instead of a series of automatic beings, drilled after the same pattern, it created a race of searchers, of able workers, longing for a new, for a better and intenser activity. That spirit of the teaching was at once recognized by youth, that age of generous attempts, dreaming of progress and ideal.

The great zeal displayed in that direction by the three professors in their studies and teachings, necessarily influenced the state of the College, and largely required the

Psalter with the title : *Succinctissima, & quantum Hebraica phrasis permittit, ad litteram proxime accedens Paraphrasis in Concionem Salomonis Ecclesiastæ*. — It was often reprinted : Paquot, xi, 233.

¹⁾ Basle, J. Froben, 1527 ; Paquot, xi, 226-27 ; *HebStud.*, 135.

²⁾ VAnd., 401 ; Paquot, xi, 226.

increase in the wages which had been decided on. The fame of the *Trilingue* acted more and more powerfully on the mind of the public : the students came in greater numbers and with more enthusiasm, and the prosperity of the Institute was such that on November 24, 1522, the President John Stercke, writing to Erasmus ¹⁾, declared that nothing more could be desired, except perhaps larger lecture halls ²⁾. The big room held at times as many as three hundred auditors, and still there was even then not place enough for all who wished to be listeners. The fame of the professors and the interest of the matter treated attracted an ever growing number of University students, who were only too pleased to avail themselves of the opportunity to complete their training, or to satisfy their bent for languages and literature, and thus to contribute to their development into qualified cooperators to the great movement of 'humanization' that was going on.

That gratifying news about the state of, as Stercke wrote, 'hoc nostro, ymmo tuo, Collegio trilingui', in which, he assured, 'omnia... indies magis magisque prosperare' ³⁾, except the space for the eager hearers, was made more evident by the announcement that even the rooms for the inmates were too few for the increasing demand, in so far that he had had to make Goclenius take up the apartment reserved for the great Humanist, — which, he added, would be emptied as soon as he wished to return. He also announced that within a few days two Counts of Egmont were going to honour the College by becoming '*convictores*' : the arrival was a decided thing. When, four days before, that news was related at a dinner, where, according to custom the divines '*saginantur, velut in stuporem versi diu conticuere omnes : tam gratulantur illi*', Stercke added, '*nobis hos felices successus*'.

Those two inmates were George, Lord of Hoogwoude,

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1322.

²⁾ Allen, v, 1322, 5 : ... nihil amplius desiderare possis, nisi forte ampliores scholas.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1322, 4-5.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1322, 6-10.

third son ¹⁾ of Count John III of Egmont ²⁾, and his youngest brother Philip. They had enjoyed since 1516 the private lessons of Adrian Barlandus in Louvain : on April 20, 1519, he dedicated to them and to their relative Maximilian of Ysselstein, his *De Hollandiæ Principibus* ³⁾. They matriculated in the University on December 6, 1522 ⁴⁾, and stayed for a considerable time in the *Trilingue* ⁵⁾. When they left, the younger, Philip, Lord of Baer, went to Italy where he died in 1529 ⁶⁾. George entered holy orders, and was appointed Abbot of St. Amand's by Charles V when Tournai came into his power, Cardinal Louis de Bourbon willingly resigning in his favour. He became canon, 1526, and Dean of St. Lambert's, Liège, March 10, 1534, and wished to become Erard de la Marck's suffragan ⁷⁾. When Cardinal William van Enckenvoirt died (July 19, 1534) ⁸⁾, he was appointed as Bishop of Utrecht. In that dignity he secured the help of the best men available, such as that of Janus Secundus, as secretary ⁹⁾, and that of Herman Lethmaat, as vicar-general ¹⁰⁾. He himself directed all his efforts to the welfare of his flock, and gave it

¹⁾ He was born in 1504 : *NobPB*, I, 710.

²⁾ John III of Egmont (1438-1516) was the son of William Lord of Egmont, Ysselstein, Leerdam, &c, and of Walburgis van Meurs ; he was created Count by Emperor Maximilian in 1486, and became Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1491. He was governor, *stathouder*, of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland from 1484 until his decease. From his marriage with Magdalen, Countess of Werdenberg (1464-1538), daughter of Count George, and Catherine Margaret, Marchioness of Baden, he left besides those sons, John IV, who already from 1520 had taken a leading part in the political events and in the wars of his time. Cp. Bergh, I, 90, II, 95, 108 ; Henne, I, 150, 272 ; Pirenne, III, 401.

³⁾ Daxhelet, 16, 98-99, 270-71 ; *BB*, B, 250, 12, 255, 256, 2 ; also I, 448.

⁴⁾ *Excerpts*, 103.

⁵⁾ On February 5, 1535, Viglius recalled to Gerard Mulert that he had studied under Goclenius with George of Egmont : Hoynck, I, i, 118.

⁶⁾ *NobPB*, I, 709.

⁷⁾ *MarckHalk.*, 244, 267.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 141, k-o ; and before, pp 63-64.

⁹⁾ He died long before his time in St. Amand's Abbey in 1536 : *MonHL*, 478-79, and further, Ch. XII.

¹⁰⁾ Opmeer, I, 480, b ; *LatCont.*, 388-91 ; Allen, v, 1320 ; *MonHL*, 385-90, 477, &c ; *Cran.*, 56, a ; *BatawSac.*, 250.

the benefit of an exemplary life. He died on September 26, 1559, in his Abbey of St. Amand's, where he was buried ¹⁾).

As counterpart of that venerable Prelate, — a remarkable exception in those troubled times, — the *Trilingue* could boast an admirable model of a Knight, in George of Egmont's relative Maximilian of Ysselstein, the son of Florent of Egmont Lord of Ysselstein and Leerdam, created Count of Buren ²⁾. Having been at study in Louvain already since 1516 under Barlandus' direction ³⁾, his father wished to secure Erasmus as his preceptor; still the great Humanist declined, and recommended most insistingly Conrad Goclenius on October 2, 1519. The young man proved a zealous student, and, no doubt, followed his master to the *Trilingue*, where he even studied Greek with such eagerness that, on March 13, 1521, Erasmus praised him for translating the Greek of Homer with a remarkable ease ⁴⁾. He became as valiant and faithful an army-leader as his father: he saved Arras in April 1537, and behaved brilliantly at St. Pol in the following June. He thus fully deserved the Order of the Golden Fleece conferred on him in Oct. 1540. In 1546, he marched from the Netherlands through Protestant Germany in order to relieve Charles V at Ingolstadt. As in September 1548 his old friend, the great Andrew Vesalius predicted his impending death, he made himself be dressed in full armour and, gathering his friends

¹⁾ *BataoSac.*, I, 246-51; *HEpU*, 32-34; *HEpL*, 14-16; *GallChrist.*, III, 267-68; *BelgChron.*, II, 481-82; *Cran.*, 56, a, 62, a, 95, e, 263, b, 265, 280, 1; *MatthAnal.*, 113; *UltrEpisc.*, 174-75; *MonHL*, 477-78; Daxhelet, 270; Simonis, 41.

²⁾ Florent of Ysselstein, son of Frederic, born in 1469, had grown up at the Burgundian Court. He accompanied Philip the Fair to Spain in 1502, and was dubbed Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1505; he escorted Philip the Fair to Spain as admiral of the Fleet in 1506. He married Margaret de Berghes, and served Margaret of Austria as adviser and as *Statthouder* of Friesland, which he defended courageously against the incursions of Charles of Gelderland: he was rewarded by the title of Count of Buren. He died on October 14, 1539: cp. Allen, I, 178, 44, IV, 1192, 80-83; *BN*; *Cran.*, 267, 13, &c; Bergh, *passim*; *MonHL*, 362, 477, 488, 657, 676; Moeller, 110, 140, 161; Gachard, I, 512, Brewer, Gayangos, Henne, *passim*; cp. before, I, 485-86.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 124.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 485-86.

around him, he said good-bye to them, embraced Vesalius, and died drinking the stirrup-cup to the Emperor's health ¹).

The example given by the sons of the most respectable family in the country cannot but have excited imitation : and yet, as Stercke confided to Erasmus on November 24, 1522, before they had even entered the College as inmates, 'Sollicitant et alii nobiles etiam summi apud nos esse, sed locus non capit' ²). That lack of room for accommodation became a regular object of solicitude whenever even Erasmus sent a new boarder to the *Trilingue*, as happened in October 1525, when he wished to procure a place for the son of Thomas Grey, one of his first pupils in Paris ³).

No doubt, amongst the students who, in those first months, attended the lectures of the new Institute, were the three elder sons of Giles, the Founder's only surviving brother, Francis, Nicolas and Jerome de Busleyden, who matriculated on March 25, 1519 ⁴). They had come to Louvain with the preceptor who, for a few years, had taught them the rudiments of languages, Peter de Vriendt, *Amicus*, of Tolsende or Ter-Tolen, Tholen, Zeeland. As they went to see Erasmus, the boys were most probably directed in their study by their father's and uncle's friend, whereas their tutor applied to him for a better situation : he worked, at least for some time, in the Tournai Chapter School ⁵). The three boys seem to have

¹) Henne, viii, 357-60. His only daughter Anne was the first wife of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Cp. Henne, vi, 189-94, vii, 322-49, &c ; Allen, iv, 1018, *pr*, vii, 1949, 37 ; *BN* ; *MonHL*, 477, 488.

²) Allen, v, 1322, 11-12.

³) Having stayed for some time with him at Basle with his son, he was directed to Goclenius, to whom Erasmus recommended him : Hic Thomas Greuy mihi numeratur inter amicos Pyladeos ; si continget illum sedere Louanii, dignaberis illi dare fidele consilium de recte collocando puero. Fortasse non erit locus in Collegio : Allen, vi, 1641, 1-3, 1624, 18, 1640, 22, 1, 58, *pr*, iii, 768, 15, vii, 1925, *pr*.

⁴) Franciscus / Nicolaus / Jheronimus / busledius fratres : *Excerpts*, 101 ; *LibIntIII*, 254, *r*.

⁵) Peter de Vriendt seems to have been at some University, — possibly Paris, — before he came to Louvain, where he matriculated on Febr. 13, 1515 as : Mgr. petrus johannis amici de tolsende, traj. dioc. (*LibIntIII*, 210, *r*), and probably gained his living by tutoring. After having taught for some years in Busleyden's family, Erasmus took an interest in him when he came with the boys to Louvain ; he recommended him for his

remained rather long in Louvain, judging from the fact that the youngest, Jerome, entered the *Trilingue* as an inmate on June 6, 1526 ¹⁾, probably after his brothers had gone. Possibly the eldest, Francis, may have left before, for he seems to have been engrossed by music : his uncle Jerome had bequeathed to him all his musical books and instruments ²⁾ ; he entered Mary of Hungary's service, becoming her Great Falconer, Chamberlain and first Squire. Still he does not seem to have been very prosperous, and died soon after July 20, 1554 ³⁾.

The second son Nicolas no doubt studied Laws ; he followed in his father's footsteps, and took service in the Brabant Council : on June 18, 1534, he became extraordinary councillor, supernumerary one on March 8, 1546, ordinary one on June 19, 1558, replacing James van der Vorst : he did not long survive : he died on March 30, 1559. His wife Philippote van der Noot, daughter of Adolphe, Brabant Chancellor, whom he had married in 1542, had brought him the title of Viscount of Grimberghe : she survived him until 1581 ⁴⁾ : they had

knowledge of Greek, Latin and Laws to Francis de Cranevelt on December 18, 1520, and possibly also to Louis Guillard, Bishop of Tournai : Allen, iv, 1173, 9-21, 1212, 1-6. At any rate, he worked for a time in Tournai Chapter School, and dated from there, on June 22, 1521, his *Institutionis Grammaticæ... Libelli Duo*, printed by G. Vorsterman, Antwerp : BB, A, 10 ; NijKron., i, 116. After a time he returned to Louvain and studied Laws ; on September 13, 1530, he promoted Doctor V. J. along with Michael Drieux, of Cassel, Hermes de Winghe, of Renaix, and Reinerus Joannis, of Enkhuizen, which function was honoured by the presence of Nicolas Everardi, President, and three members of Mechlin Council, Peter l'Apostole, Francis de Cranevelt and Louis de Schore. In 1533, Vriendt was appointed secondary professor of Civil Law, succeeding Vroeye († February 10, 1533), after having started already in 1532 the lecture of Feudal Law, which was not given after 1533. Vriendt was also University Dictator from 1533 until he died in 1556 : he was succeeded as professor of law by John Wames. His son John, who matriculated as 'diues Castrensis' on Febr. 26, 1535 : 'Joh. Amicus de Louanio' : *LibIntIV*, 74, r, became a Minorite in Bergen, and died in Louvain in 1569 from a wound caused by a bullet. Cp. Mol., 546, 772 ; VAnd., 156, 186, 50, 72, 191 ; *ULDoc.*, i, 315 ; *LibActVII*, 267, 274 ; Allen, iv, 1173, 9, 1212, 2 ; *Cran.*, xxiii, p 687 ; and further, Ch. XII.

¹⁾ *AccMarvII*, 2, v.

²⁾ Cp. *Rek.*, 99, v, quoted on *Busl.*, 22.

³⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 22.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 22-24 ; *BrabCon.*, iii, 352.

several children. Nicolas continued his father's interest in the *Trilingue* : in 1540 a difficulty had arisen for which the President van der Borch applied to him, and was effectively helped ¹⁾; without doubt, it occasioned the visit which the Councillor paid with some of his friends to the College, where they were pleased to show their gratitude in receiving him ²⁾).

The third son, Jerome, entered the *Trilingue* as boarder on June 6, 1526, and stayed there to June 29, 1527 ³⁾, taking part in the University life ⁴⁾. He afterwards went to Rome and, no doubt, continued the studies which he had started in the *Trilingue*, to which the intellectual and artistic atmosphere of his father's home had prepared him ⁵⁾ : he showed a life-long interest in the *bonæ literæ*, which his uncle had so gloriously promoted ⁶⁾. He is recorded amongst the officials of the Papal Court from 1545 to 1547 ⁷⁾, and mentioned in the monuments of the Confraternity of *S. Maria dell' Anima* ⁸⁾ ; he finished his career as canon and provost of Alba, and as chamberlain of Paul IV : he died before January 1559 ⁹⁾.

In 1530, two other, younger, sons of Giles de Busleyden, Jerome the Provost's brother, came to study in Louvain, Giles III and John ; and, in 1534, the last of the six boys, William ¹⁰⁾. They close the list of the Founder's relatives of the second

¹⁾ On Aug. 23, 1540, Nicolas van der Borch went to Brussels to consult 'meester Nicolaes van busleyden ende meester Tibault coutriau', Lord of Glabbeke, Brabant Councillor, about some difficulties between the College and the Glabbeek tax-gatherers for the Rents of 'Facquez' : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

²⁾ Jtem op den xiiijen september als heer ende meester Claes van busleyden raitsheer met zeker zijner vrienden adt int Collegie gegeuen voerden wyn ende henlieden deel tz. iiijz st : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

³⁾ *AccMarvII*, 2, v ; *Busl.*, 18.

⁴⁾ On June 4, 1524, he took the oath for a student under age : Antho-nius thielman de Antwerpia minorennis... et pro eo iurauit Ieronimus busleydis : *LibIntIII*, 314, r ; *Excerpts*, 104.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 19-20.

⁶⁾ Cp. the poem dedicated to him in *DelPoBel.*, III, 448.

⁷⁾ *MélMoell.*, II, 114.

⁸⁾ He had wished to rent for his life one of the houses belonging to the Confraternity : *Anima*, 381.

⁹⁾ *Busl.*, 25.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVI.

generation, for his father, Giles I ¹⁾, who died when Jerome was still under age, probably about 1489, as he peremptorily declared in his letter to Archduke Philip the Fair at the death of his brother Francis, August 22, 1502 ²⁾, left only four sons and three daughters. The eldest of the sons, Giles II, councillor, succeeded his father as Receiver General and as Warden of the Charters of Luxemburg, which offices he resigned in the spring of 1498, for that of Master of the Board of Accounts, Brussels, of which he became chief in 1510 ³⁾; he had a large family ⁴⁾. He was succeeded as Receiver General of Luxemburg by his youngest brother, Valerian ⁵⁾, who became councillor, 1501, and Lord of Aspelt, September 1501 ⁶⁾, through his wife Anne de Kempf, or Keymich ⁷⁾; also Lord of Guirsch, November 26, 1505 ⁸⁾, and of Falkenstein, September 1512 ⁹⁾; he died before the summer of 1514 ¹⁰⁾: his only child, Francis, survived him little more than three years: although mentioned in Jerome's will, his death occurred before his uncle's ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ Giles de Busleyden, of Arlon (*LuChaV*, v, 27), started his career as secretary of Duchess Elizabeth of Görlitz, 1450 (*LuChaV*, iv, 308-9); he became receiver of Bastogne (*LuChaV*, v, 16, 18), alderman of Arlon, clerk of the Court of the Nobility, 1462 (*LuChaB*, 16; *LuChaV*, v, 18, 24, &c), Receiver General for Luxemburg, 1467 (*LuChaV*, v, 64, &c; *LuChaB*, 15), Secretary of the Duke of Burgundy, August 1468 (*LuChaV*, v, 18, &c), who ennobled him at Bruges, February 1471 (*LuChaV*, v, 27), councillor, 1474 (*LuChaB*, 16; *LuChaV*, v, 37, &c) and after many eminent services to the Duchy, (the first) Warden of the Charters of Luxemburg, 1480 (*LuChaB*, 17, 55). Cp. *Busl.*, 2-4.

²⁾ *Busl.*, 10-11, 280, 5-8: letter of the first days of September 1502. As there can be no doubt possible about the son's statement, the date commonly given (1499) is evidently a mistake caused by the resigning of the offices of General Receiver and of Warden of the Charters of Luxemburg by his son, successor and namesake, Giles II de Busleyden: *LuChaB*, 17, 55.

³⁾ *LuChaB*, 13, 55; *LuChaV*, v, 79, 82, 98; *LouvArch.*, I, 135-36; *Busl.*, 16-17.

⁴⁾ *Busl.*, 16-29.

⁵⁾ *LuChaV*, v, 91-127.

⁶⁾ *LuChaV*, v, 95, 106-7, 112-13.

⁷⁾ *Busl.*, 12-14, &c. She is mentioned on July 6, 1520, as a party in a lawsuit before Mechlin Council for taxes against the Abbot and the Community of Stavelot: *LuChaV*, v, 241-42.

⁸⁾ *LuChaV*, v, 104, sq.

⁹⁾ *LuChaV*, 127.

¹⁰⁾ *Busl.*, 11-12; he is referred to as deceased in a deed of June 20, 1514: *LuChaV*, v, 130.

¹¹⁾ *Busl.*, 12-14, 106.

Jerome's three sisters and their husbands had also preceded him to the grave, leaving five daughters : to four of them, those of Mary and Catherine, he left a bequest ¹⁾ ; the daughter of his eldest sister, Jacqueline, Elizabeth Haltfast ²⁾, is not mentioned ; yet the executors gave her a similar legacy to prevent dissatisfaction and quarrels ³⁾. Catherine, the youngest sister, had had a son, Cornelius Erdorf, in whose education the Provost of Aire had taken a particular interest : he, too, died before him ⁴⁾.

It follows that the 'Joannes Buslidianus de lucemburgo', who matriculated as rich student of the Pedagogy of the Porc or Standonck on August 30, 1529 ⁵⁾, was not of the Founder's family : the more so since Jerome's will mentions as only relative, besides his brothers and sisters and their children, 'Magister Nicolaus de Naues', whom the executors call cousin of the testator, probably the son of his mother's sister ⁶⁾ : he, no doubt, was the Nicolas de Naves, or de Naives, of Marville, councillor and Receiver General, Warden of the Charters from May 9, 1517, and President of the Council of Luxemburg from 1531 to his death in August 1546 ⁷⁾.

B. BOARDERS AND FOREIGNERS

In the absence of systematic lists of students attending the lectures of the *Collegium Trilingue*, and considering the loss

¹⁾ *Busl.*, 15-16, 105-106.

²⁾ Giles I de Busleyden is recorded as having had an exchange of property with Nicolas Haltfast on July 1, 1476, and to have been one of his two warrants on December 12, 1477, when he was appointed receiver of the estate of Arlon and Thionville : *LuChaV*, v, 39, 43. The Nicolas Haltfast, alderman of Luxemburg, referred to as deceased in April 1489 : *LuChaV*, v, 75, must be different, for as his heir is mentioned a fellow-alderman with his wife. Cp. *Busl.*, 3.

³⁾ *Busl.*, 15, 106 ; *Rek.*, 24, v : Jerome seems to have been displeased with that niece : the executors did not send the legacy to her husband Bernard de Hondelange, through the relatives, but by 'Nicolas le gouverneur, Receveur de thionville' : *LuChaV*, v, 123, 181, 308, 355, 363.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 13, 16, 339, sq, 433.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 17, v : the surname may indicate a connection with the place Busleyden, as there were many similar cases : cp. *Busl.*, 1-2.

⁶⁾ *Rek.*, 99, v : M. Claese de Naue Neue vanden testateur.

⁷⁾ *Busl.*, 16, 89, 107, 136 ; *LuChaB*, 18, 29, 41, 55 ; *LuChaV*, v, 150, 158-315.

of several of the accounts of President Stercke ¹⁾, the survey of the young men who under his management were formed by the Institute, is necessarily incomplete. In order to make up for that deficiency, even the smallest pieces of information and the most cursory of references have been examined as carefully as possible for the line of investigation they might suggest. Such is the mention of Stercke's successor, Nicolas Wary, in his account started on January 21, 1526, that there still were some debts owing by two boarders of the preceding management ²⁾. One of them was **Balthasar Masschereel** or **Masscheriel** ³⁾, the son of the Seneschal of the Breda territory. That young man had matriculated on January 19, 1520 with his cousin John ⁴⁾; probably in the spring of 1556 ⁵⁾, he became dean of Our Lady's, Breda, and died in that office on June 8, 1559 ⁶⁾.

The other was **Jerome Bombelli**, son of 'Thomasyn', no doubt the famous Genoese silk merchant Tommaso Bombelli, who with his brothers or relatives had settled at Antwerp, and had bought some property there as early as 1518 ⁷⁾. His son matriculated in Louvain on December 9, 1522 ⁸⁾, and probably joined his father in his profession. The latter is famous not only for his patronage of Dürer whilst he stayed in Antwerp ⁹⁾, but for his loyalty to Charles V : for, having

¹⁾ The first account of President Stercke goes to October 17, 1521, whereas the first of his successor Wary begins on January 21, 1526 : the records for the intervening four years and three months are missing.

²⁾ *AccMarvI*, 1, v.

³⁾ His account was finally settled through Nicolas Innis in 1530 : *AccHoevI*, 1, v.

⁴⁾ 'Balthasar & Johannes massereel nepotes' : *LibIntIII*, 261, v. Another 'Joannes Maschereel de buscoducis, leod. dioc.', possibly a relative, matriculated on December 9, 1522 : *LibIntIII*, 296, v.

⁵⁾ His predecessor, Jerome du Blioul, J. V. D., and canon of St. Peter's, in Louvain, died on April 22, 1556 : *Mol.*, 478, 547 ; *VAnd.*, 42, 187 ; cp. section 6, A.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, III, i, 334, 373.

⁷⁾ A Vincent Bombelli is recorded as established in Antwerp in 1518, a Gerard Bombelli is referred to in 1521 : *Goris*, 374, 618, and frequently in Dürer's Diary : *DürerD*, 60 (Vincent), 60, 76, 79, 81-2, 98-9 (Gerard).

⁸⁾ 'Jeronimus bombelli de Antverpia cam. dioc.' : *LibIntIII*, 296, v.

⁹⁾ Dürer repeatedly mentions the visits he paid to Tommaso in his *Tagebuch*, and marks by small lines the times he took his dinner with him (*DürerD*, 60-67, 75-76, 79-83, 89, 93-98, 121) ; he also mentions his daughter 'Sute' and her husband, and his son — possibly Jerome : *DürerD*, 71, 76, 80, 98.

helped the Emperor to stabilize a loan in 1523, he refused the thousand pounds offered since he had failed to persuade the lenders to forego the interest for the first year ¹⁾).

The thickset growth of Erasmus' correspondence also offers a few details about students who were at the *Trilingue* under Stercke's management. In the beginning of 1528, he received an invitation from George of Austria, elected Bishop of Brixen ²⁾, to come and live under his protection. On February 3, 1528, he answers and congratulates the young Prince for his promotion and kindly thanks him for his offer, explaining how his advancing age and his health, as brittle as glass, do not allow any change in the kind of life to which he has accustomed himself for the sake of his studies and his editions ³⁾. He adds also a letter to the secretary who had written out the invitation, Jerome of Vermand, Viromandus, who incidentally had mentioned that he was an old student of Busleyden College : Erasmus highly praises the elegance, soundness and exactness of his style and language, and expresses his great pleasure in learning his gratitude and his great pride in the *Trilingue* Institute ⁴⁾ ; he further explains the reasons which dissuade him from accepting his master's generous offer. Little is known about the Jerome, who was

¹⁾ *FugZAlt.*, II, 43. To Tommaso Gemma Phrysius dedicated on Jan. 31, 1533, his edition of *Apiani Cosmographicus Liber* : *Nijkron.*, I, 122-25. — His son James is mentioned in 1543 : *AntwHist.*, II, 216, 231.

²⁾ George of Austria, a natural son of Emperor Maximilian, born about 1504, was educated with Archduke Charles in the Netherlands, and with Ferdinand in Spain : he was studying in Alcalá with good success, when, on October 21, 1525, he was appointed Bishop of Brixen, as he was expected to be the right ruler in a diocese which had been troubled by the difficulties caused by the Peasants. He arrived at Brixen in November 1526, but soon left for Italy and the Netherlands, where he was of great help to Mary of Hungary : *FG*, 268, 26, sq. In return for his services he was appointed as successor to Erard de la Marck as Archbishop of Valencia, 1539 : he went at once to his new diocese, resigned that of Brixen, became priest, and took in hands the management as a good shepherd ; in 1541, he was made coadjutor of the Bishop of Liège, but on his journey through France, he was kept a prisoner at Lyons until 1543. He succeeded Bishop Cornelius de Berghes in 1544, and wisely ruled the diocese in a very difficult period, staying there until his death, May 5, 1557. Cp. *GallChrist.*, III, 908-9 ; *Belg-Chron.*, 243 ; Allen, VII, 1938, *pr* ; *BerghAutr.*, 42, sq.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1938.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1939, 1-6.

probably originary from Vermand, near St. Quentin ; after his training in the College of Busleyden, he entered the service of Sir Richard Wingfield, the English ambassador, sent to Spain to obtain the liberation of Francis I, who died at Toledo on July 22, 1525 ¹⁾ ; when the mission left the Peninsula, he probably was engaged by the newly elected Bishop of Brixen (October 21, 1525), who was then in Spain, and made himself ready to go to his diocese, which he reached in November 1526. Jerome wrote another letter to Erasmus on October 31, 1528 ²⁾, but of his further life nothing seems known ³⁾.

A few weeks later Erasmus received the visit at Basle of John Reifenstein, or Reiffenstein, who had studied in Louvain for some time, attracted by the fame of the great Humanist, and had been on a most intimate footing with Goclenius ⁴⁾, no doubt as one of the inmates of the *Trilingue*. That John Reifenstein belonged to a good family originary of Taunus ⁵⁾ ; he had a brother, William, born in 1482, married to the heiress Anne of Königstein, who entered the Duke of Stolberg's service in 1502 as copyist ; he soon became his secretary, and by 1507, his steward ⁶⁾. He was partial to Reform, and Melanchthon had become very familiar in his family, in which he had resided, and in which he took so much interest that he dedicated to him his *Dialectices*, July 1, 1528, although it was more suited for his boys ⁷⁾ ; he also found for the children a fit tutor ⁸⁾. On one of his visits, probably that of October 1526 ⁹⁾, he had made the acquaintance of William's brother

¹⁾ Stanislas Gorski, *Acta Tomiciana* : Posen, 1852, sq : vii, 299 ; *DNB*.

²⁾ *VadE*, 580, S, iii, 41.

³⁾ *Cp.* Allen, vii, 1939, *pr.*

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 1982, 7-8 : Fuit tecum aliquando Louanii, quorsum fama nominis tui eum attraxerat. Ibi cum Cochlenio diu familiarissime vixit.

⁵⁾ The family were converted Jews : Enders, vi, 378 ; William, the father, was mayor of Bommersheim, and John was the youngest of five sons : *MeLECle*, 398.

⁶⁾ Enders, vi, 378 ; *MeLECle*., 505 ; William died shortly before March 9, 1538, subsequently to an accident on a journey to Leipzig Fair.

⁷⁾ Hagenau, J. Secerius, August, 1528 : *MeLECle*., 674 ; the new edition of February 1531, was dedicated to William's eldest son William : *MeLECle*., 547 ; to him John Cæsarius, another friend and guest of the family, also inscribed his *Dialectices*, 1529 : *cp.* before, I, 281. Later on Melanchthon dedicated his *Elementa Rhetorices* to Albert and John, William's other sons : *NijKron.*, ii, 3514, 3516-17 ; *MeLECle*., 507.

⁸⁾ On June 20, 1527, Melanchthon sent Martin Faber as family tutor : *MeLECle*., 549, 554.

⁹⁾ *MeLECle*., 505, 507, 642, 648, also 653, 574.

John, who was still a most ardent student : Melanchthon took a great interest in him, and called him his best beloved pupil. John collected his great friend's poems and prepared them to be printed in the autumn of 1527 : perhaps on that occasion he went to stay with Melanchthon at Jena, where he was in November 1527 ¹⁾, as results from the letters to a common friend, the Coburg teacher Philip Eberbach ²⁾).

About that time Erasmus had Francis van der Dylft, also an old student of the *Trilingue*, staying with him : he was sent to Melanchthon on his return journey to Louvain ³⁾. He there met Reifenstein, who was as greatly pleased to meet the old fellow-student as he was himself. When Dylft left for Brabant, Melanchthon entrusted him with a letter dated March 23, 1528, which was to be taken to Erasmus from Louvain, where there were safe letter-carriers ⁴⁾; he also sent one of the same date to Goclenius, in which he offered him his friendship and mentioned the pleasure he had witnessed of his two old students accidentally brought together ⁵⁾. Van der Dylft had hardly left when John Reifenstein suddenly decided on going to visit Erasmus : so Melanchthon wrote a second letter of the same date, which his eager friend took to Basle ⁶⁾. Four years later, on October 25, 1532, Melanchthon sent to Erasmus a letter by Thierry Reifenstein, a nephew of William the steward, who went to Freiburg : recommending him for the sake of the affection felt for him in his family, and especially for the sake of the loving uncle John, who had been so often with him in Louvain, but who had died quite recently ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ MeECLe., 608. Melanchthon also mentions Reifenstein in a letter to Camerarius, of February 26, 1527, probably dated from Wittenberg : MeECLe., 531 ; cp. Allen, iv, *Appendix* xiv, p 615.

²⁾ He had been schoolmaster at Joachimstal from 1522 to 1525, and was John Reifenstein's old friend : MeECLe., 356, 398, 399, 598, 608, 613 ; Enders, v, 48.

³⁾ Cp. further, sect. 4, c ; Allen, vii, 1981, 7, 1982, 1-5.

⁴⁾ Jena, March 23, 1528 : MeECLe., 650 ; Allen, vii, 1981.

⁵⁾ Jena, March 23, 1528 : MeECLe., 651.

⁶⁾ Jena, March 23, 1528 : Allen, vii, 1982.

⁷⁾ Contulit se Friburgum quidam adolescens Theodoricus Reifenstein, natus in familia studiosissima tui nominis. Habuit auunculum iuuenem optimum, 'qui multum apud te Louanii fuit. Quare te oro, vt hunc adolescentem et propter studia maiorum suorum erga te, et propter meam commendationem, complecti velis : Allen, x, 2732, 30-35.

A quite forgotten annotation in the University records of Louvain points out another student of the *Trilingue* in Stercke's time. On September 12, 1522 matriculated 'Dominus Johannes Thausen de Andwortscoog Roeschildensis dioc.' ¹⁾: no doubt he is the famous **Hans Tausen**, Tavsén, born in 1494, at Birkende, between Odense and Nyborg, in Fyn; he entered the convent of the Johannites at Antvorskov as a boy, and as he was intelligent, he was sent to Rostock University in November 1516, where he promoted Master of Arts ²⁾; he then started studying theology at Copenhagen in October 1521, but was soon sent by his superiors to Louvain. It is more than likely that this eager young man, thirsting for whatever might bring better order and a right mind into Church and society, availed himself of the Institute animated by the spirit of the great innovator Erasmus, and of the exceptional opportunity of learning Greek and Hebrew for the renewed method of divinity. No doubt he started the study of the sacred language under John Campensis, to continue it under Matthew Aurogallus, professor of the Israelites' idiom in Wittenberg ³⁾. Indeed Tausen did not stay long in Louvain, as he already felt sympathy for Luther; notwithstanding the forbidding of his superiors, he removed to Saxony, matriculating on May 16, 1523, without advising them, and was for long a very eager disciple of the Reformer and of Melanchthon. When he returned in the latter months of 1524, he started upsetting the peaceful communities, left his order, and by his wild aggressiveness and passionate fervour, caused the defection from the old faith of the greater part of Viborg, and afterwards of Copenhagen and Roskilde. He was the great adversary of Paul Helgesen: by word, writing ⁴⁾ and influence, he became the Danish Luther: he died on November 11, 1561 ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *LibIntIII*, 294, v: he is marked as 'maior[ennis]'; Jørgensen, 388.

²⁾ He evidently is not the 'Joh. Tetz de Dacia', who matriculated in Artes in Cologne on August 17, 1517: Keussen, II, 515, 49.

³⁾ Matthew Goldhahn, *Aurogallus*, from Chomutow, in Bohemia, *Chumotoviensis*, was appointed professor of Hebrew in Wittenberg to replace Matthew Adrianus, February 1521, and remained in that office till his death, November 11, 1543: Enders, III, 88, &c; *HebStud.*, 95-96.

⁴⁾ Johannes Pedersen, *Om Hans Tausens Oversættelse af Mosebøgerne*, in *Mindeskraft i Anledning af Reformationsjubilæet*: Copenhagen, 1917: 103.

⁵⁾ L. Schmidt, *Johan Tausen*: Cologne, 1894; *DBL*, and sources quoted.

C. ERASMUS' AMANUENSES

By a happy turn of circumstances, the excellent education and instruction generously supplied in the *Trilingue*, profited in a large measure to the one who was the great promotor of the Institution, Erasmus. That was not merely by the ready acceptance of his principles and by the affectionate esteem which characterized all its earnest students : as well the saintly Musius and the ardent Crocus ¹⁾ as the world-wise de Schepper and the eager Viglius ²⁾ ; but by the preparation of able helpers in his own labours as editor and corrector. Several of the students of the first years entered the service of the great Man as amanuenses : their work did not consist chiefly in writing letters and delivering them to the friends in various countries, although to a casual reader of Erasmus' correspondence, that seems to have been their only occupation. It appears, however, on looking more closely, that such journeys were intended as a relief from most strenuous labour, and a kind of holiday after a period of toil. The letters, in fact, often mention the master's displeasure at the long time which the messengers spent abroad, whilst work was waiting at home. They had, indeed, to copy texts, read proofs and assist the great Erudite in those more than human tasks he set to himself when undertaking the editing of the writings of the principal Fathers of the Church as well in Greek as in Latin. It is quite natural that the youths mostly preferred the lighter side of their office, and rather roamed in their native country, where they were eagerly welcomed by Erasmus' numerous friends, than bent for days and weeks over the wearying texts, exposed to the sharp eye and even sharper tongue of their nice employer.

It seems as if the first of the series trained, at least to a certain extent, in the *Trilingue*, lacked a sufficient preparation or, for certain, the indispensable quantum of patience and endurance, which resulted in a temporary estrangement. That youth was Livinus Algoet, Alsberghe or Halsberghe, or Goethals, *Panagathus*, of Ghent, whom Erasmus took into his service in 1519 on Mark Laurin's recommendation ³⁾ ;

¹⁾ Cp. sect. 5, c.

²⁾ Cp. sect. 4, A, c.

³⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Algoet, April 13, 1520 : Allen, IV, 1091, 25-27.

he was then at his studies in Louvain, and he consequently turned all his attention to Latin and to Greek, which Rescius taught him ¹⁾. He was most proficient in both languages ²⁾, in so far that Erasmus placed his hope in him, and treated him as his son ³⁾. He soon found, however, that the young man lacked all earnest desire to work at his books, and was only good to carry messages. About September 1524, he tried to interest him in medicine : he sent him to study it in Louvain, and obtained for him the post of preceptor of Wolsey's young relative Thomas Winter, to be tutored in the Brabant University ⁴⁾, whilst trying to secure for him the reversion of his own Courtrai pension ⁵⁾. It was all in vain : Algoet hated study, and at each journey, after 1525, he returned to Basle only after some protracted delay ⁷⁾ ; finally, by 1527, he did not go back any more to Erasmus ⁸⁾, but was looking for an appointment at Court and thus was engaged provisionally by Cornelius de Schepper at the Augsburg Diet, 1530 ⁹⁾. The latter, on his return to Brussels, recommended

¹⁾ On February 25, 1532, Rescius wrote about him to Olah : Debebat esse memor, quod fuerit aliquando discipulus meus quodque ipse a me priuatim etiam ac gratis sit institutus, quum alii discipuli bonam mihi mercedem persoluerent : OlaE, 199-200.

²⁾ OlaE, 212 : Erasmus wrote to Olah, May 3, 1532 : Audio te... ἐλλήνισεν, quam ad rem Leuinus tibi possit esse usui. In July 1524, he even wrote to Peter le Barbier : Sic profecit <Liuius> in vtraque lingua, in bonis litteris ac disciplinis, vt me præcurrat : Allen, v, 1470, 33-34, also vi, 1716, 10-11 ; and ZwE, 118.

³⁾ Letter to John Matthew Giberti : May 21, 1526 : quem mihi olim in filii vicem adoptaui : Allen, vi, 1716, 12.

⁴⁾ Cran., 63, 19, 95, a, 113, 13 ; LipsE, 767, sq, 772. On April 2, 1524, Erasmus confided to Goclenius : Houius... me suis moribus intractabilibus pene adegerat ad insaniam. Nec illo, he adds, multo commodior fuit Leuinus... Leuinus pulchre profecit in literis potius quam in moribus : Allen, v, 1437, 193, sq.

⁵⁾ Cran., 122, 41, 124, 36, 128, 2, 136, 1-6 ; MonHL, 15-16, 36, 53.

⁶⁾ Letters to P. Barbirius, July 1524, and to the Datary John Matthew Giberti, May 21, 1526 : Allen, v, 1470, 29, sq, vi, 1716, 8, sq : Algoet himself was the carrier of that letter to the Datary, who was requested to grant him a deed 'sub plumbo' according to his *supplicatorium libellum*.

⁷⁾ Cran., 134, 11 ; Ent., 53.

⁸⁾ Cran., 201, 13 ; Ent., 97 ; FG, 146.

⁹⁾ Allen, viii, 2336, 48-51 ; LatCont., 375 ; yet Livinus did not enter straight on his duties : from Trent he went to the Netherlands by Venice, and had to borrow money : vide quam sit semper sui similis, de Schepper wrote on May 9, 1530 to John Dantiscus : BbUpps., H 154 : 51.

him to Mary of Hungary's Secretary, Nicolas Olah, who took him into his service ¹). On August 6, 1532, Livinus married Catherine Annoot, Antony Colve's granddaughter ²), 'calide magis quam callide', Erasmus remarked in his decided ill feeling ³). At a visit to Freiburg in 1533 to induce Erasmus to return to Brabant, Algoet managed to placate his old master ⁴); in 1534 he was appointed as teacher of the pages at Mary of Hungary's Court ⁵); later on, as clerk of the Imperial Chancery and, in 1538, as King-of-Arms for Flanders, in which capacity he followed Charles V on his journeys : he made up for Queen Mary a genealogy of her family in December 1538, and wrote some reports of the events which he witnessed. He fell ill at Heilbronn on one of those journeys and died at

¹) *OlaE*, 174-175, 196, 225 : *Allen*, ix, 2567, 1, *sq.*, 9, *sq.*, 2570, 29. At that time Erasmus was continually hesitating between fatherly affection and suspicious reluctance : *cp.*, *e. g.*, *Allen*, ix, 2573, 72, 2587, 66-82, xi, 2992, 11, 3053, 12.

²) During a stay of the Court at Ghent, in 1532, Olah was a guest for three weeks in the house of the widow of Erasmus' friend Antony Colve, *Clava*, and met there his granddaughter, a young girl of eighteen, who fell in love with Livinus Algoet ; her step-father, the physician Damianus Vissenaken, wrote on July 5, 1532, in the name of the family that he would allow that match for Olah's sake ; the latter replying from Brussels on July 11, did not object, but advised consideration of material circumstances, as she was not rich, and as he was without position : expecting thus to put an end to the rash scheme, he sent Livinus to Ghent to discuss terms. The result was that on July 22, Vissenaken sent Livinus back as a 'sponsus', and announced the marriage for the 6th of August by the dean of St. Donatian's, Bruges, Mark Laurin. Olah related the event to Erasmus on July 26 ; he did not accept the invitation to be present at the marriage, but sent James Jespersen on August 5 ; on Aug. 11, Algoet apologized for his delay in coming back on account of a sedition : *OlaE*, 219, 221-22, 223-24, 224-29, 231, 232. — Antony Clava, Erasmus' old friend (*cp.* *Allen*, i, 175, 10, ii, 524), died on May 31, 1529 : *cp.* *Allen*, viii, 2197, 68, *sq.*

³) On October 31, 1532, Erasmus wrote to Quirinus Talesius : *Nactus est Leuinus meus vxorem, verum vt neglectis amicorum monitis, ita parum foeliciter. Res calide peracta est magis quam callide* : *Allen*, x, 2735, 15-17. *Cp.* letter to Ch. Uutenhove, April 1533 : *Allen*, x, 2799, 18-21.

⁴) *Allen*, x, 2851, 3-6 (July 26, 1533), 2848, 2849 (July 25, 1533), 2820, 2828 (June 13 and 21, 1533) — all referring to the mission entrusted to Algoet to accompany Erasmus on his return to Brabant, as Goclenius announced (July 27).

⁵) *OlaE*, 477, 515 ; *Cran.*, 122, a, b, 136, 1-6.

Ulm on January 25, 1547. He left a report of the Diet of Augsburg ¹⁾, as well as a few epitaphs : on Erasmus ²⁾, on Empress Isabella ³⁾; and a few geographical sketches ⁴⁾, such as that of Northern Europe ⁵⁾, — as well as a daughter, Catherine Alsberghe, with a very scanty heritage ⁶⁾.



If Algoet evinced an incorrigible dislike for the working table, and a longing for roaming about the world, his fellow-servant **Nicolas Canne, Cannius, Kan**, was most assiduous at his study, and hated journeying to such an extent, that, in May 1527, Erasmus had to send a messenger with a letter

¹⁾ *Pro Religione Christiana Res Gestæ in Comitibus Augustæ Vendelicorum habitis* : (Louvain, [R. Rescius for] Barth. Gravius [, 1530]) : NijKron., I, 1672.

²⁾ *EraCat.*, A 1, v ; NijKron., II, 2842, 2858.

³⁾ *Epitaphium Sereniss. Imperatricis Isabellæ* : Antwerp, Giles Coppens, 1548 (a copy is preserved in Ghent University Library).

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 122, b.

⁵⁾ *Flandricarum Rerum Tomi X* : Bruges, Hub. Crocus, July 1531 : 34, r ; F. van Ortroy, *L'Œuvre Cartographique de G. et de Corn. de Jode* : Ghent, 1914 : 8, 63, 107. Cp. DantE (*ErmArEp.*, D 3, 48).

⁶⁾ *GandErVir.*, 85, 87, sq ; Paquot, xvi, 295-96 ; FG, 383 ; *LatCont.*, 375 ; Allen, iv, 1091, pr ; *Cran.*, 58, a, 124, 128, 134 ; Roersch, II, 11-31 ; also MB, xxvi, 1922, 127-43, xxvii, 1923, 91-94 ; Gachard, *Analectes Historiques* (*BullCoHist.*, ix, 1856), 133 ; BB, a, 6, 7, 47, J, 29, 36, c, 267 ; Henne, v, 46, viii, 122, sq ; DantE (in preparation) has two letters and an amount of unpublished information.

after him, for fear he should stop on the way instead of crossing the Channel; even then he hastened to leave England before the friends expected ¹). He was a native of Amsterdam and he matriculated in Louvain on May 14, 1524 ²). He studied at the *Trilingue* under Rescius, and especially under Goclenius, who, no doubt, sent him to Erasmus ³). In that great man's service he applied himself before all to Greek in which he became very proficient ⁴). He served his master with great fidelity and was fully appreciated ⁵). He was in full contrast with a fellow-servant, Felix Konings, Rex, *Polyphemus* ⁶), a blusterer, who appeared more than partial to the Reformers. It suggested to Erasmus the Colloquy *Cyclops sive Evangelio-phorus*, of March 1529 ⁷), in which the *Evangelici* are criticised by Œcolampadius, impersonated by Nicolas Canne on account of the striking likeness which he had with the Basle tyrant, and which was made even more effective by causing the amanuensis to wear a similar fur cap ⁸). By that dialogue

¹) Erasmus' letter, which contains full particulars about the journey and the people to be met, as a father would give to a son, is dated May 29, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1832 ; *LatCont.*, 386-7 ; FG, 72, 34 ; *Cran.*, 242, 6, 243, 16.

²) Nicolaus Joannis cœ de Amsterdãmis : *LibIntIII*, 315, v ; *Excerpts*, 104.

³) That may have happened already in the summer of 1524, — provided the letter of Erasmus to Goclenius, dated 'Louanii, Id. Octobr. Anno ciro io xxvii', first edited in Leyden, 1607 : *EraVita.*, 196-198 : Allen, VII, 1890, should be placed in 1524, as is suggested further, Ch. XI, sect. 1. In that letter Erasmus regrets that Goclenius did not send the collated text of St. Augustine's *De Trinitate*.

⁴) 'Scis enim quam ægre caream opera tua, præsertim in describendis Græcis', Erasmus wrote to him on May 29, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1832, 9-10.

⁵) Cp. More's testimony to Cranevelt, July 14, 1527 : *Cran.*, 242, 6-11.

⁶) He had been a Carthusian near Ghent before serving Erasmus : DantE. — J. Förstemann, *Felix König (Rex) Polyphemus (Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, xvi)* : Leipzig, 1899 : 306, sq ; FG, 406 ; Tschackert, I, 231, sq, 314, 324, II, 308, 345, 365, 384, 390, 416, III, 5, 19, 26-7, 31, 210, 235, 241 ; *SperaCos.*, 199-201, 420 ; *SperaTschack.*, 63, sq ; OlaE, 174 ; MS II, 3012, in Royal Library, Brussels. — A 'Livinus Rex ex Gandavo' promoted M. A. and was placed 57th in 1546 in Louvain : *ULPromRs.*, 136.

⁷) *ErColTran.*, xii-xiii ; EOO, I, 831, B, sq ; BB, E, 473.

⁸) Opmeer, 463, a ; Allen, VIII, 2147, 5-28 ; *Cran.*, 242, b ; *ErColTran.*, xi-xiii ; *BibBelg.*, 682. Erasmus had related his leaving Basle to Pirckheimer, on May 9, 1529, and on July 15 following, he described to the

Erasmus, no doubt, represented his antagonist as cunning, deceitful, lacking all straightforwardness. The libelling spirit of the Colloquy was readily understood by Froben's compositors ¹⁾, and Œcolampadius remonstrated, but could not but accept Erasmus' assurance that he had merely wanted to introduce his two amanuenses in his famous book ²⁾. That reply, no doubt, was calculated to prevent all reprisals for the few days that Erasmus had to spend in Basle ³⁾; after arriving safely in Freiburg, he changed his tactics and soon attacked as well his opponent as his friends Pellican and Bucer ⁴⁾. Cannius, most probably, had received his master's promise that his character would have been cleared from the suspicion of faithlessness and hypocrisy as soon as danger had disappeared. As, however, Erasmus, at Freiburg, failed to mention even his amanuensis's real character in one or other of his writings ⁵⁾, Cannius naturally must have felt disappointed, and thus became an easy prey for his master's bitterest enemies at Strassburg. He communicated to Geldenhouwer ⁶⁾ a poem against Joachim Sterck van Ringelbergh ⁷⁾ and his inept books, and he passed some of his Greek epigrams to John Bebel without advising his master, whom he left in January 1530, in a fit of discontent, never to return ⁸⁾.

same friend his difficulties with Œcolampadius, first on account of his creed, and finally, of the Colloquy : Allen, VIII, 2158, 2196; he added to the latter letter the one which he sent to the Basle Reformer : *ibid*, 2147, *pr*, 2196, 70-91.

¹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2147, 11-16.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2147, 11-20 : in the first edition of the Colloquy, there was a sentence which was left out in the second edition, September 1529, probably as a result of the protestation; it followed the words 'inauraturæ congruum', and was as follows : Denique quam prolixum habet nasum, tam habeat prolixam benignitatem. It explains why in his letter to Œcolampadius, of the first days of April 1529, there is a mention of 'longo naso', as well as in his letter to Pirckheimer of July 15, 1529 : notaram quendam prælongo naso : Allen, VIII, 2196, 82, which is not mentioned in the Colloquy; — cp. the medal on p 139.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2158, 50, *sq*, 2196, 88, *sq*.

⁴⁾ *Œcolamp.*, II, 173-174.

⁵⁾ Allen, VIII, 2158, 36-90, 2196, 70-122, 2202, 25, *sq*.

⁶⁾ GeldColl., 89.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, sect. 5, B.

⁸⁾ Letter to Viglius and Charles Sucket, July 31, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2356, 1-32, 42; 2229, 20-21, 2236, 12-14 (letter to Boniface Amerbach, Nov. 18, 1529 : Nicolaus est perfracti ingenii et, ni illius sensiculis obsecundarem, intolerabilis); *BataoMart.*, 74. — Mention of Canne's leaving is made in several letters : Allen, VIII, 2261 77, 2349, 9, 2355, 65, &c.

In the first months of 1531, Cannius wrote a letter of humble apology to Freiburg ¹⁾, announcing that he had become a priest, and had settled in Amsterdam ²⁾ : it caused reconciliation though the old friendship was never renewed. Cannius became the spiritual director of the Ursuline Convent, and, later on, parish priest of the New Church. He devoted his free time to teaching, and thus was preceptor of Peter Opmeer, who gratefully records him in his writings ³⁾. He lived in hearty friendship with C. Crocus, who dedicated to him his *Colloquia*, 1534, and his *Ecclesia*, 1536 ⁴⁾, with C. Musius ⁵⁾, with his fellow-servant Quirinus Talesius ⁶⁾, and his townsman Alard, who published a letter to him, May 5, 1533, in his *Hæretici Descriptio juxta locos Rod. Agricolaë de Inventionem Dialecticæ Compendio explicata* ⁷⁾. He died in 1555 ⁸⁾, and his writings, amongst which there was a sketch of Crocus' life, were lost through the carelessness of his illiterate heirs ⁹⁾.

A third amanuensis who had been supplied by the *Trilingue* to Erasmus, even long before Cannius, was a native of Weisenburch, Wissembourg, in the diocese of Speyer, **Charles Harst**. At eighteen he matriculated in Cologne on October 28,

¹⁾ News about his arrival in Holland and his having become a priest was provided by Goclenius, July 14, 1530, who had received a letter from Cannius about March 1 : Allen, VIII, 2352, 1-8, 307.

²⁾ Erasmus announced the news of his arrival in Holland to Dilst, July 9, 1529, and on April 14, 1531, to Viglius : Allen, VIII, 2348, 18-19, IX, 2484, 6-8. As Goclenius' letter of July 14 could not have reached Basle on July 9, it follows that Canne had written and apologized between March 1 and July.

³⁾ Opmeer, † 4, r, † 5, v ; *BatavMart.*, 74, 91, 103, 106, 162, 163 ; Paquot, IV, 30.

⁴⁾ Opmeer, 481, a ; NijKron., I, 643-44 ; *BatavMart.*, 74, 103, 106 ; cp. sect. 5, c.

⁵⁾ *BatavMart.*, 92, sq ; cp. sect. 5, c.

⁶⁾ *BatavMart.*, 102, sq ; cp. further, Ch. XII.

⁷⁾ Solingen, J. Soter, 1539 ; cp. *Cran.*, 96, e ; Alard dedicated, on May 15, 1533, to him *Loci Anti-hæretici*, in *Hæretici descriptio* : i 5, v ; also his *Catechismi Compendium*, 1538 : NijKron., II, 2255 ; Paquot, XI, 412.

⁸⁾ He was buried in the Old Church, and Michael Wolpherdus Lycostenes was laid to rest at his feet in 1577 : *BatavMart.*, 170 ; J. Waegenauer, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam* : Amst., 1760-67 : III, 196-97. His portrait, by Dirk Jacobs, is still preserved in the Amsterdam Béguinage.

⁹⁾ Cp. Guicc., 188 ; *BatavSac.*, II, 400, 401 ; *HEpH*, 57, 100, 114, 125 ; *BB*, E, 562, 14 ; *LatCont.*, 378-380 ; *Cran.*, 242, a-c ; Allen, VII, 1832, pr ; J. I. Pontanus, *Rerum Amstelodamensium Historia* : Amst., 1611 : 240.

1518 ¹⁾, and he afterwards went to study law in Orleans, and took some degrees. By 1521, he had settled in Louvain to study languages, especially under Goclenius's lead. He there made the acquaintance of Erasmus, with whom he was on very friendly terms, for when the great erudite went to stay for a time at the house of his friend Peter Wichmans, at Anderlecht, he went there to call on him; yet having come all the way from Louvain, he returned without seeing him for fear of disturbing him in his work. On that account, Erasmus thanked him, both for wanting to visit him, and for not doing so, and he was insistently advised to plunder as much as possible the very opulent Goclenius, to be able to return home with a store of *honestissimæ merces* ²⁾). When, in the autumn, Erasmus journeyed to Basle, Harst accompanied him as far as Coblenz, and brought back some letters to Louvain, where he continued his studies, as *dives Liliensis*, matriculating on January 22, 1522 ³⁾). He served as letter-carrier between Basle and Brabant in 1522 and 1523, and went to reside with Erasmus in the early spring of 1524 ⁴⁾ and undertook for him a journey to Rome in the summer of 1526 ⁵⁾, and one to England in the winter of 1525-26 ⁶⁾). He left the great man's service in December 1526 ⁷⁾, reaching Louvain about Christmas, and marrying there on January 8,

¹⁾ Keussen, II, 488, 16 : 'Kar. Harst de Wyssenbruck'; one of his fellow-students was Adolphus Eichholz, or *Dryoxylus*, of Cologne : Allen, III, 866, 5, n ; Keussen, II, 458, 1.

²⁾ Letter of June 22, 1521 : Allen, IV, 1215, 1-14.

³⁾ *LibIntIII*, 284, v ; *Excerpts*, 102 : Carolus haerst wichcenburgensis.

⁴⁾ On April 2, 1524, Erasmus wrote to Goclenius : Carolus Harstus apud me vivit famuli loco. Nam videtur fidus amicus : Allen, V, 1437, 189-190 ; Harst was with Erasmus when the quarrel with Eppendorf started : Allen, VII, 1934, 62 ; PirckO, 293.

⁵⁾ Allen, VI, 1625, 1, 1627, 16, 1674, 11, 1675, 5.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 172, 5, 177, 2, 182, 14 ; FG, 55, 39 ; Allen, VII, 1654, 3, 1681, 2, 1704, 6.

⁷⁾ On October 7, Carolus had announced to Goclenius that he was leaving Basle in ten days : on December 10, he had not arrived, so that Goclenius wondered what had happened, *puellæ caussa... quæ misere pendet animi cum sit digna quæ etiam maioribus votis fruatur* : Allen, VI, 1768, 77-81.

1527, Catherine van der Clusen, a young lady ¹⁾ whom he had known for some time ²⁾. He was engaged, successfully, in giving private lessons in Louvain and tutoring students in his house ³⁾, until March 1530, when he entered the service of John III ⁴⁾, Duke of Cleves and Jülich ⁵⁾, probably through Erasmus' recommendation and the patronage of Dr. John von Vlatten, first Councillor ⁶⁾ He was sent on various missions : to Erasmus in May 1533 ⁷⁾, to the meeting of Worms, 1535, to Ferdinand of Austria, 1538, to Spain, 1539, to England with

¹⁾ On January 13, 1527, Goclenius announces that : *quarto illinc die Carolus Harstus, qui sub natalem Christianum hunc reuertebatur... in facie... Ecclesiae <duxit> uxorem iam toties ante in thalamo ductam* : Allen, vi, 1778, 8-11. On February 28, Goclenius reports to Erasmus : *Carolus Harstus explicatis nodis omnibus lætus potitur sua philumena, multaque tibi pro tuis in se officiis precatur bona* : Allen, vi, 1788, 18-19.

²⁾ On June 24, 1526, Erasmus announces to Cranevelt that Charles Harst, who brought him some letters, 'juxta præceptum Euangelicum cupit relinquere patrem et matrem, et adherere vxori suæ' : *Cran.*, 195, 4-5. Already on April 2, 1524, he had written to Goclenius, that he did not see how Harst 'sese explicet e labyrintho τοῦ γάμου' : Allen, v, 1437, 190-191.

³⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Bonifacius Amerbach, November 4, 1529 : Allen, viii, 2231, 9-14. — Nicolas Episcopus (1531-1565), who referred to those lessons and to the house in Louvain, where he was warmly received 'ante aliquot annos' — in his dedication to Harst of his first book, Poliziano's *Opera*, 1553, — must make a mistake referring to Erasmus, for then he was just five : Allen, iv, 1215, *pr*.

⁴⁾ Rousset, i, 3, *sq* ; Allen, iii, 829, 12. Goclenius announced the appointment on July 14, 1530 : Allen, viii, 2352, 270, *sq* ; cp. MasE, 30, *sq*, &c.

⁵⁾ Allen, iii, 829, 12.

⁶⁾ John von Vlatten, originary of a branch of the Merode family, taking their name from the village Vlatten, near Zülrich, was the provost of St. Martin's, at Cranenburg ; after studying in Cologne, Orleans, Paris, Freiburg and Bologna : Keussen, ii, 511, 15 ; Knod, 601, &c, he became councillor to the Duke of Cleves John III, who granted him several preferments : he was for several years Andrew Masius' colleague : MasE, 30, *sq*, &c. The Duke made him his Chancellor at the death of John Gogreve (Gogreff). John Vlatten was a staunch friend and patron of Erasmus, whom he consulted in matters of ecclesiastical reforms, and for whom he obtained an annual pension of 30 florins : FG, 443 ; Allen, v, 1390, *pr* ; Bianco, i, 799 ; ADB ; O. R. Redlich, in *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1908 : xli, 160-180, publishing letters from Conrad Heresbach to him ; Redlich, ii, 362, 658, 849, 862 ; *Heresbach*, 143-48 ; Hamelmann, ii, 238-50, 276, 284. Cp. Ch. XII.

⁷⁾ FG, 217, 23 ; Allen, v, 1313, 85, n, x, 2804, 10.

Anne of Cleves from 1540 to 1544 and afterwards in 1547 and 1556 ¹⁾. He visited Goclenius in 1536 and, by the end of that year, Viglius at Speyer ²⁾. Having been appointed councillor, he attended the Augsburg Diet, 1550-1551, the conferences of Innsbruck and Bacharach, 1552-53, and tried there to arrange the difference between the Duke, his master, and the archdiocese of Cologne ³⁾. He had settled at Düsseldorf in 1552, near which town, at Pier or Pirne, his son Charles, canon at Münstereifel, had become parish-priest in April 1551 ⁴⁾. Charles Harst lost his wife in 1559 ⁵⁾, and died at Xanten in 1563, after a long and faithful service to his adoptive Prince and country ⁶⁾.

4. JURISPRUDENTS & STATESMEN

A. LAWYERS

When, in December 1534, Bishop George of Egmont ⁷⁾ started taking care of his diocese of Utrecht, he contemplated appointing as his Official Viglius, one of his fellow-students under Goclenius, and wrote to him on the subject referring to their old comradeship ⁸⁾. That Viglius of Aytta, a son of Folcard and Ida Hanya, was born at Zuichem on October 19, 1507, and had been directed by his uncle Bernard Bucho of Aytta, Friesland Councillor ⁹⁾, who sent him to Deventer, and afterwards had him instructed at Leyden with his brother Rintzius. As his uncle had become Dean of The Hague, he had Viglius tutored in that town by James Volcaerd, who accompanied him to Louvain, and lived there with him in the

¹⁾ Brewer, xv-xix ; xx, 315 ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 209.

²⁾ ViglEB, 34.

³⁾ Redlich, I, 86*, 278, 282, 363, 396, 399-402, 404, 430.

⁴⁾ Redlich, II, 411, 413, 414.

⁵⁾ She died on January 16, 1559.

⁶⁾ FG, 366 ; MasE, 31 ; Allen, IV, 1215, *pr.*, x, 2845, 47 ; *Cran.*, 172, a-b ; ADB. — The Conrad Harst, of Louvain, who matriculated in Cologne for jurisprudence on July 24, 1557, and became canon of Our Lady at Aix la Chapelle, was no doubt his son : Keussen, II, 672, 128.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 123-25.

⁸⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 67, 112-13, 118 (Viglius recalls the same on Febr. 5, 1535).

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 97-98 ; Hoyneck, I, i, 7 ; HoopSch., 375.

Convent of the Beghards ¹⁾ from October 1522 to Easter 1524, when they removed to the house of Giles Vermeulen, *a Mola*, on Chapel Hill, near the *Capella Clericorum* ²⁾. Viglius studied languages under him, but became a most zealous student of the *Trilingue*, matriculating on March 18, 1523 ³⁾. He was very assiduous at the lectures of Rescius and more especially even at those of Goclenius. By 1525, his uncle called him to The Hague and wished to send him to France to study laws, which he had just started in Louvain ; he thus took leave of Volkaerd ⁴⁾, who remained tutoring in the Brabant University. The journey to France was postponed for one year, which Viglius spent in Louvain in the house of Michael van Doorn, Doerne, *a Dorna*, opposite the one in which Martin van Dorp had recently died ⁵⁾. He began studying laws in 1524 under John de Haze ⁶⁾ and Nicolas Heems ⁷⁾, working all the time at

¹⁾ It was used as a residential University College, e. g., by John de Spouter : cp. before, I, 206, sq ; FUL, 2464 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 583.

²⁾ Paquot, xv, 128.

³⁾ *Excerpts*, 104 : Wiggilius de Suichem de lewardia.

⁴⁾ James Volkaerd, a native of Geertruidenberg, *Volcardus Bergensis*, a renowned pedagogue, a friend of Dorp and Morinck, stayed in Louvain after Viglius' leave, and continued tutoring : he went to live with the Frisian Severinus a Feyta, Feyten, who was still in Louvain in 1542 when he took an active part in the defence of the town against Martin van Rossem under Damian a Goes : *MonHL*, 505, 667-69 ; Paquot, xv, 129. Volkaerd delivered a speech at the *Quodlibetica* of December 1525, which was printed as : *Oratio de usu eloquentiæ in obeundis muneribus publicis*, by M. Hillen, Antwerp, in May 1526, and dedicated to Andrew de Bronckhorst, Holland councillor (*HEpD*, 101 ; Guicc., 155), Louvain, April 18, 1526 : *NijKron.*, I, 2180. Viglius showed great gratitude to his preceptor and wrote to him from The Hague on August 15, 1526, just before journeying to France : *ViglEB*, 9 ; he died early in 1528 : his memory was celebrated by Janus Secundus in his *Funera* : *JSecOp.*, 213, sq, as well as by Erasmus : in 1541, Viglius regretted that the epitaph had not been taken up in the *Basle Opera* : Hoynck, I, i, 7, 65, II, i, 27 ; *BibBelg.*, 435 ; Paquot, xv, 128-30 ; VAnd., 102 ; *Cran.*, 189, 11 ; *MonHL*, 286, 499, 501, 505-6, 668 ; Coppens, III, 240.

⁵⁾ With Michael a Dorna had resided, before Viglius came, Judocus van Uutenhove, who had matriculated on April 8, 1521, his hospes Michael taking the oath for him : *LibIntIII*, 275, r : Judocus fil. anthonij vut de houe de ypris iuravit pro eo hospes Mich. van Doerne ; Hoynck, I, i, 8 ; *MonHL*, 245.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, p 149.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, p 148.

Latin under Goclenius ¹⁾, who had a very great influence on his intellectual and moral formation, on which account Viglius most gratefully remembered his beloved professor ²⁾, long after he had started on the way that was to lead him to the highest honour in the country.

For after studying some years jurisprudence in Dole, Avignon and Valence, where he promoted *Doctor Utriusque Juris*, May 8, 1529, and teaching for a time in Bourges, and a journey in Italy and Germany, where he stayed a good while with Erasmus at Freiburg ³⁾, he became member of the Imperial Chamber at Speyer, 1535, and professor in Ingolstadt, 1537. In 1541 he returned to his country as Imperial Councillor, and in 1549 he succeeded Louis de Schore as President of the Privy Council. From then on he had a leading part in the management of all affairs, and showed himself a loyal and prudent servant to the Church and to his Princes. He saw to the creation of the new dioceses, which had been urgently wanted for a century, and patiently bore the impopularity which that and other necessary measures entailed. He courageously stood by Margaret of Parma in the troubled years of her government ⁴⁾, and did all what he could to keep the ruthless severity of Alva within the bounds of right and tradition, in so far that he got himself under suspicion with Philip II. Although contemplating entering the Church, he married in 1543 Jacqueline, daughter of Peter Damant, warden of the Emperor's jewels, and Anne Bave, of Bruges ⁵⁾. At her death in 1552, he resumed his former intent, and became Provost of St. Bavo's, Ghent, in 1562 ⁶⁾, in which year he was ordained priest ⁷⁾. He died in Brussels on May 8,

¹⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 7, 67, II, i, 230, where he declares to Carinus on December 17, 1536, that he attended Goclenius' lessons for four years.

²⁾ Cp. his letter to Conrad Goclenius, dated from Speyer, December 17, 1536 : VigIEB, 34.

³⁾ Cp. Allen, VIII, 2101, &c, and the fatherly advice imparted on November 18, 1533 : x, 2878.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 44, sq, 188, sq.

⁵⁾ *ConPriT*, 102; *Brug&Fr.*, v, 281; *BruxBas.*, I, 74; *Cran.*, 53, 10, 247, 22.

⁶⁾ VAnd., 151, recording 'largess' bestowed on the University through Viglius by Abbot Francis d'Helfault, of Mont Blandin, in 1557.

⁷⁾ On Aug. 29, 1564, he attended as Papal Protonotary the promotion to Doctor of Divinity of his nephew Bucho de Montzima : VAnd., 117; cp. further, Ch. XVI, and VigIEB, 3, 27.

1577, having enriched Louvain University with one of her finest Colleges in 1567 ¹⁾; he endowed it with most of his property and of his documents, giving it the name of 'The Wheaten Sheaf', '*de Tarwe Schoof*', after his coat of arms ²⁾.

The impression made by the teaching of the *Trilingue* on the grand statesman, — who did not get in his lifetime, nor in the following centuries, the appreciation he deserves, — was very great indeed : his whole career was clearly characterized by the deep spirit of Humanism ³⁾. Although directed in thought and action by a staunch attachment to justice and authority, and a deep sense of religion, he was most considerate and humane as well as broad-minded, and, far from revelling in severity, he directed all his attention to prevent punishment by enlightening people and giving them sound advice through able and exemplary leaders ⁴⁾.

More even than by his humaneness he revealed the influence of the *Trilingue* by the novel way in which he wanted to study jurisprudence : he already showed that new tendency before leaving Louvain, where he had attended the lectures of Nicolas Heems de Capella ⁵⁾ and of John de

¹⁾ VAnd., 314; Mol., 554; Vern., 220-22; FUL, 3080-3162; *BibBelgMan.*, I, 243; *ULDoc.*, III, 289, sq; &c. — Viglius always showed his great affection to the University, as appears, e. g., from *ActArtInd.*, 62, 67; Brants, 14, 195.

²⁾ ViglEB; ViglEL; ViglEA; Hoyneck, I, I, sq; Opmeer, I, 483, a, II, 9, 32, 34, 38; *HEpL*, 51, sq, 108-23; VAnd., 359; *ConPri.*, I, 56, II, 11; *ConPriT*, 25; *MalConM*, 98 (with *portr.*); *BibBelg.*, 844; Lomeier, 395: FG, 440; *ULAnn.*, 1844, 158, sq, 1852, 304, sq; *JSecOp.*, 172; *DelPoBel.*, III, 433; *BrabNobl.*, 492; OlaE, 424; Allen, VIII, 2101, pr; *Cran.*, 274, pr; — and, besides the letters and documents indicated in the two last items, Gabbema, 184, 521-54, 625 (12 letters); VulcE, 494; Almeloveen, 80; Burman, II, 254; *BbBasle*, G²II, 27; *BeitSchlecht*, 180; also further, Ch. XII, for the dedicatory letter of Damhouder's *Laus Hispanicæ Nationis*. — James Jonghelinck made his medal in 1556, with, as reverse, a table with a candle, a book and an hour-glass, under the motto : *Vita Mortalium Vigilia* : Hill, 64.

³⁾ Stintzing, 99, 141; *BeitSchlecht*, 180.

⁴⁾ Stintzing, 228, 343-44, 483. Cp. A. von Drussel, *Des Viglius van Zwischem Tagebuch des Schmalkaldischen Donaukrieiges* : Munich, 1877; *Mameran.*, 9, 158-62.

⁵⁾ Stintzing, 339. Nicolas Heems, *de Capella*, or *de Bruxellis*, promoted the second in Arts in 1488, and entered the University Senate in 1502. He became *Doctor Utriusque Juris* on Febr. 7, 1503, and professor of

Haze ¹⁾; in France and Italy, where he continued his studies of law, he decidedly broke off with the traditionalists; maybe he is still observant of the 'mos italicus' ²⁾, yet he differs completely by his concern for authentic information ³⁾. He advocates the urgent necessity of investigating the sources and the trustworthy documents of jurisprudence, rather than studying the *commentaria*, and he fully explains his views in his letters to John Choler of February 10 and March 1, 1533 ⁴⁾, and, even more decidedly, in that to Louis de Praet, of June 1, 1533 ⁵⁾. Nor did he limit himself to theoretic remarks: he is, indeed, one of the first that studied the juridical documents: he provided the *editio princeps* of a manuscript of Theophilus' *INSTITUTA*, printed at Basle in 1534 ⁶⁾. Through that edition, and even more through his welcome *Commentaria in X Titulos Institutionum*, on which he had lectured in Padua, and which he published, Basle, 1534 ⁷⁾, he took rank amongst the foremost of the progressive jurisprudents, in so much that Zasius offered to resign his professorship if he would accept it ⁸⁾. But Viglius, although he temporarily filled a chair in Padua and Ingolstadt, wanted to enter active life ⁹⁾ and

the *Institutes* in 1506; on October 28, 1520, he succeeded John Stephani of Nivelles as primary professor of Civil Law. In 1513, he published a *Compendium Institutionum Juris*; he died on June 21/22, 1532: VAnd., 180; *BibBelg.*, 680. Heems was an innovator as he aimed at introducing brevity and clearness in the teaching of jurisprudence: Hoyneck, I, i, 67; Mol., 542; *ULPromRs.*, 61; Paquot, VIII, 311-3; cp. *NijKron.*, II, 3285.

¹⁾ John de Haze, of Tourcoing, entered the Academic Senate on November 28, 1517, as reader of the Faculty of Arts, and on May 22, 1520, he promoted D. V. J. On October 28 following, he was appointed to the lesson of the *Institutes*, after having had the lecture of Feudal Law since 1517. He died on March 28, 1547 at the age of 60, leaving besides his widow Anne Gysbrechts, who survived him till April 4, 1573, a son, Arnold, secretary of the Court of the Conservator, and a daughter Barbara, who, on June 7, 1548, married the famous professor of Law, Elbertus Leoninus: Mol., 545; VAnd., 184-87, 190, 210, 155-56; *Anal.*, XXXIX, 288, 292, 295, sq.

²⁾ Stintzing, 221, 224 and 130, 231-32, 486; Brants, 131, 135.

³⁾ Cp. Stintzing, 198, 221, sq; Brants, 111.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 121, sq, 127, sq.

⁵⁾ VigliEB, 31.

⁶⁾ *BeitSchlecht*, 180; Stintzing, 221, sq. Erasmus praised the edition of *Institutiones* on May 14, 1533: Allen, x, 2810, 75, sq.

⁷⁾ Stintzing, 223, sq.

⁸⁾ Stintzing, 221, also 160.

⁹⁾ Stintzing, 221.

was so convinced of the righteousness of the new movement that he urgently requested Charles V to imitate Justinian and to take in hand the reform of the Empire's law, as he expressed it in the dedicatory letter to his *Theophilus*, 1533 ¹⁾).

His former Greek master, Rescius, published in 1536 a corrected edition of that *Theophilus* with some Comments by Peter Nannius ²⁾ ; as James de Corte, *Curtius*, a Bruges lawyer, criticized some of the textual changes proposed by those two philologists, a disagreeable controversy ensued, which Viglius regretted, especially for the sake of Rescius, 'quem virum uti præceptorem colere me par est' ³⁾. That feeling of gratitude was not the whim of a moment, as results from a letter which Viglius wrote, twenty years later, to the same Nannius ; he had not been able to approve of all his proposed emendations ; still he praised him, not only for his friendship with Rescius, but because 'non indoctus vir esse videtur' ⁴⁾. On November 8, 1556, he thanks Nannius for his *Athanasius*, of which he had received a copy ; he praises the work, and promises his protection to Louvain : *Non sinam vero Collegii Trilinguis Professores*, he concludes, *munificentiae Regiæ esse expertes, cum non ignorem quid illi Scholæ debeam, ex qua non exiguum incrementum studiis meis accessisse confiteor* ⁵⁾).

Amongst the friends Viglius had in the *Trilingue* and afterwards in Italy, **Charles Sucket** was, without doubt, the best beloved and the highest appreciated. He was the son of Busleyden's executor, the member of the Privy Council Antony Sucket, and of Isabella de Waele, or de Walle, d'Axpoele ⁶⁾. He was born at Bruges about 1506, and had received there his first instruction before he came to Louvain, where he matriculated as *minorennis* on January 27, 1519, with his

¹⁾ Stintzing, 59.

²⁾ *Institutiones Iuris Civilis in Græcam Linguam per Theophilum... traductæ...* nunc denuo a Rutgero Rescio recognitæ, adiectis etiam aliquot Petri Nannii annotatiunculis : Louvain, R. Rescius, January 5, 1536 : Polet, 128 ; Stintzing, 227, sq ; NijKron., I, 2002, 1583.

³⁾ Letter of April 25, 1537, to Peter Bausanus : Hoyneck, II, I, 237-39 ; cp. Polet, 127-134 ; also Hoyneck, II, I, 121, 142, 176-78, 216, 231-32 ; Stintzing, I, 225-27 ; *Cran.*, lix, lxxiii, 274.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 238.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 380 ; Polet, 325.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 55-59.

eldest brother John ¹⁾ : the latter paid a visit to the College of Busleyden in 1521, after he had promoted Master of Arts ²⁾, but is not referred to afterwards : he probably died before his father († August 31, 1524) : it explains how Charles is always spoken of as the eldest son ³⁾. He promoted Master of Arts, and started studying laws, in compliance with his father's wish, who had destined the eldest son to theology, the second to jurisprudence, the third, Antony, to *bonis literis* ⁴⁾. Like most students of Bruges, he boarded in the Lily, where their townsman Peter de Corte was then one of the driving forces ⁵⁾ ; he thus followed the lectures, and resided under the roof that was also sheltering Erasmus. The latter was an intimate friend of the family ⁶⁾, and, no doubt, was an affectionate mentor to the young student, who seems to have had more than an ordinary bent for literature. No doubt, he attended the lectures of the great College which his father had helped to bring into existence. That explains, not only his hearty friendship with Erasmus, with whom he corresponded most affectionately ⁷⁾, but also his great mastery of Latin style and his eloquence, which Viglius highly praised in the letter of condolence to his brother Antony ⁸⁾. Viglius was for a good while Charles's close companion, and as their pursuits lay in the same direction, they built up a hearty friendship which lasted throughout their lives. Probably through a fellow-student of Bruges, Philip van Aartrycke,

¹⁾ Ioannes sucket de brugis tornac. dioc. / Karolus sucket de brugis tornac. dioc. pro eo iuravit petrus de follis : January 27, 1519 : *Excerpts*, 100 ; *LibIntIII*, 250, v ; cp. before, I, 57.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 75.

³⁾ Cp. e. g., Viglius' letter of Aug. 26, 1531 : Hoyneck, II, i, 39 ; Allen, VIII, 2191, *pr.*

⁴⁾ Letter of Erasmus to John Sucket, Febr. 1525 : Allen, VI, 1556, 39-41 ; cp. before, I, 57.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 83, 84.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 57, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Cp. Allen, VIII, 2135, 9-10, 2141, 6, 2191, 2356.

⁸⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 45-46 : December 27, 1532. That letter evidently does not refer to their eldest brother John, deceased before August 1524 : cp. before, I, 57 ; nor to the fourth, illegitimate, son Francis, who was inscribed as *dives liliensis* in Louvain on August 30, 1521 : ' franciscus fls. m. anthonij suucket de brugis : *LibIntIII*, 280, v, whom Viglius may have known ; he even may have known also Antony, although his name has been looked for in vain in *LibIntIII*. Cp. *Busl.*, 124-25.

also an inmate of the Lily ¹⁾, Charles Sucquet made the acquaintance ²⁾ of Martin Lips, of St. Martin's Priory ³⁾; they occasionally met to talk about literature and studies, and exchanged small gifts and letters : four of the latter have survived : they date from the first days of May 1525 ⁴⁾.

Leaving Louvain, Charles Sucket went to study in Orleans, and promoted there licentiate in laws ⁵⁾. In 1529, he moved from there to Dole, where he attended the lectures, and found Viglius and other friends. At that time, he regularly corresponded with Erasmus ⁶⁾, whom he asked for advice about his further study, as well as for his hospitality. The great Humanist, who highly appreciated him ⁷⁾, answered most affectionately on July 2, 1529, and expressed the hope that, having equalled his father in figure, sagacity and manners, he should surpass him by adding, to an equal knowledge of jurisprudence, the 'vtriusque litteraturæ decus' ⁸⁾. He let the young man free in his choice of a professor, either Zasius in Freiburg, or Amerbach in Basle ⁹⁾ : it was determined by the presence of Alciati at Bourges, to whom Erasmus recommended him ¹⁰⁾, whilst his *affinis* Charles of Uutenhove

¹⁾ The only 'Philip' of Bruges mentioned for that period in *LibIntIII* is 'Philippus de ertteryke de brugis — liliensis', who matriculated on August 31, 1520 : *LibIntIII*, 269, v; he probably is the Philip van Aartrycke, priest, son of Hector, and of Cornelia Lievens : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 197. That 'Philippus Brugensis, artium liberalium professor', as Lips in his correspondence calls him, lived in the Lily, and sent several letters, and occasionally, poems, to his friend and mentor of St. Martin's Priory : LipsE, 720-731, 789.

²⁾ On the 'quarto nonas Augusti' (= 2), Philip of Bruges wrote 'ex Liliano Collegio', asking Lips to provide some whey for his ailing friend : 'aliquid seri lactis pro Carolo Sucqueto, cuius aduersa valetudo magnopere eo opus habet', : LipsE, 728. In another letter, undated, he mentions at the end : 'Sucquetus noster bellissime valet' : LipsE, 731.

³⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 390, 531-56, &c; also before, I, 68, *passim*, and further, Ch. XIV.

⁴⁾ LipsE, 760-63. ⁵⁾ MS of Royal Library, Brussels, II, 1040¹, f 20.

⁶⁾ Allen, VIII, 2101, 2135, 9-10, 2141, 6-8, 2191, 2356, IX, 2373.

⁷⁾ 'Sucquetus amicissimi candidissimique ingenii est', he wrote to Alciati about him : Allen, VIII, 2329, 53-54.

⁸⁾ Allen, VIII, 2191, 9-24.

⁹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2191, 81-87, 2329, 57, *sq.*

¹⁰⁾ Allen, VIII, 2210, 8-13, 2213, 19-20; it also results from Alciati's reply, Bourges, March, 1, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2276, 31, *sq.* 2329.

attended the lectures in Basle ¹⁾. By Aug. 1529, Sucket was in Bourges with his friend Viglius, and Alciati praised them to Erasmus on October 7 : 'cautus vterque, peritus vterque, disertus vterque. Haud mirum bene convenire vtrique ²⁾'. From the beginning of 1530, Charles successfully lectured there under Alciati's guidance ³⁾, and was proposed by him for the doctorate of laws, which honour was bestowed on him in October 1530 at the expense of the town ⁴⁾. From Bourges Sucket went to Turin, where, in 1531, he was offered a public lecture of Laws. He there made the acquaintance of an Italian young lady, and seriously thought of marrying her. Viglius dissuaded him from it in a letter dated from Padua, August 26, 1531, to which town he urgently invited his friend, also with the prospect of public lectures ⁵⁾. In his next letter, of November 24, 1531, Viglius expresses his anxiety about Charles's health ⁶⁾ : it was greatly endangered by an illness, which after a year's loitering, proved fatal on November 3, 1532. Viglius praised his deceased friend in a letter of condolence to his brother Antony, December 27, 1532, mentioning a work, of which he tried to secure the manuscript : it was edited at Turin about 1535, under the title of *De Interdictis* ⁷⁾.

Charles Sucket's untimely death was lamented, not only by Viglius ⁸⁾ and Erasmus ⁹⁾, but by all humanists. His memory

¹⁾ Charles van Uutenhove (cp. further, Ch. XII), had left Erasmus about the end of February 1529 ; he had gone to Padua University, and only a few months later he informed the Great Humanist of his whereabouts. In reply the latter dedicated to him *De Pronunciatione*, on Sept. 1, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2093, 2105, 2, 2209. In that letter he announces : Carolus Sucquetus, affinis tuus,... contulit se ad Biturigas, illectus fama Andreæ Alciati : Allen, VIII, 2209, 64, sq. The affinity of the two young men may probably go back to Charles Uutenhove's great-grandmother, who was a Catherine van de Waele (or Walle) d'Axpoele, married to Livinus de Gruutere, whose daughter, Isabella de Gruutere, married Charles' grandfather Nicolas (*Brug&Fr.*, I, 476-77), whereas Charles Sucket's mother was Isabella de Waele (Walle, or Wale) d'Axpoele.

²⁾ Allen, IX, 2394, 135-136, also 127, sq.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2276, 31, sq, 2329, 44, sq, 2356, 36, sq, IX, 2373 ; Gabbema, 525-527.

⁴⁾ Allen, IX, 2394, 127, sq.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 38-44 ; VigIEB, 10 (Dec. 27, 1532).

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 44-45.

⁷⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 45-46.

⁸⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 116, 118, 124 ; also in a letter which he wrote on December 27, 1532, to Charles de Tisnacq : VigIEB, 10.

⁹⁾ *Erasmiana*, II, 607 : letter to Charles of Uutenhove, April 1533 Allen, X, 2799.

is celebrated by Janus Secundus in his *Nænia in obitu ornatissimi adolescentis Caroli Sucqueti Flandri*, and in others of his poetical works ¹⁾, whereas most eulogistic references occur in many writings of that period ²⁾ to the clever jurisperit, who was expected to have served his country in a brilliant and beneficial career, for which he had so thoroughly prepared himself ³⁾.

Antony Sucket, Charles's younger brother, whom the father had dedicated to the *bonis literis*, and whom Erasmus, about 1520, considered as *admodum puerum*, comparing him to the two elder sons, John and Charles ⁴⁾, was very well known to Viglius, judging from the letter of condolence of December 27, 1532 ⁵⁾. It implies that he knew him personally, which suggests that he had spent some time with him in Louvain before he left for Dole in 1526 ⁶⁾. In all probability Antony studied the Arts and the Law, whilst attending, at the same time, the lectures of the College which was so intimately connected with his father and namesake ⁷⁾. He certainly entered the

¹⁾ *JSecOp.*, 224-227 (*Nænia*) and 168, 194-198 : *Epistolæ* : they are reproduced in *DelPoBel.*, iv, 225, sq, 274, 294, sq ; cp. *Cran.*, lxxxii.

²⁾ E. g., Viglius, in his *Vita*, and his letters : Hoyneck, i, i, 74, ii, i, 7, 28, 116 ; Hector Hoxvirius, in a letter to Erasmus, March 16, 1532 : FG, 202, 15, sq (Allen, ix, 2624, 74, sq). Erasmus refers to Charles' success at Turin in a letter to Viglius of July 1532 : Allen, ix, 2682, 60, sq, and tells Uutenhove, on August 9, 1532, to recommend him to 'Gulielmo a Vale' : adding : *Referrem hic quam illius nepos Carolus Sucquetus Taurini rem magnifice gesserit, nisi facile suspicarer ipsum omnia perscripsisse* : Allen, x, 2700, 160-163. It is evident that *Gulielmus a Vale* is a common relative of Sucket and of Uutenhove : his name will, no doubt, have been *de Waele d'Axpoele*, brother of Sucket's mother, Uutenhove's cousin, who is most probably the rich uncle without children to whom Viglius refers in his letter of August 26, 1531, dissuading a marriage with a foreign girl : Hoyneck, ii, i, 40 ; cp. before, I, 59.

³⁾ *SweABelg.*, 171 ; *BibBelg.*, 127 ; *FlandScript.*, 34, sq ; Hoyneck, i, i, 74, &c ; Paquot, xiii, 73-76 ; *BrugInscr.*, i, 140 ; FG, 427-28 ; Allen, viii, 2191, pr ; *Cran.*, 74, a ; *Busl.*, 96, 124-25.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1556, 40-41.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, ii, i, 45-46.

⁶⁾ The acquaintance can hardly be explained by visits to his friend Charles's family, as at the father's death, August 31, 1524, they soon removed from the nearer Mechlin to the much remoter Bruges : cp. before, I, 58.

⁷⁾ That his name, as just mentioned, has been looked for in vain in the *LibIntIII*, may be due to the fact, that from 1524 to 1528 several of

juridical career : indeed, he was for several years barrister, 'Avocat Postulant', in the Great Council, at Mechlin, where he died on November 18, 1557, being buried in St. Peter and Paul's Church. He had married Mary de Hane, who survived him until April 1589 ; she died in Brussels and was buried in St. Gudula's ¹).

They left a son, Antony, Knight, Lord of Sevenplancken, Crayenhoven, &c, who became Master of the Requests and Member of the Great Council, at Mechlin ²), where he deceased, July 14, 1616 ; with his wife, Adriana van der Lind, who died on June 8, 1629, he is also buried in St. Peter and Paul's, Mechlin ³) ; that church then belonged to the Jesuit order, in which their son Antony had entered on April 27, 1597, after having studied laws in Louvain : he was one of the most famous and saintly members of the Society in the first quarter of the xviith century ; he became Provincial for Flanders, and, on returning from a journey to Rome, died in Paris on February 15, 1626, leaving several greatly appreciated devotional works ⁴).

B. COUNCILLORS

At the same time as Viglius and Charles Sucket, there studied in the Louvain Faculty of Laws and at the *Trilingue*, a group of young men, their close friends, who in later life illustrated themselves by their eminent services to their Prince and their country. One of them was Florent de Griboval, or Greboval, the son of Peter, Knight, Lord of Berquin,

the lists of matriculated students were written by the semestrial Rectors in a very indistinct hand, and without care, whereas the fading ink contributes to make the search very hard : cp. further, p 156, n ⁷.

¹) Hoynck, II, i, 39 (to be corrected by note ⁸ of p 151) ; *MalInscr.*, 403 ; *BrugInscr.*, I, 140 ; *MalGrCons.*, 847 : 438 ; *Busl.*, 125.

²) His sister Jossyne had married Erasmus de Zoete, who was Pensionary, or paid Councillor, of Mechlin, and Barrister in the Great Council of that town ; he died there on September 30, 1613 ; his wife had preceded him in December 1599 : *MalInscr.*, 475, reproducing the family crests of Sucket, de Hane & de Waele d'Axpoele : cp. Paquot, XIII, 76 ; *MalConF*, 33.

³) *MalInscr.*, 402.

⁴) He was only 51, being born at Mechlin on October 15, 1574 : Paquot, XIII, 76-78 ; *SweABelg.*, 139 ; *BibBelg.*, 76-77 ; *BrugInscr.*, I, 140 ; *Jés-Nécr.*, 36 ; *JésHist.*, I, 445, II, 273, 514-16, &c.

Councillor and Chamberlain of Charles V ¹⁾, alderman, and repeatedly mayor of the Franc de Bruges ²⁾, and of Jeanne d'Estrompes, or des Trompes ³⁾, thus belonging to the old nobility of the country. Peter de Griboval, who was also *quæstor* or receiver-general for Flanders ⁴⁾, enjoyed a large fortune, and could give to his sons ⁵⁾ an excellent training. Florent was sent to Louvain and entrusted to the care of Peter de Vriendt, who had been preceptor in Giles de Busleyden's family ⁶⁾; he attended Goclenius' lectures ⁷⁾, as results from a letter of Viglius to Erasmus, dated from Padua on September 8, 1532, by which he transmits an epistle of his friend, and praises him for his exquisite knowledge of Latin and of literature : *Carmen pangit et elegans, et facile, plenumque sententiis, ut ipse præmaturam in eo sapientiam admirer* ⁸⁾. He was sent to Orleans after his studies in Louvain, and boarded there with 'Beraldo', Nicolas Bérault ⁹⁾; afterwards he went to attend the lectures of Alciati in Bourges, where he rejoined Viglius. Since they were good friends, they went together to Padua, where Florent studied Law; as by chance in their conversation, Viglius mentioned that some of the officials of the Netherlands objected to Erasmus' pension, he requested that the glory would be left to his father to redress that injustice : that was the occasion of his writing to the great Humanist ¹⁰⁾. When Louis de Praet,

¹⁾ He was the son of Louis de Griboval, Lord of Bacquerode and Adriana de Berquin : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 302-3.

²⁾ He was alderman from 1530 until his decease, June 21, 1554, and mayor in 1529, 1535, 1543, 1552 : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 302.

³⁾ At her death, Peter de Griboval married Frances Joigny-de Pamele, widow of Lopez de la Corona, a Spanish shipper († March 7, 1547) : *Brug&Fr.*, 443-44.

⁴⁾ In 1543, he had asked to be discharged of his office on account of his age and infirmities : on March 3, 1543, Mary of Hungary appointed two successors, one for each of the Flanders : Henne, VII, 132.

⁵⁾ Florent had at least one brother, Charles, who married Catherine Boulangier : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 302-3.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 126-27.

⁷⁾ Febr. 24, 1527 : Florentius de gubeual de Brugis : *LibIntIII*, 337, v.

⁸⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 110; Allen, x, 2716, 158-162. Amongst *Hadriani Marii Epistolæ* (Leyden, 1609), there is one to Florent de Griboval.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 390, sq, &c.

¹⁰⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 111; Allen, x, 2716, 167-178, 2799, 8-10 : about April 24, 1533, Erasmus mentions to Charles Uutenhove : *Scripsi... ad quæstorem Flandriæ, cuius filius nomine Florentius agit Patauii*.

Lord of Flanders, passed through Padua, both Griboval and Viglius went to pay him a visit; the latter afterwards recalled in a letter of June 1, 1533, that he, too, had highly approved of studying law, not in the commentaries, but in the sources ¹⁾. In that same letter, Viglius not only points to the advantages of that method ²⁾, but adds that, as he himself was lecturing in Padua, he felt encouraged by de Praet's recommendation to put it into practice as much as he could in his lessons, and even was stimulated to the investigation and the editing of a document most intimately connected with those sources, namely the Greek *Institutiones Imperiales*, of which he had secured the text thanks to the help of Peter Bembo ³⁾.

From that and other passages in their letters, it follows that the spirit of the *Trilingue* was actively at work in the minds of the two friends residing at Padua, and was keeping them together far more than the want of sociality in a foreign country. A third, Charles de Tisnacq, wanted to join them, and although Viglius had written him on December 27, 1532, that they contemplated visiting Rome and returning to the Netherlands before the summer set in, they stayed several months longer with him in Italy ⁴⁾. On December 1, 1534, when Viglius had entered the service of the Bishop of Münster, de Griboval had returned to the home country, and was learning practical jurisprudence by attending the high court of Mechlin, where he boarded with the secretary of the judgments of Flanders; he was still Viglius' admirer, and even extolled his edition of *Theophilus* far too much to the author's taste ⁵⁾. On August 21, 1535, Viglius mentioned that

¹⁾ In that same letter, Viglius requests Louis de Praet to recommend to the Emperor the '*Instituta*', which he contemplates editing: VigIEB, 31.

²⁾ VigIEB, 31 : hærent... multo firmitus sententiæ cum per se optime ac illustres, tum a magno aliquo authore profecte.

³⁾ VigIEB, 31 : Itaque ego qui hic aliquem inter professores locum tenebam, quoad potui consilio tuo obsequi studui ac de ipsis etiam fontibus legum inquirendis sollicitè cogitari cœpi : nactus sum hic tandem aliquid doctissimi viri Petri Bembi beneficio, quod mihi ad ipsos fontes pertinere quam maxime visum est, institutiones scilicet Imperiales græcas. Quas... in lucem edere maturavi...

⁴⁾ VigIEB, 10 : cupio... te videre priusquam scholis valedicam, quo iterato consuetudine animos ad mutuam benevolentiam inclinatos in reliquæ vitæ officiis confirmemus...

⁵⁾ Letter of Viglius to Flor. de Griboval : Dülmen, December 1, 1534 : Hoyneck, II, i, 166-168.

he heard with great pleasure that his friend was learning the *usus forensis*, and advised him to go for a time to a University to promote Doctor, so as to be able to fill a public office ¹⁾. On June 15, 1536, he highly praised his style, and encouraged him to avail himself of the experience of the best jurists: *Eam vero sententiam tuam*, he adds, *doctissimi clarissimique viri D. Francisci Craneveldii confirmabit consuetudo. Multum enim refert cum quibus verseris* ²⁾. Nor were the efforts of the young jurist without success: after officiating as mayor of the Franc de Bruges in 1539-40, he became member of the Council of Flanders ³⁾ and was promoted to the Great Council of Mechlin by letters of October 9, 1543 ⁴⁾. He became *Eques Auratus*, and succeeded in time his father in his estates, becoming Lord of Berquin, Plessy and Jumelles. He married Cornelia le Fèvre, Lady of Hemstede, daughter of John le Fèvre, Lord of Hemstede and Lysvelt, and of Mary de Busleyden ⁵⁾. At her death, he married Adrienne de Halewyn, Lady of Sweveghem ⁶⁾, who bore him several children ⁷⁾. He died in 1562.

At the same time as Viglius, Charles Sucket and Florent de Griboval, there was also at the *Trilingue* Charles de Tisnacq,

¹⁾ Letter dated from Speyer, in which he praises the Imperial Chamber: Hoyneck, II, i, 187-189.

²⁾ Letter dated from Speyer: Hoyneck, II, i, 215-217.

³⁾ *FlandCon.*, 152.

⁴⁾ He was appointed to the third lay seat, succeeding to Antony de Branchon, Lord of la Mure (1523-1543): *MalConM*, 101.

⁵⁾ That Mary, daughter of Giles I, was Jerome de Busleyden's sister: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 302-303; *Busl.*, 15.

⁶⁾ She was the daughter of Josse of Halewyn, Lord of Roosebeke, Merckem, Vesste, Sweveghem, Viscount of Harlebeke, and of Adrienne de Blaesere: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 226. She survived her husband eight years: she died on October 28, 1570, aged 48, and was buried in a chapel of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin: *MalInscr.*, 77, 231.

⁷⁾ A son, Louis de Griboval, Lord of Jumelles and Sweveghem, married Isabella de Marchenelles; a daughter, Jeanne, married Philip de Deurnagele, Lord of Vroyland and Zeghershove, and died March 31, 1618; another, Liévine, married Antony Triest, Lord of Ruddershove, Lovendeghem, Meerlebeke and Laethem, and died March 16, 1612; a third, Charlotte, married Peter van der Burch, knight, widower of Adrienne of Herzele († 1583), and already died in 1591: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 243, 391, 457, III, 87, V, 337.

as appears from the just mentioned letter of December 27, 1532 ¹⁾ by which Viglius, in terms of the greatest intimacy, urged him to come to Italy if he wanted to see him and his companion Florent de Griboval there ²⁾, as they did not wish to stay very much longer. He also referred to the recent decease of their common friend Charles Sucket ³⁾, and used it as an incentive to make Tisnacq come to make up for that sad loss. That young nobleman was the son of Simon de Tisnacq, or Tisnac, Queen Mary of Hungary's Squire, and of Mary van Thielt ⁴⁾. He did go to Italy, and, returning to his native country, he started his career ⁵⁾ as extra-ordinary councillor (July 26, 1537) and 'avocat-fiscal' (June 4, 1545) in the Brabant Council ⁶⁾; he is mentioned as thus in the proceedings against the Strassburg preacher Peter Brusly in 1544 ⁷⁾. He had married Catherine, the daughter of Peter de Boisot, on which event Viglius expressed his congratulations in a letter from Speyer, April 25, 1537 ⁸⁾. He was appointed

¹⁾ VigIEB, 10, partly quoted in Hoyneck, I, i, 187.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 157.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 153.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 187.

⁵⁾ In 1536, Tisnacq had congratulated Viglius on his nomination to the Imperial Chamber at Speyer; the newly appointed councillor replied that his friend would soon enter real life in a position which his long preparation and the influence of his rich and powerful family would make most honourable : Hoyneck, I, i, 188.

⁶⁾ *BrabCon.*, III, 352.

⁷⁾ Henne, IX, 36, sq.

⁸⁾ VigIEB, 15. — Charles de Tisnacq's sister married Peter de Boisot, Councillor, and afterwards the King's Treasurer-General for the Netherlands; she was left a widow, and died on March 30, 1568, for grief because her eldest son Charles had been condemned as a follower of the Prince of Orange : he had been appointed as governor of Zeeland, and his brother Louis, admiral of the Dutch Seas and leader of the 'Watergeuzen' (*BatavMart.*, 126; *BelPU*, 28-32, 39) to the great grief of his uncle : letter of Viglius to Hopper, April 1, 1568 : Hoyneck, I, ii, 470. — Viglius' correspondence has two letters, Sept. 24, 1542 (Namur) and Febr. 9, 1543 (Nuremberg), to Charles de Boisot, a Councillor in Bishop Antony Granvelle's service : Hoyneck, II, i, 293-95; VigIEB, 19, 22, 38 : he was a cousin of Charles de Tisnacq's wife, the son of Didier de Boisot and Jane Salome; he had married Margaret de Tassis, and died as a member of the Privy Council at Ratisbon on December 9/11, 1546; his wife survived him until July 10, 1594 : Hoyneck, I, i, 20, 26, 136, 146; *ConPri.*, I, 87; *ConPriT*, 74; *MalInscr.*, 444. — The family had settled at Mechlin : *MalInscr.*, 451, 249, 436, 30, 490; an 'Adrianus Boisoet Mechliniensis', student of the Porc, promoted M.A. on March 29, 1542, being classed the 18th : *ULPromRs.*, 113; cp. further, Ch. XVII.

Master of Requests in the Privy Council (Jan. 3, 1550), and by the end of 1552, he assisted at the siege of Metz, sending regularly reports of the military operations to Mary of Hungary ¹⁾. He became member of the Council of State and of the Privy Council ²⁾, whereas, as Warden of the Seals for the affairs of Flanders, he resided for a time in Spain ³⁾. On September 9, 1568, he was appointed President of the Privy Council, when Viglius resigned. The latter, whose health was declining, saw him return with pleasure, although he was kept in his office of President of the Council of State by King Philip's letters of October 9, 1568 ⁴⁾. He had even soon to take up again the work of his successor : Tisnacq died from a stroke of apoplexy on April 17/18, 1572 ⁵⁾ : as he was a faithful, incorruptible servant of King and country, he departed this life in almost needy circumstances. He was buried in the chapel in Our-Lady of the 'Sablon' which his parents had founded ⁶⁾.

Another of their fellow-students, Gerard Rym, *Rimus*, also belonged to the nobility : he was the son of Philip, Lord of Eeckenbeke, whose family had played a prominent part in the history of Ghent, where several of his ancestors had been the leaders of the opposition against the reigning Princes ⁷⁾ :

¹⁾ Henne, ix, 376-78.

²⁾ Hoyneck, i, i, 187-188, 309.

³⁾ Hoyneck, ii, ii, 19-20, 60.

⁴⁾ Letter of Viglius to Hopper, February 9, 1569 : it announces that Charles de Tisnacq had arrived at last on January 28, 1569, and comments on Philip II's appointments : Hoyneck, i, i, 45, 52, ii, 499. In a letter of July 8, 1571, Viglius states to Hopper in how far the authority of the President of the Privy Council, Charles de Tisnacq, has been curtailed : Hoyneck, i, ii, 637.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, i, i, 53 ; Viglius adds in a postscript to his letter of April 18, 1573, to Hopper that the President de Tisnacq had died the preceding night of 'apoplexia, ac subitanea morte' : Hoyneck, i, i, 187, ii, 739 ; VulcE, 494 ; Alexandre, 396 ; *BrabCon.*, iii, 352 ; *BrabNob.*, 492.

⁶⁾ President de Tisnacq left a son Charles, Knight of the military order of Calatrava, and the King's Lieutenant in his feudal Court of Brabant ; as well as a daughter, Catherine, married to Sir John of St. Aldegonde, Lord of Celles. In the chapel of the 'Sablon' the monument of de Tisnacq was adorned with a picture of his wife and children : Hoyneck, i, i, 187.

⁷⁾ A. J. d'Hanins, *Epos Genealogicum complectens Originem... Prosapiae Rymorum* : Ghent, 1689.

the last was the Philip Rym, who arranged with Louis XI the cession of the baby-daughter of the deceased Mary of Burgundy in 1482, as well as that of some territories in 1483, and who signed in 1485 a treaty with France, which he expiated the same year by being beheaded on the scaffold ¹⁾. Gerard, born at Ghent in 1497, went to study in Louvain, probably in the Lily where his son Charles was sent to, a quarter of a century later ²⁾. After his studies of the *Artes*, he applied to that of Law, but he devoted much time and attention to languages, and was a regular auditor of the lectures of Goclenius and Rescius. His interest in Latin and Greek authors apparently caused him to make the acquaintance of the ardent humanist of St. Martin's Priory, Martin Lips ³⁾, as results from the fourteen letters of their correspondence that have been preserved. They testify to the great veneration of the young student for the erudite friend of Erasmus, and his own patient endeavours to master the two languages. A copy of Aristotle from the Library of the Priory is returned after a protracted borrowing with the expression of deep gratitude in two long poems, offered with a diffidence that elicited most encouraging replies ⁴⁾. Gerard also wrote two epitaphs on a relation of his friend, Judocus Lips, a Brussels advocate ⁵⁾, and on request he made a Greek translation of the *Ave Regina Cœlorum* and the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* ⁶⁾. He had provided a copy of a book by Erasmus, of which his correspondent could not make the acquisition on account of his rather narrow-minded 'confratres', and in return he asked his intercession to obtain from the Rector the permission to buy and keep Philip Melanchthon's *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum* (Wittenberg, 1521), of which the sale was not allowed. Martin van Dorp replied to Lips that he preferred not to meddle with a matter which properly pertained to the censors ⁷⁾, which shows that the three letters referring to that request belong to the months

¹⁾ Bruchet, 10, sq; Pirenne, III, 36, sq; *GandSJo.*, 345.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 164, 166.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIV.

⁴⁾ LipsE, 693-99, 702-4, 707-15 : by a misreading of the editor, the name is made into *Rivius*.

⁵⁾ LipsE, 701-2.

⁶⁾ LipsE, 715-16.

⁷⁾ LipsE, 704-706; *MonHL*, 247, 290; de Jongh, 163-64.

of March-August 1523, during which he was Rector ¹⁾; and that Rym was very interested in theological questions, for which he was also known in his later life. It makes it most probable that he is the Gerard mentioned in an admonitory letter, dated April 15, 1525, by which Lips tries to warn Sebastian Neuzen ²⁾ against presuming on his liberty and on his own judgment to express his partiality for Luther and to criticize Erasmus most acerbly ³⁾; Gerard Rym is most likely to have become acquainted with Neuzen in the Lily, and as he was aware of ill rumours spreading in his native town where the Hebraist was then tutoring, he most naturally tried to make Lips avert all trouble from his former teacher where he himself had failed ⁴⁾.

It is quite possible that in the spring of 1525 Gerard Rym had already started his career as jurispudent in his native town : he was there *advocatus fiscalis*, and Councillor in the Council for Flanders ; he married Barbara Claissone of Walebeke, Lady of Hundelghem. He must have been admirable in the uprightness of his character : in 1556, when he offered to Viglius, whose views he shared, a precious coin, it was delicately refused with the assurance that Rym's friendship was too deep and too noble to have to be cultivated by presents ⁵⁾. He died on December 3, 1570 ⁶⁾, and his children erected a monument to his memory in St. Michael's, Ghent ⁷⁾. — Gerard's son Charles, Lord of Bellem and Scheurveld, a poet, promoted Master of Arts in Louvain as an inmate of the Lily, being classed the second on March 19, 1551 ⁸⁾. He became D. V. J., and Imperial Councillor : he was sent by Maximilian II on embassy to Constantinople ⁹⁾, and on his return was appointed Privy Councillor by Philip II : he died

¹⁾ *ULDoc.*, I, 264.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 376-79.

³⁾ LipsE, 736-38.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 376-78.

⁵⁾ Hoynck, II, I, 381.

⁶⁾ Hoynck, I, II, 605-6 ; Hessels, II, 57 ; *GandErVir.*, 47-48 : *FlandCon.*, 157-58 ; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 131 ; LipsE, 669, sq, 674, 676 ; Roersch, II, 1-8.

⁷⁾ The epitaph is given on Hoynck, I, II, 606 : it mentions Charles, Privy Councillor, Francis Rym, Lord of Hundelghem, Livinus Rym, carver to Archduke Matthias of Austria, and Margaret Rym, wife of James van Uutenhove. Cp. *Brug&Fr.*, II, 113.

⁸⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 164.

⁹⁾ Paquot, XIII, 233, sq ; *HibBelg.*, 125 ; *GandErVir.*, 23, 28-29 ; *Brug&Fr.*, III, 439 ; Guicc., 235.

in 1583. The 'Philippus Rym, Gandavensis', who promoted M. A. and was placed 43rd on the same day as Charles, March 19, 1551 ¹⁾, may have been a brother prematurely deceased, or was at any rate a relative; and the Gerard Rym (c 1578-1636), who illustrated his name and family as Abbot of Mont-Blandin, Ghent, was apparently the grandson of the Councillor of the same name ²⁾.

Equally admirable work was done in his short lifetime by another of the *Trilingue* students in the sunny side of the twenties, **Hector of Hoxwyer, Hoxvirius**, a young Frisian nobleman, born at Maurichem in 1502 ³⁾. On May 11, 1528, Goclenius sends him a letter, which sounds like that of a master who is pleased that the high hopes he had conceived of his old pupil have come true ⁴⁾; three years later Erasmus writes to him, pronouncing him a 'γνήσιον Goclenii discipulum', showing as well his master's elegant Latinity as his unique modesty ⁵⁾. In Louvain he probably was a contemporary of Viglius, who remained his sincere friend throughout. When Goclenius wrote to him in 1528, he mentioned his brother Ausonius, who had come to study, and who had been recommended, evidently for lessons which the zealous professor promised to give besides a general direction in his activity ⁶⁾. Hector had then gone back since some time to his native country, and had become Councillor at Franeker; when Charles V returned from his coronation to the Netherlands in the spring of 1531 ⁷⁾, he offered him the congratulations of the Frisian State in an oration, which Viglius pressed him to publish ⁸⁾. It was admirably appropriate, conceived in the sound realistic principle of humanism and expressed in an exquisite language, a real model for the jurisprudents accustomed to the slovenly compositions of the past. It made Viglius write: *Mei saltem similibus ede eam, qui jurispru-*

¹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 166.

²⁾ 1633-36 : *Fland-Ill.*, I, 292; *BibBelg.*, 283; Paquot, XIII, 237, sq.

³⁾ Amongst the deputies of the noblemen at the visit of Duke George of Saxony in Friesland, May 1504, was *Æsco Hoxwyer*, lord of Mantgum : Worp, 55.

⁴⁾ Gabbema, 517-519.

⁵⁾ December 13, 1531 : Allen, IX, 2586, 1.

⁶⁾ Gabbema, 518-519.

⁷⁾ Gachard, II, 98-99.

⁸⁾ Gabbema, 521-525 : Bourges, June 6, 1531 : Allen, IX, 2586, 4, sq.

dentiae studio enixius incumbentes, ut ipsi ab Eloquentiae adytis ob impuram artis nostrae tractationem, consuetudinemque legendi Barbaros auctores excludimur ¹⁾, si minus morosi sumus aut subtiles in examinanda Scriptorum Politia. Ede eam illis, qui rerum seculo nostro gestarum monumenta posteritati transmittere meditantur... ²⁾

On the occasion of this welcoming of his Emperor, Hoxvirius probably visited Goclenius, and, induced by him, he wrote to Erasmus on May 26, 1531. The great Humanist sent him a most gratifying reply on December 13, 1531 ³⁾, referring to the Frisian Senator Haio Herman as to his colleague ⁴⁾. In his answer of March 16, 1532 ⁵⁾, Hoxvirius does not only mention Haio, who was ailing at the time, but also another Frisian councillor, Gerard of Herema, or Herama, his father-in-law, to whom Erasmus had written a letter on January 31, 1530 ⁶⁾, which, however, had been taken to Italy and Louvain before it had reached Franeker ⁷⁾. Meanwhile his brother Ausonius had been studying at Bourges, for a time at least, with Viglius ⁸⁾; he evidently kindled the fire of eagerness in Hector by his hearty praise of the Italian professors of Civil Law ⁹⁾. Indeed, to the utter surprise of his countrymen, and notwithstanding his advancing age, he left his office in 1534 ¹⁰⁾, and went to study jurisprudence, first in Padua, later on in

¹⁾ Eloquence had been considered since long as the ideal of humanism (cp. before, I, 111, 115, sq, 156, sq), and especially as an indispensable element for good lawyers (I, 219).

²⁾ Gabbema, 522.

³⁾ Allen, ix, 2586.

⁴⁾ Haio Herman Hompen : cp. *LatCont.*, 376-77, 390; Gabbema, 519; and before, I, 393-94, &c.

⁵⁾ FG, 200, 202, 20, sq; Allen, ix, 2624.

⁶⁾ FG, 202, 31; Allen, viii, 2262; Gabbema, 180, 182, 183; Viglius wrote, on April 24, 1558, a letter to the Papal Chamberlain, Theophilus ab Herema : Gabbema, 184.

⁷⁾ The letter had been entrusted to Haio Cammingha, who went to Italy instead of to Friesland.

⁸⁾ Gabbema, 525.

⁹⁾ In 1532, Viglius wrote to Hector : *perspicio ipsos Italos in eo <viz., Jure Civili> tradendo ingeniosiores excellentioresque esse iis quibus nostrum Lovanium superbit, vel quos Gallia jactat* : Hoyneck, i, i, 92.

¹⁰⁾ When, on Febr. 4, 1533, Goclenius wrote to him, Hector was still in Friesland with Ausonius : Gabbema, 520-21.

Pavia ¹⁾, becoming there Alciati's pupil in the first months of 1535 ²⁾. He returned home in 1536 ³⁾, and was sent on several missions by his countrymen to Charles V, and by the latter to other Princes. When, in 1537, Viglius became professor in Ingolstadt, he had a mind to offer himself as his successor at Speyer ⁴⁾. In 1539 ⁵⁾ he was at work as Friesland Councillor, and evidently was greatly interested in the history of that province ⁶⁾. In 1541, the presidency of the Utrecht Council was proposed to him : he only accepted after having taken Viglius' advice ⁷⁾, who, in his turn, kept his friend informed about his own feelings and movements ⁸⁾. In 1546, at the solemn Chapter of the Golden Fleece, Hoxvirius had the pleasure of being rewarded by the Emperor with knight-hood for his enlightened zeal and faithful service, which, however, he was not to continue long, as he died already in 1547 ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Letter of Viglius, Dülmen, Aug. 16, 1534 : Hoynck, I, i, 142.

²⁾ Letter of Viglius, Dülmen, Febr. 27, 1535 : Hoynck, II, i, 163, 180.

³⁾ Gabbema, 533 : letter of Viglius to Ausonius ab Hoxvier, July 15, 1536 : tumultuante Phrysia, non satis opportune frater tuus rediit. Cp. letter of Alciati to Boniface Amerbach, calling him *Oxyrius* : *BbBasle*, MS G. II. 14 : 109.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 274, a ; Hoynck, I, i, 142.

⁵⁾ There are three letters of Hector to his brother Ausonius of that period, with news about their relations ; two are fully dated : Leeuwarden, March 11, 1539, August 14, 1541 ; the third has only the date of the month, November 25, but belongs apparently to 1539, as it refers to the victory gained by the deputies in October 1539 over the Imperial policy of the President of the Frisian Council, evidently George Schenck van Tautenburg : his way of treating people fully changed thereby : Gabbema, 181, 182, 183 ; Theissen, 309-402 ; *Cran.*, 263, a ; *BatavSac.*, 14-22.

⁶⁾ Cp. Viglius' letters dated from 'Raina', Febr. 12 and May 31, 1540 : Hoynck, II, i, 275-281.

⁷⁾ Cp. Viglius letters, Ingolstadt, October 10, 1541 and Jan. 3, 1542 : Hoynck, I, i, 143 ; Gabbema, 549.

⁸⁾ Viglius announced to Hoxvier the offer of a place of Councillor in Brussels made to him, and asked for his and Nicolas Grudius' advice : Ingolstadt, January 4, 1542 : Hoynck, I, i, 139-141 ; on April 27, 1542, he wrote from Brussels about his satisfaction with the new post and his hope of promotion ; on June 12, 1543, he sent word of his removing to Mechlin, which town ensured peace and leisure to study : Hoynck, I, i, 141, 157, 158.

⁹⁾ Hoynck, I, i, 20, 139-143 ; *HEpL*, 125-26 ; *LanzPap.*, 385-87 ; *ValE*, 5 ; *FG*, 374 ; Allen, IX, 2586, pr. On Oct. 18, 1544, Haio Cammingha wrote

C. AMBASSADORS

About the same time there studied in Louvain two young men who, although not of the leading aristocracy, belonged to excellent families, and who in later life played a prominent part in the diplomatic service of their Prince.

One of them, **Cornelius de Schepper**, *Duplicius*, a grandson of John de Dobbele, Vice-admiral of Flanders, who, by his prowess, gained the name of de Schepper, or Skipper, was born at Nieuport in 1503, and was educated by his uncle, the parish priest of Ekelsbeke, near Cassel, who sent him to study in Paris ¹⁾. He came to Louvain in 1522, matriculating on December 3 ²⁾, and he pursued languages, philosophy and mathematics. He was a zealous student, especially at Goclenius' lectures, and a hearty affection sprung up between the master and the pupil, which lasted throughout life ³⁾. In 1523, he wrote *Assertionis fidei adversus astrologos. sive de significationibus conjunctionum superiorum planetarum anni M. D. XXIV... Libri Sex*, which was published on May 16 of 1523 ⁴⁾. The proficient young man was engaged as secretary by Godschalk Ericksen, the Chancellor of the fugitive King of Denmark, Christiern II ⁵⁾, and he became an ardent advocate of the monarch who had recently arrived in Walcheren ⁶⁾. He wrote an *Apologeticum* in his favour to Pope Clement VII, 1524; he also answered a pamphlet from the supporters of

to him from Lomme, near Lille, a letter full of repentance and request for help and advice : Gabbema, 540-543. There are besides the three letters of Hector of Hoxvier to his brother Ausonius, or Æsco, dated Leeuwarden, March 11, 1539, Nov. 25, (1539), and Aug. 14, 1541 : Gabbema, 180-184, two letters to him from Goclenius, Louvain, May 11, 1528, Febr. 4, 1533 : Gabbema, 517-520 and five from Viglius : Hoyneck, II, i, 180-81, 275-81; Gabbema, 521-25, 549-52; finally, one letter from Haio Herman and one from Rutger Rescius which are preserved in the The Hague Rijksarchief.

¹⁾ He there made the acquaintance of Gerard Roussel, Michel d'Arande and William Farel : Herminjard, I, 205.

²⁾ *Excerpts*, 103; *LibIntIII*, 296, r; *OlaE*, 510.

³⁾ *OlaE*, 444, 486.

⁴⁾ So the colophon : Antwerp, Fr. Byrckman : it was dedicated to Bishop Erard de la Marck on May 26, 1523 : *NijKron.*, I, 1867.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 67, a, 24; cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 54, 67, 22.

Frederic, and another about the Articles of Lübeck ¹⁾, with so much pointedness that Christiern made him his Vice-chancellor and sent him on a mission to England in October 1524 ²⁾, and afterwards to Madrid. He assisted Queen Isabella in her illness at Zwynaerde, and at her death, January 19, 1526 ³⁾, he entered the service of Charles V, who had had the occasion to appreciate his merits; whereas he himself proved highly successful in his powerful pleading with the Emperor in favour of the *bonæ literæ* ⁴⁾.

After staying for a time at the Imperial Court in Spain ⁵⁾, he was entrusted with various missions, not only in the country ⁶⁾, but also abroad: by 1528, he was sent on embassy to Poland ⁷⁾ and, on his return, called on Goclenius, on October 6, 1528 ⁸⁾, and married at Bruges the widow of Peter Laurin, Lord of Leeskens ⁹⁾, Anne Isabella d'Onche ¹⁰⁾,

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 249, a; Cartwright, 19, 42; Seck., I, 266, a.

²⁾ Brewer, IV, 777.

³⁾ *AnEmBr.*, II, iii, 64; Reigersb., Rijr; *FlandIll.*, I, 393; *Cran.*, 182, a, 249, a. De Schepper composed an *Epitaphium* in Isabella's memory, which was printed by John Grapheus for Gregory Bontius, Antwerp, Anno m. d. xxviii, mense Octobri, in Palæphatus' *De Non Credendis Historijs, Libellus*, from f 57, r, to f 59, r; no doubt, the *Epitaphium Isabellæ Illustr. Danorum Reginæ* was also printed separately, as is suggested by the copy of Copenhagen Library: Nijkron., II, 3670.

⁴⁾ In September 1526, he was one of Gattinara's secretaries: Allen, VI, 1747, 120; the Great Chancellor highly appreciated de Schepper: FG, 147, 5; Allen, VIII, 2336. 7-11. Viglius also frequently corresponded with the Schepper: ViglEB, 21, 38, also 19, 37; ViglEA, 22: letter of de Schepper, Antwerp, end of June 1553: in that letter, de Schepper refers to the death of his wife, and to the wardenship of her, and of their children.

⁵⁾ Writing to Erasmus, on May 10, 1528, Goclenius announced: *Rediit ex Hispaniis Cornelius Scepperus, donatus a Cæsare ordine equestri et censu. Is hic legatione fungitur, amicus bonis literis vt si quis alius; quas apud Cæsarem non instrennue aduersus calumnias defendit*: Allen, VII, 1994a, 60-63.

⁶⁾ He certainly had some concern with Antwerp: *AntwHist.*, IV, 170; several of his letters are extant: 1526-30, to the Antwerp pensionary Adrian Herbouts: cp. P. Génard, *Note Biographique concernant Corn. Duplic. de Schepper*, in *BullAcBelg.*, XL (1875): 602-18.

⁷⁾ Brewer, IV, 3879, 5240.

⁸⁾ Allen, VII, 2063, 61.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, p 68. Peter Laurin died on February 27, 1522: FG, 29, 36, 83, 25; *BrugInscr.*, I, i, 160; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 365; *OlaE*, 417, 519; Allen, V, 1271, 122; *Cran.*, XLviii, xcvi, 6, pr, 249, b.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, p 68.

daughter of Peter, and Jacqueline de Clichtove¹⁾, who brought him a large fortune²⁾. As time went on, he entered the Privy Council³⁾ and as such and as ambassador to Scotland, Hungary, Poland, Turkey and England, he earnestly worked so as to establish peace and mutual understanding. He tried to bridge the religious chasm that divided Germany, which made him well acquainted with Melanchthon and Spalatin⁴⁾; and he managed to conclude the first treaty between Austria and the Turks⁵⁾. He was rewarded by the title of *Eques Auratus*, by the lordship of Eecke, on the Scheldt, and by the appointment to the Council of State, on December 22, 1538⁶⁾.

If de Schepper was successful in his missions, it was evidently on account of his calm, world-wise sagacity and of his thorough humaneness; in addition to that, he was greatly helped by an hereditary disposition in all matters connected with the Marine. He played a part in the bewildering contest for the shipping in the Baltic Sea, between the merchants of the Netherlands and the fast declining Hanseatic League, in which, at the time, Lübeck was predominating: that question was further complicated by the immixtion of the religious altercation, by that of the succession to the Danish throne at the death of Frederic I, and by the wild opposition to the powerful ascent of the democratic party headed by Jürgen Wullenwever⁷⁾. Judging by his correspondence with John

¹⁾ Jacqueline de Clichtove, daughter of Cornelius, and Catherine van de Walle, married, at Peter d'Onche's death, Christian of Zegerscapelle, and bore him at least one son, Cornelius, who, in 1530, became an inmate of the *Trilingue*, no doubt, through his *affinis*: at least the boy was known as the brother of de Schepper's wife: *MotJuris*, 63; cp. further, Ch. XI. There was also a daughter, Jacqueline, who, in 1528, married Roland Claeys (Nov. 23, 1498-Sept. 27, 1546), and died in 1539, leaving three children: *Brug&Fr.*, II, 111, 114.

²⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Olah, April 19, 1533: *OlaE*, 352; *Erasmiana*, II, 607; Allen, x, 2799, 19.

³⁾ He was appointed supernumerary member on December 22, 1533, and ordinary member on July 15, 1535: *ConPriT*, 70.

⁴⁾ Seck., II, 157, b, 165, b-166, a, III, 257, a, 399, a.

⁵⁾ *LanzPap.*, 41, 179, 197, 224, 229, 333; *GransPap.*, II, 230; *OlaE*, 269, 281, 348, 380, 456, 465, 481, 503; *OlaO*, 29; Henne, VI, 44, sq, VII, 261, 272, 347, VIII, 63, IX, 6; *PhilHessen*, 559. ⁶⁾ *LanzCorr.*, II, 294.

⁷⁾ Barthold, III, 306-414; *AltRel.*, 315-403; *HansAct.*, I, 82-571: *LanzPap.*, 197, 224, 227.

Dantiscus, de Schepper was also active in that confused struggle ¹⁾, although, in later years, he could display more fully and freely his most momentous activity to secure naval connection between the Netherlands and Spain, managing and ordering marine power to immunize the merchant fleets against the attacks of the French, by whose harbours they had to pass ²⁾. He was also to act his part in the plan of the removing of Mary Tudor from England by his friend, the ambassador Francis van der Dylft ³⁾, and he greatly contributed to the realizing of the canal built between Brussels and the Scheldt ⁴⁾. He died prematurely ⁵⁾ in Antwerp on March 28, 1555, and was laid to rest in the church of his estate Eecke ⁶⁾. He left besides his first works, some notes on the expedition against Tunis ⁷⁾, and his famous diary of his

¹⁾ DantE (*BbUpps.*, H 154 : 137-49; H 155 : 197-208; *BbCzart.*, 244 : 43-51, 199-200; *ErmArEp.*, D 6 : 25-26).

²⁾ Henne, III, 43, ix, 173; Goris, 561; *AltRel.*, 443; *AnEmBr.*, II, iii, 127.

³⁾ *AnEmBr.*, II, vi, 339, 349-55; Hume-Tyler, x, xi; Froude, IV, 537, sq; Tytler, I, 382-83; Stone, 211; *Cran.*, 139, g.

⁴⁾ Henne, III, 43, ix, 173; *Mameran*, 117; Pirenne, III, 261, sq; *Schepp-Miss.*, 102.

⁵⁾ He had for some time walked with crutches, as T. Chamberlayne wrote from Brussels, June 7, 1551 : Tytler, I, 382.

⁶⁾ His wife, Isabella d'Onche, who preceded him on August 20, 1548, had been buried there : on her (and on Elizabeth de Baussele, Cranevelt's wife : † April 26, 1545) James Jespersen wrote and published, 1548, an epitaph : *BB*, I, 34; *Cran.*, lxxvii. They left a daughter Anne, who married Cornelius de Coornhuuse, great Bailiff of Ypres and Audenarde : *ConPriT*, 71; *Brug&Fr*, II, 164; she restored her parents' tomb in 1588, and died at 90 on October 10, 1619. They also had a son, Cornelius, born on Februari 8, 1533, whilst his father was in Austria : *OlaE*, 284, 388, 393; he hardly can be the 'Cornelius Scepperus nobilis', who matriculated in Louvain on August 28, 1542, as a student of a pedagogy : *LibIntIV*, 157, v; *LibRecI*, 339, v, — probably a nephew; their son, for certain, became Mary of Hungary's page, and consul of the Franc de Bruges, 1566-69, like his relatives, the Laurins; he also was Lord of Eecke and took part in the political events, 1559-1577; he may have been the second husband of Margaret Loonis († Nov. 8, 1596). He died without offspring; his sister Anne succeeded him at Eecke before 1588 : *Cran.*, 249, f.

⁷⁾ He wrote a preface to J. C. Calvete de Estrella's *De Aphrodisio Expugnato... Commentarius 1551*, published also in a collection of reports : *Rerum a Carolo V... in Africa bello gestarum* (by the same Calvete, Paul Jovius, Nicolas Villagagnon, John Etrobius) : Antwerp, 1554 : cp. *Cran.*, 249, d; Opmeer, 481, a.

mission to Constantinople ¹⁾, as well as a most interesting collection of letters, especially those addressed to his intimate friend the great John Dantiscus ²⁾, in which are reflected not only the political events with which he was intimately connected, but also various manifestations of intellectual life of his time. He proved a hearty protector of younger erudites and literators, like James Jespersen ³⁾, like Livinus Algoet ⁴⁾, like William Snouckaert, *Zenocarus*, of Schau(en)burg ⁵⁾, and evinced a never flagging interest in the works and study of all his great contemporaries, most of whom he knew personally ⁶⁾, whereas he himself, as Erasmus said of him in his *Ciceronianus*, after showing his dexterity in *omni disciplinarum genere*, had soon been thrown into active life : *jam diu fabulam agit motoriam* ⁷⁾.

With all that is de Schepper one of the most noble representatives of the Humanistic Movement, and an ideal realization of the spirit of Busleyden's Institution. There may have been more who attained the admirable acquaintance which

¹⁾ Reprinted in *ScheppMiss.*, 105-222 : cp. there pp 8, 75, 103, 109-116.

²⁾ Westphalen, II, 1103, III, 421-448 : 1527-1537 ; *OlaE*, 281, 269-605. The originals or copies of these letters, as also those of common friends, repose in *BbCzart.* (Cracau), *BbKorn.* (Poznan), *BbOssol.* (Llow), *ErmArEp.* and *ErmArCa.* (Frauenburg), as well as in *BbUpps* (Uppsala) : the author of this study contemplates editing shortly an analytical repertory of that most important correspondence.

³⁾ He wrote and published in 1548 (Antwerp, G. Coppens), an epitaph on Isabella d'Onche : *BB*, I, 34. Cp. further, Chs. XVII, XVIII.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 136-39.

⁵⁾ He was a native of Bruges, who, having studied laws in Paris, became de Schepper's secretary, and afterwards Charles V's librarian and historian, as well as Councillor of Holland : *BibBelg.*, 336 ; Paquot, XIII, 118 ; *Brug&Fr.*, v, 373 ; *Cran.*, 249, g ; *ViglEB*, 21. He wrote the praise of Louvain University and her professors in the life of his master Charles V : *VAnd.*, 403 ; in 1561, he was given the grant for a will : *FUL*, 5615. — A son of his brother Martin, Lord of Schauburg (Schaubrouck) and Somerghem, matriculated in Louvain on October 12, 1559 : 'Gulielmus Zenocarius a Schouwenborch' : *LibIntIV*, 357, v ; *Brug&Fr.*, v, 374.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 249, g.

⁷⁾ *EOO*, I, 1012, B : *præterquam quod in omni disciplinarum genere versatus est, pari fac[ili]tate & solutam orationem textit & carmen.* — He had gathered a collection of coins which Goltzius visited at Bruges between 1550 and 1560 : *CollTorr.*, 6.

he enjoyed of languages and literature ; yet there were few who had the courage to tell the truth, as he did, to monarchs (Opmeer, I, 481, a) ; or to go at a deep-rooted general belief, as he did by contending that there is no direct connection between the astronomic phenomena and the destination of mankind, bringing relief by his *Assertio* of 1523 in the general consternation caused by the prediction of a second Deluge by all the astrologers. Even fewer were those who showed as he did by his *fabula motoria*, that the relation between all the nations, with due circumspection and prudence, had to be brought to a brotherly and encouraging peace and mutual understanding ; and above all, that the management of the countries was not to be directed by the personal advantage of the rulers, but by the welfare and the prosperity of the people, giving an admirable example of the fulfilling of the duty of Governments by the building of vital waterways, and by securing the roads to the merchant fleets, which were just then being called upon to start playing their part in the fraternization of Humanity ¹⁾.

The other student of the first twenties who illustrated the diplomatic service was **Francis van der Dilt**, *Dilfus*, Knight, Lord of Doorne and Leverghem, born of a rich patrician family at Antwerp ²⁾. He studied in Louvain, where he matriculated with his brother Erasmus on October 30, 1519 ³⁾, and attended Goclenius' lectures. It was probably on his recommendation that the youth went to Basle about August 1524, where Erasmus received him in his house and prevented him from mixing up with Louis Carinus ⁴⁾. He returned to

¹⁾ OlaE, 269, sq. 444, 486, 549 ; Opmeer, I, 481, a ; Guicc., 229, 244 ; JovEL, 224 ; BibBelg., 148 ; Seck., I, 266, a, II, 157, b ; FlandScript., 41-44 ; Miræus, II, 15 ; ConPri., I, 72 ; ConPriT, 70 ; Paquot, XII, 295-302 ; Henne, V, 38-39 ; J. de Saint-Genois, *Recherches sur... Cornille de Schepper* : Ghent, 1856 ; *ScheppMiss.* ; BN ; Allen, VI, 1747, 120, VII, 1994a, 60, IX, 2587, 69 ; Cran., 249, a-f, and sources quoted.

²⁾ His father John died on January 12, 1508, his mother, Jane Oudaert, on September 25, 1558 : *AntwInscr.*, VI, I, 187.

³⁾ 'Franciscus van der delft' : *LibIntIII*, 260, v.

⁴⁾ In a letter to Goclenius, published for the first time in the *Vita Erasmi* : Leyden, 1607, and dated 'Louanii, Id. Octobr. 1527' : *EraVita*, 196-198, — which year EE changed into 1517, — Erasmus mentions : Franciscus Delphus apud nos agit, vtinam tam felix nostro conuictu

Antwerp, where he had already secured a canonry in Our Lady's ¹⁾, and took letters to Cranevelt, one dated Febr. 10, 1525 ²⁾, as well as to John de Hondt, February 11, and to Maximilian Transsylvanus, February 24 ³⁾. In the first days of April, he journeyed again to Basle, passing by Aix, where he called on John Vlatten, who gave him a letter to his host ⁴⁾. At the end of the year, he went back to the Netherlands along with Charles Harst, taking a letter to Nicolas Everaert, President of Holland, in which Erasmus refers to him as

quam illius mihi iucundus ! Certe quod licebit in his occupationibus, adnitar ne nullum ex nostra consuetudine fructum ferat. Vix oratione consequar quantopere succenseam his qui tam generosam indolem ad nugas auertere conati sunt : Allen, vii, 1890, 14-18. That passage clearly shows that the letter is older than the date ascribed by Allen, 1527, when Dilft had been staying with Erasmus for over two years ; it evidently implies that the young man comes into Erasmus' household for the very first time. A few lines further, an allusion is made to Goclenius recommendation : 'Εν τῷ Διέλωφ τὰ λοιπὰ μὲν ἀρέσκει πάντα· τὴν φιλολογίαν abs te magnifice prædicatam, in eo desidero verius quam considero : — that remark, which would be quite out of season three years after he left the *Trilingue*, suggests that the young man comes straight from Goclenius' lectures ; so do the final sentences : Meditatur συνοικεῖν τῷ Κερύνφ. Malim cum alio. Tu facile coniectas causam. Ego monendi officio nunquam sum defuturus : Allen, vii, 1890, 22-25. Those comments can hardly be taken otherwise than for a young student, in the very beginning of his training ; besides being most suspicious as Nesen's friend, Carinus only took young students, like Erasmus Froben before he went to the *Trilingue* ; nor was Erasmus pleased with his way of instructing : cp. before, pp 26-28. It looks ludicrous to suppose that this young man Dilft, who, by 1527, contemplated entering the Imperial Court as official, and thought of getting married, should have been tempted to go and live in company with Frobenius' son and his preceptor, who, moreover, in the autumn of 1527, had become a favourer of Reform and Erasmus' bitter enemy. On the other hand, Dilft had been so highly pleased with his former stays at Erasmus' house, as Goclenius wrote about him on August, 18, 1527 : 'vt omnium mores et conuictus illi pre vno Erasmo sordeat. Itaque nemo illum auocare potuit quin ad te reuenteretur' : Allen, vii, 1857, 1, sq. The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that the letter dated 'Lovanii, Id. Octobr. 1527' is not only mistaken in the place name, but also in the year date, and belongs to 1524, as is also implied by the other details and matters treated : cp. further, Ch. XI.

¹⁾ Possibly the *nugæ* : entering the clergy without vocation.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 139, 4. and 140, 38-40.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1548, 24, 1553, 53-55.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1569, 4 : Aix, April 9, 1525.

'quondam conuictor meus' ¹⁾), and another to Cranevelt, in which he recommends him as most candid and affectionate, and wishes him to make the Councillor's acquaintance ²⁾).

Dilft stayed for a time at Antwerp, where he had resigned his canonry; on February 28, 1527, Goclenius replied to Erasmus' inquiry, that he had not seen him for three months and that he ignored his intentions; he had heard that he thought of marrying and of entering the Imperial service ³⁾. On August 18, 1527, he wrote a letter of warm, although unnecessary, recommendation for the young patrician who wanted to place himself once again under the guidance of Erasmus, who had already done him so much good ⁴⁾; nor was his company less agreeable to the Old Humanist, as Goclenius soon heard ⁵⁾. By February 1528, he returned to his native country by a round about way: for he delivered letters of introduction to Pirckheimer ⁶⁾ and Joachim Cameraarius in Nuremberg ⁷⁾, to Duke George of Saxony and his councillor Simon Pistorius in Dresden ⁸⁾, and to Philip Melanchthon at Jena ⁹⁾: by March 1528 Erasmus considered him to be home again, and he wrote to Adrian van der Beken, a Rivo, or Rivulo, that he would hear all the news from Dilft, with whom he had shared his company at Basle in the summer of 1524 ¹⁰⁾. On March 18, 1528, he wrote to Dilft, at Antwerp, entrusting him with messages for Schets ¹¹⁾ and Gillis, as well as for Berckman, or Byrckman, and expressing the promise to come and visit him before long in his home ¹²⁾.

¹⁾ Basle, December 24, 1525: Allen, vi, 1653, 35-37.

²⁾ Francisco Dilft... nihil adhuc vidi candidius aut amicius; et tuam eruditionem deamat; tibi cupit et notus esse et commendatus: *Cran.*, 172, 20-22: that letter was handed to Cranevelt on Jan. 19, 1526.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1788, 20-26.

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 1857: that letter is an unequivocal eulogy of the youth.

⁵⁾ Letter of November 7, 1527: Allen, vii, 1899, 57-66.

⁶⁾ Allen, vii, 1977, 1, sq.

⁷⁾ Allen, vii, 1945, 7, sq.

⁸⁾ Letters of February 5, 1528: Allen, vii, 1942, 3, sq, 1943, 3, sq.

⁹⁾ Letter of Febr. 5, 1528: Allen, vii, 1944, 9-13: cp. vii, 1981, *pr*, 7, sq, 1982, 1, sq, 1994a, 47-50; MelECle., 650, 651.

¹⁰⁾ Letter of March 21, 1528: Allen, vii, 1979, 5-6: Adrian van der Beken, or van Beek, had been Barlandus' pupil: cp. Daxhelet, 298-300, 18, 107, 159, sq, 171.

¹¹⁾ Cp. Schets' letters of July 27 and 30: Allen, vii, 2014, 48, 2015, 1-2.

¹²⁾ Allen, vii, 1972.

A few months later Dilft had decided to voyage to Spain, and he despatched a messenger to Erasmus ¹⁾ to ask for an introduction to Gattinara ²⁾ and to other officials at the Court. In the first days of September 1528, he was in Zeeland ready to sail : he had to wait a good while for wind ³⁾, and the voyage brought hardly any result. By the beginning of October 1529, he was staying once more with Erasmus ⁴⁾, and by the middle of January 1530 he left for Spain ⁵⁾ by Italy with letters to John and Bernard Boerio, of Genoa ⁶⁾, and, in Spain, to John Maldonatus ⁷⁾, to John and Alonso Valdes ⁸⁾, to John and Francis Vergara ⁹⁾. That second journey proved a success : he remained in Spain until 1533, when he and J. Vergara wrote to Erasmus about the end of May ¹⁰⁾, and he delivered an oration to the Emperor at Barcelona, which was printed in Louvain by Servatius Zassenus in the same year : it was rewarded by the honour of knighthood ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ He had returned by August, as results from Goclenius' letter of August 16, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2026, 2-3, 9-10.

²⁾ Erasmus' letter to Gattinara is dated Basle, July 27, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2013, 6, sq.

³⁾ Letter of Goclenius, October 7, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2063, 52-55.

⁴⁾ He announced to Erasmus the news of Vlatten having broken his leg : Allen, VIII, 2222, 24 ; he went to fetch wine from Besançon by the end of October, returning in the beginning of December : letters to Francis Bonvalot (and Leonard de Gruyères) : December 10, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2225, 16, 2241, 2242. He also announced to Erasmus that Boniface Amerbach was in good health : letter of January 9, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2248, 7-8.

⁵⁾ He took to Boniface Amerbach, in Basle, a letter written on January 16, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2256, 14-15. His journey is indicated in the first lines of Allen, VIII, 2255, 1-3.

⁶⁾ Letter of January 13, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2255 ; cp. IX, 2481, 43, sq.

⁷⁾ Opmeer, II, 64, Allen, VI, 1742, pr, VIII, 2250.

⁸⁾ Seck., II, 157, b, 165, b-166, a ; Pastor, III, 445, IV, II, 244 ; Allen, VII, 1807, pr, VIII, p. xliii, 2327, 2 (Alonso), VII, 1961, pr (Juan), X, 2798, 13, 2800, 26, 2892, 167 ; Simonis, 87.

⁹⁾ Those letters to the two brothers Valdes are dated January 13, 1530, but are both addressed to 'Valdesio' ; that to John Vergara has no date, that to Francis is dated 'Idibus Januar. xxxi', — which has wrongly suggested a double voyage to Spain, one in 1530 and one in 1531 : Allen, VIII, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254 ; Cran., 139, d.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, X, 2876, 26, sq.

¹¹⁾ *Oratio Gratulatoria ad Carolum V profligato e Pannoniis Soly-manno Turcharum Tyranno* : Olæ, 439 ; BibBelg., 228 ; EE, 1761, A.

In the middle of that same year he returned to Antwerp where he married a young widow ¹⁾; unfortunately she died in September 1534, and left him so broken by sadness that his friends despaired of his health and recovery ²⁾. Fortunately he revived, and married, on July 20, 1535, the young and rich Cornelia, daughter of the Antwerp alderman Ferdinand de Bernuy, and Isabella van Bombergen ³⁾. He invited Erasmus to his new home in the neighbourhood of Mechlin ⁴⁾, although he did not drop his connection with his native town, where he several times fulfilled the functions of alderman and of mayor between 1537 and 1541 ⁵⁾. He remained in close intimacy with Goclenius, who, on January 2, 1534, recommended him most enthusiastically to Nicolas Olah ⁶⁾. He was appointed Secretary of the Privy Council, where they considered him as the most learned amongst the noblemen, and the noblest amongst the learned ⁷⁾. In December 1544 he succeeded Eustace Chapuys as Imperial Ambassador in England : he met there his colleague Cornelius de Schepper, sent on mission, who made him write to John Dantiscus, whose friend he became ⁸⁾. He was recalled in May 1550 to deliberate about the possibility of an attempt to remove princess Mary to the Netherlands on account of the growing difficulties caused by her enemies ; he made a plan in Mary of Hungary's castle at Turnhout, which he would have executed with Cornelius de Schepper's assistance ⁹⁾, if death had not overtaken him in Antwerp, on June 14, 1550. He was buried

¹⁾ Letter of Dilft to Erasmus, Mechlin, Febr. 11, 1534 : Allen, x, 2904.

²⁾ Letter of Goclenius to Erasmus, Febr. 25, 1535 : Allen, xi, 2998, 53-56 : *viuit quidem adhuc, sed nulla spe diuturnioris vitæ.*

³⁾ Letter of Goclenius to Erasmus, August 10, 1535 : Allen, xi, 3037, 64-68 ; Guicc., 76 ; Goris, 374 ; *Brug&Fr.*, vi, 296-297 : Cornelia survived her husband : she died on April 10, 1556.

⁴⁾ *LatCont.*, 380 ; Allen, x, 2904, 10-15 ; *Cran.*, 139, f.

⁵⁾ *AntvAnn.*, ii, 182-229.

⁶⁾ Olah replied quite enthusiastically on January 15, 1534 : *OlaE*, 439, 444 ; *Cran.*, 139, h.

⁷⁾ *AntvDiercx.*, iv, 65.

⁸⁾ London, September 1, 1545, letter of Dilft to Dantiscus : *BbUpps.*, H 155 : 107-8 ; also 109-12, 114-15, 131.

⁹⁾ Hume-Tyler, viii, ix, x ; Tytler, i, 382, sq ; Stone, 211 ; Froude, iv, 537, sq ; Strype, ii, 462, iii, 1, sq. On his leaving, the Princess presented Dilft with a jewel and a gold lace for his son : Madden, 195, 198, 271, 284.

in the Church of the Minorites ¹⁾; he left a daughter, Anne, married to Adrian van den Heetvelde, squire, and a son, Edward († February 22, 1603), who took part in the managing of his native town and had several children ²⁾: his daughter Catherine married Giles de Busleyden, son of Nicolas ³⁾. Many learned men wanted to express their admiration to Francis van der Dylft: Erasmus put his name to a translation from Plutarch ⁴⁾, and the Antwerp *Ludimagistri* Judocus Velareus ⁵⁾ and John Servilius ⁶⁾, possibly old fellow-students, dedicated some of their works to him.

5. LINGUISTS AND LITERATORS

A. ERUDITES

Besides those students of the *Trilingue* who, especially the two latter, brought great honour on their masters by their signal merit and the eminent services they rendered to their Prince and their country in their prominent position, there

¹⁾ *AntwInscr.*, vi, i, 187; cp. Guicc., 104; *SweMon.*, 28; *BataoMart.*, 104, 106; *Cran.*, lviii, 139, b-h; Allen, vi, 1663, pr; *AntwDiercx*, iv, 65.

²⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, vi, 294-97; *AntwInscr.*, vi, i, 187; *Cran.*, 139, h; *Mal-Inscr.*, 101, 428; *BrabNobl.*, 239 (Edward was knighted on Sept. 4, 1596), 289-91.

³⁾ Catherine van der Dylft, Lady of Leverghem and Doorne, married Giles de Busleyden, Lord of Guirsch & Herent, mayor of Brussels in 1592 and in 1599, when, on Nov. 30, at the entry of Archduke Albert, he was knighted; he died on July 20, 1623 and she outlived him till June 16, 1650: *Brug&Fr.*, vi, 296; *BrabNobl.*, 240, 279-282; *Busl.*, 23; Gestel, i, 215; Simonis, 63.

⁴⁾ *Plutarchi Chæronei de Vitiosa Verecundia* (first printed at Basle, John Froben, as an appendix to the *Lingua* in February 1526, though with a separate pagination) was dedicated to Dylft, by a letter dated Basle, February 3, 1526: Allen, vi, 1663; it was reprinted by Michael Hillen, Antwerp, in April 1526: *NijKron.*, i, 834.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, p 184. Judocus Velareus dedicated *Domino Francisco Dilpho equiti splendidissimo* his *Plutarchi Chæronei Libelli Tres, nunc primum latinitate donati*: Antwerp, J. Steels, 1540: *NijKron.*, ii, 3754.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, p 186. John Servilius dedicated his *Lexicon Græcolatinum*: February 13, 1539, Antwerp, Martin de Keyser's widow for John Gymnicus, to: *Genere et Virtute nobili D. Francisco Dilfo, Senatori Antverpiensi, Equiti Aurato*, in the first days of Febr. 1539: *NijKron.*, i, 1897.

were others who, in more humble ways of life, threw an equally great glory on the excellence of their instruction by the remarkable erudition they showed either in their writings or in their teaching.

One of the very first amongst them was **Peter Nanning, Nannius** ¹⁾; he was born in 1496 at Alkmaar ²⁾, in which town he attended the Latin School for some time ³⁾; he was then apprenticed to a furrier, afterwards to a painter, until fortunately he was allowed to finish his schooling ⁴⁾, which led him to the position of a procurator's clerk in his native place ⁵⁾. His eager wish to develop his knowledge made him be sent to Louvain, where he matriculated on November 2, 1518 ⁶⁾. Besides the degree of Master of Arts, he also acquired, in the recently started Busleyden Institute, a thorough acquaintance with the three languages, consecrated by the use on Christ's Cross ⁷⁾. When he left Louvain by 1520, having returned to his native country, he was ordained priest, and got some fame as preacher ⁸⁾. He taught for a while under Kempo of Texel in Alkmaar ⁹⁾ until, in 1521, he accepted

¹⁾ Most of the information exposed here for the first time is derived from the *Oratio Funebris de Obitu Petri Nannii*, by Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, of which the manuscript original was discovered by the author of this *History*, in which it is intended to be published as an appendix: it is referred to as *NanOF* by provisional paragraphs.

²⁾ His father probably was the alderman Nanning Beyers; his mother is mentioned, on October 18, 1536, in a letter to Nicolas Olah as having been very ill: *OlaE*, 593; he lost his only sister in the beginning of the autumn of 1537: *OlaE*, 607 (October 5); *NanOF*, n.

³⁾ Cp. Gelder, 113, &c.

⁴⁾ *NanOF*, e.

⁵⁾ Polet, 3-4.

⁶⁾ 'Petrus Nannonis de alcmaraj trajectensis dioc.': *Excerpts*, 100; *LibIntIII*, 249, v. On October 4, 1501, 'Nanno filius petri nannonis de alcmaria traj. dioc.' matriculated in Louvain as a student 'in falcone': *LibIntIII*, 92, v; one 'Peter Nannonis Parochianus Alcmarjensis' is referred to in a deed of January 11, 1517, copied in the Record Book of the Abbey of Egmond in *BrArEc.*, v, 69 (n° 17307: 18, v): they may have been relatives: still the name was very frequent.

⁷⁾ Petri Nannii... qui & ipse ternas ibidem (<i.e., in Collegio Trilingui>) linguas eruditas, & in Christi cruce consecratas, olim perdidit: Valerius Andreas in a preface to the posthumous edition of Nannius' commentary on Horatius' *Ars Poetica* (Antwerp, 1608): Polet, 179, sq.

⁸⁾ *NanOF*, f.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 199.

the direction of the School of Gouda ¹⁾. Here in imitation of Dorp ²⁾, he wrote a comedy, *Vinctus*, after the style of those by Plautus and Terence, placing the action in Antiquity improving on what Reuchlin did in his *Henno* and *Sérgius* ³⁾. The play is a most felicitous blending of the two Latin models, and thrills with action and life, culminating in the masterly stage-effect of the second scene in the third act ⁴⁾. He also wrote an invitation in verse to young men, advising them to study Latin and Greek at Gouda ⁵⁾. Still he left that town, as he was requested to take the lead of the School of Alkmaar, which he directed from 1522 to 1535, when war and hostile invasions had completely ruined the *ludus* ⁶⁾. He went to Louvain, and settled in St. Jerome College, built on the left border of the Lei, an arm of the Dyle ⁷⁾; he started giving private lessons to groups, which after a while he continued in a hired house, until in 1537, his brother came to live in Louvain and liberated him from the trouble of looking after the catering and the lodging ⁸⁾. He had several students whose instruction he directed ⁹⁾, and he also took part in the activity of the Faculty of Arts. He was Goclenius' friend and helper ¹⁰⁾, and at his untimely decease he was chosen as his successor ¹¹⁾. In fact he had given sufficient proofs that he did not content himself with the pedagogical part of his task : he amply showed that, according to the spirit of the Institute, he thoroughly investigated the matter entrusted to his teaching : he made a nice comparative study of the texts, whilst

¹⁾ Gelder, 109, sq, 113; Kesper, 23; PF, 481; Polet, 5.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 128-29, 326, sq; cp. before, I, 221.

³⁾ Cp. Bahlmann, II, 18, 20; Creizenach, II, 44, sq.

⁴⁾ Polet, 33, sq, 210, sq, reproducing the text of the play, as it was printed in Antwerp by Simon Cock and Gerard Nicolas on July 21, 1522: *NijKron.*, I, 1584.

⁵⁾ Polet, 6-7.

⁶⁾ Polet, 8-9; Gelder, 22, sq, 116, sq.

⁷⁾ Polet, 9, 246-47.

⁸⁾ Nannius dates a letter of March 10, 1537 to Olah : *ex domo fratris*; on October 5, 1537, he refers to him as the host of Rutger Pathius' brother : *OlaE*, 598, 607; and afterwards, in his *Miscellanea*, as the head of the Imperial life-guard : Polet, 150-151.

⁹⁾ He had as his boarders the brother of the treasurer of Queen Mary of Hungary, Rutger Pathius, and one of Nicolas Olah's acquaintances, John Henckel : *OlaE*, 600-2, 604-5, 607, 609-10; Polet, 9-10, 256, 258-61.

¹⁰⁾ Polet, 10-11; *Cran.*, 283, 6.

¹¹⁾ Cp. further, *Chs.* XX, XXV.

widening his knowledge of Antiquity by tackling even Greek authors, as Goclenius did, whose grand example he also followed in aiming at an eloquent and even literary elocution.

The teaching of the Trilingue also proved to have been most beneficial to **Antony de Schoonhoven**, **Sconhove**, son of Cornelius, attorney-general of the Council of Flanders at Ghent, who was a friend and countryman of Erasmus ¹⁾. The youth had, no doubt, had an excellent training in his native town ²⁾, and, already in 1520, he was endowed with the twentieth prebend in St. Donatian's Chapter, Bruges ³⁾, in which his uncle, Gisbert de Schoonhoven, had enjoyed that of the *Cantor* since 1514 ⁴⁾. Antony took possession of his seat in the stalls on March 26, 1520, and he continued his studies in Louvain, for in 1523 he was styled *Magister* on the first of the *testimoniales* submitted to the Chapter to account for his absence from the choir and his stay in Louvain, at least until 1526 ⁵⁾. In his later life he showed a great partiality to,

¹⁾ He may have been the 'Corn. Pauli de Scoenhovia' who matriculated in Cologne on November 4, 1596 : Keussen, II, 432, 135 : Antony is called *Batavus* in the title of his memoir about the Franks : *MatthAnal.*, I, 37.

²⁾ There were at Ghent the famous schools of Robert de Keyser and of Eligius Houckaert : cp. before, I, 279, sq.

³⁾ That prebend had been enjoyed since 1512 by Mark Laurin, who, on September 24, 1519, succeeded John Goetgebuer, Bonvicini, as Dean. Antony de Schoonhoven, who was only in minor orders, was appointed through the Provost of that church, George of Bavaria, Count Palatine, and Bishop of Speyer : *BrugSDon.*, 77 ; he took possession of the prebend on March 26, 1520, and Nicaise Haneron as well as George vander Donct acted as warrants for him : *Bruges Chapter Deeds*, 1506-1522 : 208, r, v ; *BrugSDon.*, 85, 166 (Schoonhoven is called here Gisbertus by mistake, and the date 1525 is evidently wrong for 1520).

⁴⁾ *BrugSDon.*, 99, 191 : before becoming Cantor he had been connected with the Chapter since 1490, as possessor of a minor prebend, and since 1497, as receiver and procurator : he died on May 28, 1524, and was buried in the Church of the Guillemites. Probably he was the 'Gysb. de Scoenhovia', who matriculated in Cologne on October 13, 1489 : Keussen, II, 404, 8 ; *Cran.*, xciv, 115, g ; Schrevel, I, 245. Stephen Comes records his memory in an epitaph.

⁵⁾ *Chapter Deeds* of St. Donatian's, 1522-39 : f 25 : May 4, 1523 ; f 73 : April 3, 1524 ; f 99 : March 11, 1526. He seems to have been absent until 1528, when his dues, which had been retained, were granted him on October 7, 1528 ; he moreover must have resided for a few months in 1529 in Paris : *Chapter Deeds* : ff 139, 143.

and an equally great ability in, Latin philology, which bear witness to a thorough training at the *Trilingue*, no doubt under the great professor Goclenius. In 1546 he published an edition of *Eutropii Historiæ Romanæ Libri Decem* ¹⁾, freeing that work, dating from 369, from the alterations and the profound changes with which Paulus Diaconus had disfigured it between 766 and 782. Schoonhoven produced an excellent critical revision, comparing authentic copies of the primitive texts, amongst which there were two codices of the Abbey of St. Bertin, whereas a manuscript of the xth century, belonging to the library of St. Bavo's, was his chief authority ²⁾. Not only did he thus bring out the first critical edition, in which he proposed several corrections which are still accepted, but in a second issue he enriched it with a *Notitia Dignitatum*, and a state of the provinces of the Empire, which he had found in one of the manuscripts of St. Bertin's ³⁾. In 1546 he edited from those manuscripts the *Chronicon Marcellini Comitis quod Rerum Orientalium historiam Eusebii et divi Hieronymi usque ad Iustiniani tempora prosequitur* ⁴⁾. That *editio princeps* of an interesting historical document of the vith century is also emended by comparative collation and by the study of various manuscripts and monuments, which seem to have been the object of Schoonhoven's constant attention, and made him a true disciple of the *Trilingue*, a scholar after the heart of Erasmus. As he took a great interest in literature, he was the friend of George Cassander ⁵⁾, and especially of Stephen de Grave, *Comes* ⁶⁾; at his death he edited the latter's

¹⁾ Basle, J. Oporinus, May 1, 1546; George Cassander provided a laudatory poem to that *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* in 10 books.

²⁾ H. Droysen, in *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, II : Berlin, 1878; Manitius, I, 257, 262-63; Sandys, II, 475.

³⁾ Basle, J. Oporinus, 1552; the work of Schoonhoven was used for the editions of Eutropius issued by Oporinus in 1559, 1561 and 1566.

⁴⁾ Christ. Wechel, Paris, 1546.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁶⁾ Stephen de Grave, or le Comte, *Comes*, who as ludimagister of Cassel had attacked de Spouter's work, and had been appointed secretary of St. Donatian's Chapter about 1520 in consideration of his poem on Charles V, and of some orations (cp. before, I, 210, 516), had published already his *Primitiæ* in 1513 : Ghent, Peter de Keyser (Nij-Kron., I, 268), dedicated to the Cassel Chapter, as well as to Nicolas

poems in 1544, under the title of *Sylvula Carminum*, and he added two poems on Grave's decease, as well as poems on Mark Laurin and on John Louis Vives, with both of whom he had lived on most friendly footing ¹⁾; so he did with James de Meyere, whose death he also recorded in an epitaph ²⁾, and with a fellow-canon, Cornelius Wouters ³⁾, to whom he wrote about the history of the old Franks, about that of their St. Donatian's Church ⁴⁾, and about the emigrated Anglo-Saxon princess Gunilde, who had enriched it with gifts and bequests five centuries before ⁵⁾. Schoonhoven, who for some time had been often absent from Bruges ⁶⁾, settled, about 1539, in his house in Mead Street, and died there on November 20, 1557 : he was buried in the Church of the Guillemites ⁷⁾.

With Anthony de Schoonhoven may have gone to study in Louvain the sons of one of his father's colleagues, John Wouters, *Gualteri*, Lord of Vinderhaute and Meerendre,

Bruyreus, Francis Vulpes and his other pupils. Peter de Keysere printed on February 23, 1520, his *Oratio Gratulatoria* for the Abbot of the Downs, sent with Louis of Flanders, Guy of Blaesvelt and Nicolas of Bousingen to Spain as envoys to the new King ; it also brings poems on the death of Maximilian and on the election of Charles to the Empire ; the little book has commendatory verses by Pascal Zoutterius Cynopagita : *NijKron.*, II, 2391. Cp. *SweABelg.*, 680 ; *BibBelg.*, 817 ; *Paquot*, I, 383 ; *Cran.*, 39, b.

¹⁾ Stephani Comitiss Belloccassii *Sylvula Carminum* non minus docta quam iucunda. Cum nonnullis Epitaphijs Marci Laurini et Johannis Lodovici Vivis : Bruges, Rob. Wouters and Erasmus Verreecken.

²⁾ That epitaph, as well as that on Vives and one on Mark Laurin were reprinted with other poems by Schoonhoven in *DelPoBel.*, I, 970, 983-85, IV, 47, 87.

³⁾ Cp. further, p 182 ; *BrugSDon.*, 120 : with Cassander, Wouters had left for Italy and resided in Cologne from 1547 to 1549.

⁴⁾ Letters of Dec. 20, 1547 and October 5, 1549 : *MatthAnal.*, I, 37-47.

⁵⁾ Schoonhoven had made a list of the gifts of that Princess to the Bruges church : *BrugInscr.*, I, 206-207 ; *BrugHist.*, 24 ; *AnEmBr.*, liii, 31.

⁶⁾ From 1529 on, there were several periods that he staid away from the Chapter, pretexting poor health to explain his residence at Ghent, where he had some ecclesiastical preferments.

⁷⁾ A. Roersch, *Étude sur Antoine de Sconhove* (with documents) in *AnEmBr.*, 1924, completed in Roersch, II, 67-78 ; also the biographical notices in *BibBelg.*, 75 ; *BrugErVir.*, 19-20 ; *GandErVir.*, 18 ; *Guicc.*, 235 ; *SaxOnom.*, 264.

member of the Council of Flanders ¹⁾, who was a patron of Erasmus and of Vives ²⁾ as well as a friend of John Dantiscus. He had four sons : John, who succeeded him as alderman of the Land of Waes ; **Cornelius Wouters**, who, as canon of St. Donatian's, became Schoonhoven's 'concanonicus' : he is especially famous as Cassander's Mæcenas and lifelong companion ³⁾ ; further Livinus, who became Imperial Treasurer ⁴⁾, and a fourth, Francis, who died in 1540. Soon after his leave, in May 1523, Vives wrote a letter from England to two or more of them, congratulating them on their arrival in Louvain and on their zeal for the study of Law and of languages, to which he earnestly encouraged them, reminding them of their noble and provident father ⁵⁾. As the studies of languages are chiefly dwelled upon in Vives' letter, it is more than likely that the boys studied at the Institute founded with the help and on the inspiration of John Wouters' great friend.

From Bruges came, about that time, to the *Trilingue* **Peter de Smet, Vulcanius**, who matriculated as a poor student on June 22, 1523 ⁶⁾ ; he studied Latin under Goclenius before he went to serve Erasmus, at least for a while ⁷⁾, for he was appointed through him preceptor of Charles Blount, William Mountjoy's son, by 1527. Erasmus called him πολυγλωττότατος, and Vives recommended him to Cranevelt as : iuuenis amicus, et plane probus ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης Βουργικῆς ἀγωγῆς ⁸⁾. In a letter dated February 22, <1531>, and sent to Vulcanius,

¹⁾ John Wouters, Knight, Lord of Vinderhaute and Meerendre, a son of an official at the Court of the Burgundian Dukes, was alderman of the Land of Waes, and officiated for fifty years as a member of the Council of Flanders. He was born at Ghent and married first Mary of Nieuwenhuyse and, in 1537, Peronne of Steenstraete ; he died in 1559 : *FlandCon.*, 156, 65 ; *Brug&Fr.*, v, 244, sq.

²⁾ Vives sent his greetings to Erasmus on July 14, 1522 : VOO, vii, 172 ; Allen, v, 1303, 54 ; some time afterwards, he wrote to his sons on their arrival at the University.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁴⁾ He was Lord of Broucke and died in Brussels on August 9, 1579 ; he had married Mary van der Hulst († November 24, 1559) and left several children : *Brug&Fr.*, v, 245 ; *BruxBas.*, i, 94.

⁵⁾ VOO, vii, 216-17.

⁶⁾ *LibIntIII*, 301, v : Petrus Vulcanius brugensis pauper.

⁷⁾ On July 9, 1533, Peter Barbirius called him *antiquus discipulus* of Erasmus, along with Quirinus Hagius : FG, 225, 14-15 ; Allen, x, 2842, 20.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 241, 2-4.

'Camberonæ', Goclenius expressed to him his satisfaction of hearing how Peter pleased his master ¹⁾, whose son was praised on March 18, 1531 for his excellent letter ²⁾; on April 20, 1533, 'Carolus Blontus', it is announced, 'mutauit stylum, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ βέλτιον' aberat enim ὁ Θεσεύς' ³⁾: Vulcanius had been appointed pensionary in his native town, for which Erasmus congratulated him and also the town, in that same epistle ⁴⁾. His son Bonaventura became a great erudite, and taught for over thirty years Greek in Leyden University ⁵⁾. Long before that appointment, that son, who studied in Louvain and was more of a friend than of a pupil to Nannius ⁶⁾, was the object of Peter's solicitude: he called him back from Cologne on March 21, 1558 to further his prospects through Don Luis de la Cerda ⁷⁾ and the Royal historiographer, Cardinal Francis de Mendoza, whose eulogistic letter of July 29, 1566 ⁸⁾ must have consoled the heart of the father, the son's educator, and made up for the pain which some of his other children caused him ⁹⁾. Since the first months of 1558, he had become 'patronus causarum', or advocate, in Mechlin Great Council, and his illness, announced by Joachim Hopper in 1571, made Bonaventura return as a member of the *familia* of Alva's ephemeral successor, Juan de la Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, who arrived only in June 1572 ¹⁰⁾. John Molanus, Bremen rector, referred to Peter Vulcanius as deceased, *præclaræ memoriæ*, on May 27, 1574, and recommended to his son,

¹⁾ Leyden MS., Vulc. 105, 11: cp. APPENDIX IV; VulcE, 131.

²⁾ Si Carolus filius tuus talem epistolam scripsit suo Marte, tempus est vt Erasmus abiiciat calamum: Allen, ix, 2459, 18-19. Vulcanius, no doubt, succeeded John van den Cruyce, *Crucius*, who returned to Louvain in October 1527: *Cran.*, 257, b, and before, p 84.

³⁾ Allen, x, 2794, 10-11.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 241, b-c; Allen, ix, 2460. There is a copy of a letter of John Molanus, pedagogus, to Peter Vulcanius, dated 30/31 March 1555, in *CollUffWolf.*, xlv, 320.

⁵⁾ VulcE, 5, sq; *BibBelg.*, 116; Gabbema, 656, 712; *FlandOHR*, 11, 290-98; *AntvAnn.*, 11, 444.

⁶⁾ VulcE, 490: he was also intimately acquainted with Renier Gemma Phrysius and Vulmar Bernaert, as well as with Andrew Sylvius, of Bruges, and Francis Thorius, of Bailleul: VulcE, 489-91.

⁷⁾ VulcE, 274-77, 490-91, which proves that the year-date p 274, should be 1558. ⁸⁾ VulcE, 492-93. ⁹⁾ VulcE, 29.

¹⁰⁾ VulcE, 493-94; Hoynck, 1, i, 53, ii, 689, 767-68.

then professor of Hebrew in Cologne University, 'patris Vulcanii clarissimo nomine dignum esse' ¹⁾ : on July 2 following, Bonaventura assaulted Gilbert Regius, a doctor of laws, and was forced, in August 1574, to leave his professorship and the town in all haste and confusion ²⁾.

B. TEACHERS

A large number of young men gave, in after life, evident proof that, whilst at the University, they had availed themselves of the opportunity to get a thorough knowledge of the languages, and had realized the want and the method of personal intellectual work, which made them contribute their share to the spreading of the principles of Humanism. Foremost among them were those who became teachers, and introduced rational methods and effective instruction in the schools throughout the country, whilst entertaining the holy zeal within themselves by personal work and by research, of which the result was no less beneficent to themselves than it was to their pupils and to the interested public that bought their books. In fact, it is only through their publications that those humble sowers of the good seed are known, for their career generally remains obscure, and only the connection with the *Trilingue* is forcibly suggested by their vivid interest in the New Learning. Such were, for example, the two Antwerp masters Josse Velareus and John Servilius, who both applied themselves to Greek in their spare time, and dedicated some of their work to the great humanist Francis van der Dylft, senator of their town and Imperial ambassador, whom they most likely had known in Louvain.

Josse Velareus, or Valaræus, possibly Huyghens, who also called himself *Verbrokanus* or *Verrebrocanus*, no doubt, as a native of Verrebroek, a village in the Waes Country, was, according to Ludovico Guicciardini, who had had him for a time as preceptor, the most brilliant of the Antwerp masters, a man *trium linguarum peritissimus* ³⁾. He was probably connected with some printing concerns for the publishing of their larger books. Thus when, in April 1528, John Grapheus brought out a Latin rendering of all the works written by, or

¹⁾ VulcE, 292-93.

²⁾ VulcE, 6-9.

³⁾ Guicc., 97.

attributed, — at least then, — to Homer ¹⁾, he contributed the rendering of *Homeri Hymni Deorum XXXII*, as well as *Homeri Vita* by Dion Chrysostom, the philosopher ²⁾, *hactenus neque uersi neque usquam impressi*. When, a few months later, in October 1528, the very same John Grapheus printed, at the expense of Gregory de Bonte, a collective volume called after its first constituent, *Palæphati de Non Credendis Historijs* ³⁾, he provided the translation of that work from the Greek and dedicated it to his relative John van Duysens, or Deynse, Abbot of Baudeloo, in the Waes Country ⁴⁾, by a letter dated Antwerp, September 1528. He also contributed the Latin version of Phornutus' *Specvlatio de Deorum Natura* and of Lucian's *De Astrologia Oratio*. The volume also contains Cornelius de Schepper's ⁵⁾ epitaph on Queen Isabella of Denmark ⁶⁾. In November 1528, Martin de Keyser brought out at Antwerp the *Horæ in laudem beatissimæ Virginis*, with the seven Penitential Psalms, and some other prayers, in Greek : according to the mention in the colophon, they had been corrected by Velareus ⁷⁾. If those editions were not exactly inspired by the proper humanistic spirit, but rather by the pressure of the printers bent on profit, his next work shows more his zeal in teaching. For the use in his lessons, he translated into Greek Peter Mosellanus' *Pædologia*, and he dedicated the book, which came out in February 1532 ⁸⁾, to Peter Gomes, a zealous young man, no doubt his pupil, *vtriusque linguæ peritissimus*, a son of one of the Spanish merchants settled in the town ⁹⁾. In 1539, he published the

¹⁾ *Homeri Poetarum Principis cum Iliados, tom Odysseæ Libri XLVIII* &c, in two parts : NijKron., I, 1110.

²⁾ Sandys, I, 298, sq.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 3670.

⁴⁾ *FlandIll.*, I, 306. III, 219.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 167.

⁶⁾ She died on January 19, 1526, at Zwynaerde, attended by the faithful de Schepper, in the residence of the Abbot of St. Peter's, Ghent : Cartwright, 45-48 ; *Cran.*, 182, a, 64, 25, 240, c, 249, a ; *AnEmBr.*, II, III, 64 ; *AltRel.*, 158-62 ; *FlandIll.*, I, 393.

⁷⁾ Iodocus Velareus recognoscebat : NijKron., I, 1117.

⁸⁾ *Petri Mosellani Pædologiæ Traductio Valaræo autore* : Antwerp, John Grapheus for Gregory de Bonte : NijKron., I, 1552. Cp. before, I, 307, sq.

⁹⁾ In 1553, *Pedro Gomes* is amongst the merchants of Southern Europe who imported goods, and his name is mentioned as one of the witnesses in a formula for a Commission for Spain : *Goris*, 249, 627.

translation of the too little known epic poem by Quintus of Smyrna ¹⁾, as well as of the *Raptus Helenæ*, by Colutus Thebanus ²⁾; the book was inscribed to the abbot of St. Michael's, Antwerp, Gregory Hagis ³⁾; the choice, especially of Quintus Smyrnæus, is an evident proof of Velareus' interest in the work of men like Cardinal Bessarion and Constant Lascaris ⁴⁾. Finally, Velareus brought out, in 1540, the translation of three of Plutarch's treatises, *De Superstitione*, *Quo pacto se quis citra inuidiam laudare posset*, and *De futili loquacitate* ⁵⁾; they were dedicated to Francis van der Dilt, 'equiti splendidissimo' ⁶⁾. — Although his books attracted enough attention to be reprinted at Cologne and at Lyons, hardly anything is known about himself : it is only conjectured that he succeeded, at least indirectly, John de Coster, of Brecht, in an Antwerp school ⁷⁾, where evidently not only Latin, but even Greek was taught ⁸⁾.

His colleague John Servilius, **Knaep**, Knapius or Knapheus, a native of Weert, *Guerteus*, also taught in Antwerp after having studied, in Louvain, Latin and especially Greek. He worked most zealously, taking as device : *Sapit qui sorti sapit*. He enjoyed the favour of the protector of literature, Lancelot d'Ursel, who often officiated as mayor and as alderman in the town ⁹⁾; as well as that of Erasmus' friend, the town 'graphiarius', Cornelius Grapheus ¹⁰⁾, with whom he evidently lived on most friendly terms. In 1536, he added some comments in recommendation of Grapheus' *Sacrorum*

¹⁾ Sandys, I, 360; Maurice Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* : Paris, 1887-99 : v, 903-5.

²⁾ *Quinti Calabri derelictorum ab Homero Libri quatuordecim Iodoco Valaræo interprete. Coluti Thebani Raptus Helenæ eodem interprete. Editio Prima* : John Steels : NijKron., I, 1776.

³⁾ *AntvEpisc.*, 149; *AntvAnn.*, II, 188, sq; Gregorius de Hagis (van der Hagen) was abbot from 1538 to 1562.

⁴⁾ The former discovered it, the latter transcribed it; Aldus Manutius printed the *editio princeps* in 1504-5 : Sandys, II, 37, 77, 491.

⁵⁾ *Plvtarchi Chæronei Libelli tres, nunc primum latinitate donati* : Antwerp, John Steels, 1540 : NijKron., II, 3754.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 176.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 200-205.

⁸⁾ *BibBelg.*, 595; *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 19; *GandErVir.*, 82; *FlandScript.*, 112.

⁹⁾ *AntvAnn.*, II, 174, sq, 187, 192, 197-99, 292-96, &c; Guicc., 67, 104; *MonHL*, 641; Goris, 410.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 179, b-d.

Bucolicorum Æglogæ Tres ad... Mariam, Hungariæ Reginam ¹⁾; in return, Grapheus wrote some verses in praise of Servilius' *Lexicon Græcolatinum*, which he published on February 13, 1539 ²⁾, and dedicated, February 1539, to the *Eques Auratus*, Francis van der Dillft, the humanistic *Senator Antuerpiensis*, Erasmus' great friend, and most probably Servilius' fellow-student ³⁾. A few months later, that *Lexicon* was slightly corrected, and repeatedly reissued, with the date changed, but without the author's name, by John Steels ⁴⁾, whereas, in 1545, Michael Hillen published it with Servilius' name, and with the Flemish translation, as *Dictionarium Triglotton*, which was often reprinted and used for later similar works ⁵⁾. In 1541, Servilius wrote a showy description of the marvels of classic antiquity, *De Mirandis Antiquorum Operibus, Opibus, & Veteris Ævi Rebus, Pace Belloque magnifice Gestis* ⁶⁾, dedicated to Ladislaus (or Lancelot) d'Ursel, whom he congratulated by a poem in 1542 on his election as 'Consul' ⁷⁾. In that year, he described the trouble experienced by Antwerp, *Geldro-Gallica Conjunctio in totius Belgicæ clarissimam Civitatem Antverpiam, duce Martino Roshey-mio* ⁸⁾, to which was added a poem, *Geldro-Gallorum Grassatio in Lovanienses*, which was composed by Lævinus Torren-

¹⁾ Antwerp, John Grapheus, for John Steels, 1536 : NijKron., I, 1021 : Ioannes Knapius Guerteus lectori : a 7, r-н 8, v.

²⁾ Antwerp, Martin de Keyser's widow for John Gymnicus, Febr. 13, 1539 : NijKron., I, 1897.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 176.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, John Steels, July 1539 ; again 1539, and 1540 : NijKron., I, 1898, 1899, 1900.

⁵⁾ Paquot, I, 303-4 : in the preface he explains that he follows the order introduced by Peter Dasypodius (Hasenfuss), of Frauenfeld (1490-c 1559), teacher of Greek in John Sturm's School at Strassburg (*EpClass-Arg.*, 76, 90-94), who edited a Latin and German dictionary in 1535, which was often reprinted : he places the compound words under their constituents, and the derivations under the primitive ones : that order — which is not out of fashion (cp. e. g., Fowler's *Concise Oxford Dictionary*) is often confusing, especially if applied to prefixes divided in sections according to the sense : the strict alphabetical order does waste more paper but far less time.

⁶⁾ It was reprinted at Antwerp, 1569, and at Lübeck, 1600.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, John Graphæus, 1542.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, Anton. Dumæus, 1542 : Paquot, I, 302-3 : *AntvAnn.*, 234-57, 273, sq ; *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 91-93.

tius ¹⁾, but only attributed to an *eximie spei adolescentulus Flander* ²⁾. The last work of Servilius, as far as is known, is his *Oratio Gratulatoria Carolo V ex Hispania in Brabantiam reduci, S. P. Q. Antverpiensis nomine* in 1545 ³⁾.

Although working in a much smaller radius than Velareus and Servilius, **Herman Stuve, Stuvius**, a Westphalian of Vechta ⁴⁾, brought no less glory by his teaching to the *Trilingue*, which had given the characteristic completion to his formation. As mentioned before ⁵⁾, he had been trained by Murmellius and in Cologne University, before he taught under Gerard Lister at Zwolle, where he welcomed his former master. About 1520, he came to study in Louvain : he may have been estranged by the unkind way in which Lister had treated the old friend, who had expected an appointment from him in the school where he had been educated : Murmellius had praised Lister in his *Scoparius*, 1517, but soon after he bitterly criticized him, although not naming him, and declared that he did not want to teach in a school from which they durst not banish Alexander's *Doctrinale*, thus venting his disappointment in the *Epigrammata Parænetica*, a few weeks before his tragic death ⁶⁾. Stuve, no doubt, was attracted by Goclenius' fame, and he worked zealously under the direction of his countryman, to whom he returned an admiring and grateful affection. He lived in the Lily, and thus became a good friend to Erasmus, who praised him for his probity and his learning, as well as for his untiring diligence in instructing and teaching ⁷⁾. After a few years spent as private tutor in Louvain, he became parish priest at

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

²⁾ Paquot, I, 303 ; *MonHL*, 640-42.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 562 ; Paquot, I, 301-304 ; *SweABelg.*, 469-70 ; *AnteDiercx.*, IV, 93.

⁴⁾ In the grand-duchy of Oldenburg, half way between Bremen and Osnabrück.

⁵⁾ On pp 84-85.

⁶⁾ Murmellius died suddenly, long before his time, on October 2, 1517, four weeks after having been appointed as head of Deventer School, leaving his wife and little son in poverty ; his death was ascribed to poison, which was believed to have been administered by Lister, who could not bear a cleverer man by his side at Zwolle, and begrudged him the much more honourable position, in which he succeeded him : *MurmO*, v, xxviii ; *Murmell.*, 122-27 ; *MünstSchule*, 64-65.

⁷⁾ Allen, IV, 1237, 25-28.

Wildeshausen, nearly half way between Vechta and Bremen, and died there about 1560 ¹⁾).

In the first twenties, a young man of Bergeyk, near Eindhoven, Arnold, son of Bartholomew, had been trained in Latin and even Greek in the Hertogenbosch School under James Marin, of Weert, author of the *Syntaxis*, printed in February 1526, mentioning him as 'scholæ Buschiducensis gymnasiarches, vir tum græce tum latine peritissimus ²⁾). He then went to Louvain, where he entered the Pedagogy of the Castle, and applied himself with so much zeal and success to philosophy that he was proclaimed the first at the promotion to Master of Arts in 1520 : 'Arnoldus bartolomæi de bergh-eyck' ³⁾), which name he soon changed by grecizing that of his birth-place ⁴⁾), **Arnold Oridryus**. Indeed, he became a zealous disciple of the *Trilingue* professors, especially of Rescius, and he acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek as well as of Latin.

Meanwhile he started studying theology until he was offered the office of secretary to the Abbot of Mont-Blandin, at Ghent, Gerard Culsbroeck, Cuelsbrouck ⁵⁾). In that town, he lived on intimate terms with several of Erasmus' old friends : with Omer of Edingen, or Edingien, *Edingus*, Lord of Op-Hasselt, attorney, and, from 1525, secretary to the Council

¹⁾ On p 85, the year of his decease is wrongly indicated as c 1540, — a mixing up with that of Herman Tulken, *Tulichius*, head of Lüneburg School, on whom he wrote an epigram : *MünstFestschr.*, 46-47.

²⁾ NijKron., I, 1494. Of the author little is known ; he is said to have written another classical treatise, *Didascalicon*, one more practical and castigated edition of at least part of the *Doctrinale*. The *Syntaxis* was edited a second time at Hertogenbosch in 1542, and even for a third time : jam tertio in lucem edita, with corrections and additions by Jerome Verlenius, or Verlensis, head of the School, in 1555, which suggests that Marin was not any longer amongst the living : *BibBelg.*, 420, 389 ; Paquot, v, 403-4, viii, 325. He had started publishing long before : for, judging from the *Iacobi Marini In laudem authoris et operis. Epigramma*, inserted in Celij Sedulij *Mirabilium diuinorum libri quinque*, printed at Hertogenbosch by Laurence Hayen, opposite the School, on December 7, 1510 (NijKron., II, 3872), he, no doubt, had at least a hand in that edition, which he may have used for his teaching.

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 72.

⁴⁾ Another native of Bergeyk, is recorded as John Oridryus in 1562 : Paquot, xiii, 316.

⁵⁾ 1517-55 : *FlandIll.*, I, 288-90.

of Flanders ¹⁾; with William de Waele, Lord of Hansbeke, treasurer, and, from 1532, councillor ²⁾; John Wouters, Vives' patron ³⁾; with James de Blasere ⁴⁾ and Gerard Rym ⁵⁾, both

¹⁾ Omer of Edingen, *Edingus* (Edinghien), born in 1488, was the son of Francis, Procurator of Flanders Council, and Barbara van Uutenhove, related to Erasmus' guest of 1528, Charles of Uutenhove. Erasmus wrote to Omer on October 1, 1528, and asked to transmit a letter to Ammonius : Allen, vii, 2060, 2062; on July 15, 1529, the latter communicated Omer's offer of his spacious house at Ghent, and of his country-residence of Op-Hasselt, — a far better Hasselt than that which produced Titelmans; where he should have as neighbours Abbot Jerome Ruffault, of St. Adrian's, Grammont (Gestel, ii, 192) and Francis de Mastaing, Lord of the estate of Masmines, great Bailiff of Ghent, at St. Mary's Lierde, besides Ammonius himself at the Charterhouse of Ten Bosch, Bossche (Gestel, ii, 215-16), and other friends : Allen, viii, 2197, 102-130; Erasmus expressed his deep gratitude on April 16, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2485. Omer Edingus wrote some commentaries on Wielant's *Leenrechten*; he had married Mary Immeloot, daughter of John, and of Mary de Grave, or le Comte, and had at least one son, Peter, and one daughter, Agnes, lady of Hasselt and Mombrouck, married to Philip van Steeland, Councillor for Flanders : she died in 1581, leaving several children. Ammonius condoled with Peter on July 16, 1542, for his father's recent death, and Charles of Uutenhove mentioned that decease to Dantiscus, Septemb. 12, 1546 : *BbUpps.*, H 155, 138-39. Cp. *Brug&Fr.*, i, 136, sq, 275, iii, 247, 439; Besançon MS 599 : 130, 158, 185, 217, 234, 325, 495; Allen, vii, 2060, *pr*, 2062, *pr*; *Cran.*, 291, *a-b*; *FlandCon.*, 168; *Busl.*, 324, sq; *OlaE*, 479, 513.

²⁾ William de Waele, Lord of Axpoele and Hansbeke, son of Peter, Councillor for Flanders, and of Pauline of Axpoele, Lady of Axpoele and Hansbeke, went on pilgrimage to Judea; he was alderman of Ghent since 1515, and had some trouble on that account in 1539; from 1518, he was Keeper of the Charters, and on June 4, 1532, he became Councillor for Flanders; he seems to have been Charles Sucket's great protector, and was also related to Charles van Uutenhove : cp. I, 59, and pp 153-4. Cp. Gachard, ii, 530; Hoyneck, i, ii, 605, iii, ii, 378, 384-85; *OlaE*, 479; Allen, ii, 301, 37, viii, 2093, 78, x, 2700, 160; *FlandCon.*, 111, 123, 146.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 182; Vives sent his greetings to Erasmus on July 14, 1522; after May 1523, he also wrote a letter to his sons on their arrival at the University : VOO, vii, 172, 216-17; Allen, v, 1303, 54. That host of Vives and Erasmus had a fine collection of coins and one of ornate and elegant books, which Jerome de Busleyden, also a great book-lover, praised as exceptional : *Busl.*, 196; *HumLov.*, iii, 7, 10, 71; *CollTorr.*, 6.

⁴⁾ James de Blasere, Blaesere, the son of John, Bruges Councillor, and of Catherine de Joncheere, was First Councillor of Flanders; he had victoriously vindicated Archduke Philip's rights in Paris Parliament; he resigned, September 27, 1534, for his and Adrienne de Vos, Lady of Ydewalle's son, James; he died on October 2, 1534 : cp. *FlandCon.*, 65, 139, 147; *Busl.*, 355-58; *Anima*, 496.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 160-63.

primarii consiliarii, and with the ardent humanist, the Carthusian Livinus Ammonius ¹⁾. By 1530, he had left Ghent and had started a school of humanistic studies at Enghien, in the vicinity of Grammont, Lierde and Ophasselt, where his friends Omer of Edingen, Francis de Mastaing, Jerome Ruffault, and especially Livinus Ammonius, lived. Through the latter, he became acquainted with Nicolas Olah, secretary of Queen Mary, probably on the occasion of the visits of the Court to Enghien, on November 26 and December 13, 1531, on its way to, and its return from, the meeting of the Golden Fleece at Tournai ²⁾. Oridryus wrote to him on December 25, 1531, offering a translation of Hesiod's Ἑργὰ καὶ Ἡμέρᾱ, which he had translated *de verbo ad verbum* for the sake of those who learn Greek; he also refers to his *Rudimenta Græcanica*, composed to make Theodore Gaza's grammar somewhat more useful; and mentions that his *cliens* James Jespersen ³⁾ will help him in the use of that book ⁴⁾. On March 2, 1532, Olah wrote a letter from Brussels, acknowledging the writings ⁵⁾, which was answered on March 11 with great gratitude ⁶⁾. By another letter Oridryus introduces to Olah his *affinis*, a 'pastor', and announces that he is writing a volume to praise the Emperor for his recently promulgated law about the

¹⁾ Livinus van den Zande, *de Harena*, Ammonius, — probably mixing up ἄμμος and Ammon, — born at Ghent in 1485, became Carthusian at Ten-Bossche, at St. Martin's Lierde, near Grammont. He was a most eager student of Latin and Greek, and tried to make friends with all the great erudites of his day. A letter sent to Erasmus in 1524, did not receive a reply; thanks to Omer of Edingen and Charles van Uutenhove, he was more successful in 1528, when he became a regular correspondent. He wrote poems, translated some Greek works, and composed a biography of the General of his Order, William Bibaut: Paquot, VII, 301. He left a collection of letters, now at Besançon (MS 599), ranging from 1518 to 1556, in which year he died at Roygem, a Charterhouse near Ghent: cp. Paquot, xv, 16, sq; *GoetHist.*, I, 95, sq; *Cran.*, 291, a-c; Allen, v, 1463, *pr*, and their sources; *FlandIll.*, III, 182-83.

²⁾ Gachard, 50, 98-99; OlaE, 202: Cum nuper post nostrum ex Tornaco huc reditum...

³⁾ See further, Chs. XVII, XVIII.

⁴⁾ OlaE, 177-78.

⁵⁾ OlaE, 202-204: Olah refers to the *calamitates patriæ*, no doubt, the disaster of Mohács, August 29, 1526: Eug. v. Gyalóky, *Die Schlacht bei Mohács: Ungarische Jahrbücher*, VI: Berlin, 1926: 228, sq.

⁶⁾ OlaE, 126-27: the letter has no year date, but evidently answers Olah's of March 2, 1532.

education of the poor, — to the displeasure both of Satan and of some of the great ones of the country ¹⁾). It is not known whether that work was published : for certain, his *Summa Linguae Græcæ* was : it was even reprinted in Paris in 1538, under the supervision of Dominicus Sylvius, of Beauvais College, who praised the author for his erudition and his clear insight ²⁾). It is dedicated to Oridryus' patron, Abbot Gerard Culsbroyck, by a letter dated *E ludo nostro Angiano*, 1531, and it refers to some of his Ghent friends ³⁾ ; it is followed by three Greek epitaphs on Nicolas of Uutenhove ⁴⁾, one by Erasmus, a second by himself, and the third by Livinus Ammonius ; John Consardus added the Latin translation. Unfortunately Arnold de Bergheyck died prematurely about 1533 ⁵⁾.

The famous Wandering, but short-lived, Humanist of our provinces, Joachim Sterck, Fortius, of Ringelberg, no doubt also owed at least part of his formation to the *Trilingue*. He was born at Antwerp about 1499, and was educated from his twelfth year at the Court of the Archduke, where he chiefly learned music. He afterwards went to Louvain, matriculating on January 5, 1519 ⁶⁾, and took his abode in the Lily, where he was Peter de Corte's disciple for Latin and Rhetoric ⁷⁾. He

¹⁾ OlaE, 187-188 : the letter has no date, except 'Angino'.

²⁾ Paris, Chr. Wechel, 1538 ; Sylvius promises to edit more of Oridryus' writings.

³⁾ *Eruditissimos viros... Joannem Guauterum* <Wouters>, *Lodovicum Misdachum* <Mesdagh or Mestdagh : *FlandCon.*, 65, 134> & *Blaserium*, *primarios Senatores* ; *Joannem Cortium*, *primarium advocatum* ; *Audomarum Edingum*, *Senatus doctissimum Scribam* ; *Gulielmum Valum* <de Waele> ; *Gerardum Rymium*, *juvenem Latine, Græce, & Hebraice doctissimum, & multo plures*.

⁴⁾ Nicolas van Uutenhove, Lord of Markeghem, Charles's father, died on February 11/12, 1527 : cp. *Gran.*, 110, *h* ; *FlandCon.*, 63 ; and further, Ch. XII.

⁵⁾ *BibBelg.*, 85 ; *SweABel.*, 144 ; Paquot, vii, 131-33, xv, 17 ; Coppens, iii, 53 ; *Gran.*, 291, *a*, *c*. Livinus Ammonius composed a Greek epitaph in his honour : *GandErVir.*, 91-92 ; Paquot, xv, 17 ; Christ. Cellarius, of Furnes, then professor in the Lily, wrote a poem *In immaturam mortem Arnoldi Oridrij*, printed in his *De Incendio excitato in... Delph* : Antwerp, W. Spyridipœus, 1536 ; *Nijkron.*, i, 547.

⁶⁾ 'Joachim de Ringhelberghe antwerp. cam. dioc.' : *LibIntIII*, 250, *r* ; *Excerpts*, 100.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 83, sq ; Paquot, iv, 440.

remained several years in Louvain ¹⁾, applying himself to various sciences : dialectics, mathematics, astronomy and geomancy ²⁾, but before all to Latin, which language he tried to speak and write with all elegance and purity possible. He also studied Greek, and even composed a treatise on the *Elementa Græca* ³⁾ : all of which implies that he was a regular attendant of the lectures of Rescius and Goclenius. Nor was it only the practical side of linguistics which appealed to him, for he composed, besides a *Rhetorica* ⁴⁾, and a *Compendium de Conscribendis Versibus*, a treatise *de Usu Vocum quæ non flectuntur* ; a second, *de Formis Dicendi*, namely *de Figuris ac Vitiis Orationis* ⁵⁾ ; and others on synonyms, on periods, on elegant expressions and on sentences ⁶⁾. His great scheme was teaching, and in order to gain experience, he started travelling in 1527. He stayed three months in Cologne ⁷⁾, three at Mayence, some in Heidelberg and Basle, where for several months he was in close connection with Erasmus, who even wrote a few verses for his *Institutiones Astronomicæ* ⁸⁾. He there made the acquaintance of Nicolas Canne ⁹⁾,

¹⁾ The biographers mention eleven years, — in which case Ringelberg must have arrived in Louvain a very long time before he matriculated,

²⁾ RingO, 219, sq, 401, sq, 417, sq, 426, sq, 561, sq (*Optica*), &c. A treatise entitled *Cosmographia*, is dedicated to John Tartesius by a letter dated Paris, September 28, 1529 : RingO, 522, 523, sq.

³⁾ RingO, 172, sq.

⁴⁾ RingO, 305, sq : the book was printed in Antwerp in June 1529 : NijKron., II, 3804 ; another edition was dedicated to Peter Stella : Lyons, January 1, 1531.

⁵⁾ RingO, 160, sq, 104, sq, 369, sq.

⁶⁾ RingO, 385, sq, 396, sq, 89, sq, 361, sq, 349, sq.

⁷⁾ He made there the acquaintance of John of Rheidt (1460-1535), one of Erasmus' friends (Krafft, 164-5 ; Allen, VII, 2058, *pr*), who was town councillor and, from 1522 to 1534, mayor of Cologne. Ringelberg dedicated to him his *Institutiones Astronomicæ* : Basle, 1528. Rheidt earnestly worked at the reform of University studies in the Rhine town (*UniKöln*, 197, sq, 340 ; *Tricoron.*, 49, sq), which his son John, Rhetius, continued : he organized teaching in the *Tricoronatum*, replacing the old *Bursa Cucana*, which he managed to pass to the Society of Jesus, of which he was a member : *UniKöln*, 351, sq ; *Rhetius*, 8, sq, 29, sq, &c ; *Tricoron.*, 88, sq ; Bianco, 298, sq ; *JesRheinA*, 161, 164, &c.

⁸⁾ In the edition published by Val. Curio, in Basle, October 31, 1528 : RingO, 426, sq. The book was dedicated to the Cologne mayor John of Rheidt.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 139-142.

who, a few months later, wrote a kind of epigram on Ringelberg's publications, which he judged inept ¹). After spending some time in Freiburg and Strassburg, Sterck returned to Antwerp, where he published in 1529 his *Lucubrationes, vel potius absolutissima Κυκλοπαιδεία* ²), containing his most famous work, *De Ratione Studii Liber*, which was often reprinted ³), and which offers most judicious hints both for teachers and for students, as well as his idiosyncratic advice not to stay more than one year in the same place ⁴). He followed out that strange rule, for, in 1529, after having published several of his works ⁵), he left Antwerp, and went by Louvain, where he was on August 3, to Paris; he taught there in the Calvi College ⁶), and was on excellent terms with his hearer, Andrew Gheeraerds, *Gerardi, Hyperius*, who pronounced his praise in a speech to Parliament ⁷). He left

¹) *Cran.*, 242, c; the epigram is as follows :

Jocimus libros nimium conscripsit ineptos;
 Jocimi miror vos delectare libellos;
 Jocimo cerebrum non esse putant bene sanum;
 Jocimum Antycyram procul enavigare necesse.
 O Jocime, tuo posthac, rogo, parce labori!
 A Jocimo ajunt proficisci nil nisi nugas:
 Omnes Jocimum per casus cernis ineptum.

The libel, signed 'N. Cannius', was passed by 1529 to Gerard Geldenhouwer, who had joined the Reformers at Strassburg, and was then most bitter against Erasmus: it was inserted in his *Collectanea*, with a note indicating that it referred to 'Joachim Ringelbergium': *GeldColl.*, 89-90.

²) Michel Hillen, Antwerp, 1529: *BullBiB.*, xix, 307; Paquot, iv, 446-48; *NijKron.*, ii, 3807.

³) Paquot, iv, 446-47; the preface, in the form of a letter to the Reader, is dated Louvain, August 13, 1529: *RingO*, 5. It was edited, with a very laudatory introduction, by the Leyden orientalist Thomas van Erpe, *Erpenius (BibBelg.*, 834-35), who attributed to the treatise itself his eagerness for study: Leyden, J. Maire, 1622, and subsequent years.

⁴) *RingO*, 66-71.

⁵) Cp. *NijKron.*, i, 1804, ii, 3803-3807, Antwerp, 1529, one in May, two in June.

⁶) Cp. *Maldonat*, 528.

⁷) Paquot, iv, 442. There are two letters of Ringelberg to Hyperius from Lyons, one of October 23, 1530, and the other, without date, mentioning a possible visit of Hyperius to Erasmus, and requesting him to offer greetings to John Tartesius: *RingO*, 730-732. That Andrew Gheeraerds, Gerardi, of Ypres, *Hyperius*, where he was born in 1511, had studied at Tournai, in France, and in Louvain: *MonHL*, 422, and

with Adrian Amerot ¹⁾ for Orleans, where he met Nicolas Bérault ²⁾; from there, he moved on to Bourges, and was last heard of at Lyons, where he dated a preface to his *Rhetorica* on January 1, 1531 ³⁾. His collected works were printed there in that same year: they contain a few letters and treatises, like *Chaos* ⁴⁾ and *De Homine* ⁵⁾, which had been printed apart in 1529; of himself, however, no indication is given, and all further trace of him seems lost ⁶⁾.

C. POETS

Besides the erudites and teachers, the *Trilingue* produced men who devoted the leisure left them by their earnest duties, to literature: such were the two friends and countrymen

applied, in 1541, to Gerard Geldenhouwer, Marburg professor of Protestant theology, for a recommendation to his Strassburg friends. As Geldenhouwer's health was then rather precarious, it was granted to him to make use of Gerardi as his supply; at his death, on January 10, 1542, Hyperius was appointed in his place: *Geldenh.*, 132-33; *Rommel*, I, 203, II, 188; *MatrMarb.*, 84, 273, *sq.*, 275; *PhilMarb.*, 25; *PhilHessen*, 236, 249, 463, 485-502. He was highly appreciated for his lectures, and at his death, in 1561, he left numerous writings on philosophy, rhetoric and theology: *BibBelg.*, 49; *Goch*, 279; *HerMaur.*, 283; *Enders*, v, 73 (mentioning Hyperius as the first Doctor of Divinity of Marburg); *Paquot*, xvii, 185-201; *SaxOnom.*, 228, 627.

¹⁾ *RingO*, 730; cp. further, *Ch.* XXIV, and before, I, 223, 255, 273-74.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 390-91.

³⁾ *RingO*, 305, *sq.*; the dedicatory letter to Peter de l'Estoile, *Stella*, professor of Laws, the father of one of his students, Louis de l'Estoile, is dated '*Lugduni Calend. Ian. m. d. xxx.* — no doubt '*stylo Gallico*': *RingO*, 306.

⁴⁾ *RingO*, 582, *sq.* That book consists of scraps of information and advice about mathematics, horoscopes, astronomy, medicine, &c; it was printed first at Antwerp: J. Seværinus & P. Syluius, <spring> 1529: the dedicatory letter was addressed, on April 16, to Peter Gillis: *Allen*, vii, 2058, 4.

⁵⁾ *RingO*, 734, *sq.*; that physiological work, which was dedicated to the '*Magistratus Andouerpiensis*', by a letter dated from that town on June 3, 1539: *RingO*, 737, was first published at Basle with Hyperius' speech to Paris Parliament: J. Bebel, 1529: *Paquot*, iv, 448.

⁶⁾ *BibBelg.*, 443-44; *AntvDiercx.*, iv, 70 (mentioning that R. died '*circa annum 1536*'); *Paquot*, iv, 440-448; *Allen*, vii, 2058, 4; *BN*; *SaxOnom.*, 121, 600. — In 1529, John Second perpetuated his features in a fine medal: *Simonis*, 49-53.

Musius and Crocus. **Cornelius Muys, Musius**, born at Delft on June 11, 1500 ¹⁾, lost his parents whilst he was enjoying his first instruction under John of Naarden, rector of the school of Delft. His warden Nicolas van Segwaert, *Seguerdus*, sent him afterwards to Louvain ²⁾, where he applied himself to the preparation for the degree of Master of Arts, which he obtained in 1522 or 1523 ³⁾ and, even more, to the thorough study of Latin and Greek literature under Conrad Goclenius and Rutger Rescius.

Unfortunately for his eagerness in studying, he had to earn his living : he taught, at first, in the lower classes of the Ghent School of the Brothers of the Common Life ⁴⁾, where Christian Massieu or Masseeuw, *Massæus*, had long been active before being called to Cambrai ⁵⁾. Through Abbot Charles Cokin, d'Aragon, of St. Saviour's, Anchin, near Douai ⁶⁾, he was entrusted with the instruction of James de Sainte-Aragon, *Sanctaragundus*, of Douai ⁷⁾, along with a relation, and a few other young noblemen, at Courtrai : although they had not passed the age of the plays, they wanted a much more

¹⁾ MD. III. Id. Iun. — on St. Barnabas' feast, as he relates in a poem edited in *Horæ Precationum Regiarum* : Lyons, 1583 : 149-150.

²⁾ He matriculated on August 29, 1517 : *LibIntIII*, 235 : 'Cornelius Johannis Petri de Delf Castrensis'. In his *De Temporum Fugacitate* (1536), Musius says :

... Heic studiis operam
Sed segnem impendi, donec, genitore sepulto
Louanium petitur,
Nobile Louanium turritis moenibus atque
Artibus omnigenis &c.

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 73.

⁴⁾ It had been founded in 1429, thanks to the liberality of Gerard Villani : it went under the name of 'School of the Hieronymians' or that of 'School of the Twelve Apostles' : Delprat, 51-52.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 210 ; Godet, 43, 114-15.

⁶⁾ Miræus, II, 89 : Aquicinctinum ; *GallChrist.*, III, 417 : he probably was a relative of James de Sainte-Aragon. To him Musius dedicated some of his poems in a letter couched in splendid Latin prose : *OpM-Boek*, 117 ; he was Abbot from 1511 to his death, 1546.

⁷⁾ That young man, to whom afterwards Musius related his training in the poem *De Temporum Fugacitate*, partly quoted in *BibBelg.*, 160-61, obtained the 7th prebend in St. Donatian's, Bruges, in 1530 : *BrugSDon.*, 124, and, soon after, the Provostry of Thourout, where he was installed in 1533 ; he died on January 8, 1558 : *FlandIII.*, II, 236.

advanced teaching. Before long he accompanied them to Louvain, — after the chilly winter days, by May 1525 ¹⁾, — where he directed their studies. Whilst at Courtrai, he had received the *tonsura*, on August 1, 1524, from the Bishop of Sarepta, Nicolas Bureau ²⁾, and, in Louvain, he started attending the lectures of Theology, matriculating on August 29, 1525 ³⁾: he worked under Ruard Tapper's direction ⁴⁾ and renewed an old acquaintance with John van der Eycken, of Hasselt, *Hassellius* ⁵⁾, the future great professor of Divinity. Still he found the time to continue his studies of Latin under Goclenius, and to apply himself to literature with such a success that he was soon famous as poet.

At times the young Sanctaragundus went to Arras with his tutor, where, — as the latter owned, — ‘studijs... rara, culinæ Plurima cura data est’; and to change the atmosphere, they moved to Paris, from where they soon returned to Louvain on account of epidemics. When the danger had passed, they repaired once more to Paris, and, through the old pupil of Ghent School, Judocus Badius *Ascensius*, Musius made the acquaintance of the great humanists in France, James Lefèvre d’Etaples, William Budé, Fausto Andrelini ⁶⁾ and several more ⁷⁾, who had had an occasion to enjoy the charm of his poems. From 1533 to 1535, he journeyed with his young student, now a Provost, by Orleans and Anjou and along the Loire, to settle in the University of Poitiers. Here, once more, his poetry procured him many friends, and it was particularly admired in him that, though he made use of a very rich and genuine language and a wealth of figures and expressions suggested by the literary works of the Golden Era, he always

¹⁾ With his brother John, James Sanctaragundus matriculated as *minorennis* on May 24, 1525: *LibIntIII*, 324, *r*.

²⁾ He was suffragan of the Bishop of Tournai from 1519 to 1551: Berlière, 144-46. Cp. *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haerlem*, xxv: 1900: 223-24.

³⁾ *LibIntIII*, 325, *v*.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XX.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, pp 218-20.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 170-71.

⁷⁾ OpMBoek, 115, mentions amongst his new friends the poet Pierre Rosset (Renaudet, 660), and John de Ganay, probably son and namesake of the great Chancellor (1507-1512), friend and protector of Lefèvre, Aleander and Andrelini: Renaudet, 125, 150, 484-85, 605, 614; Imbart, I, 455, II, 451; AleaE, 8, 15, &c.

remained himself : an admirer, not of what the pagan Antiquity had celebrated, but what he himself, a sound and tender lover of religion, of truth and of all things great and good, did admire : it was the very teaching of the *Trilingue* put into practice. He made friends with several of the most renowned people of that region ¹⁾, and found there two of his countrymen at study, Joachim Polites ²⁾ and Julian de Havré, of Lessines ³⁾. He gave for two months a hearty hospitality to Janus Secundus, ailing on his return journey from Spain in the spring of 1536 ⁴⁾ : the two poets, no doubt, enjoyed each other's company judging from the inscription which Musius wrote on the portrait — in lead and silver — of his younger friend :

Non fecit merito, nomen qui forte Secundo

Imposuit : Primus jure vocandus eras. ⁵⁾

In the preceding year, Musius had also welcomed at Poitiers the Spanish Erasmian and humanist, Peter John Olivarius, of

¹⁾ *OpMBoek*, 113.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XII ; *ClénCorr.*, II, 32.

³⁾ Julianus of Havré, or Havrech, *Aurelius*, born at Lessines, in Hainaut, visited some French Universities, and was studying at Poitiers when Musius came there with his pupil. He returned to his native country by 1540 with the title of Doctor of Law. He settled in Mechlin as barrister of the Great Council, and also served as councillor to Philip of Croy, Duke of Aerschot, and Great Bailiff of Hainaut, as well as to his sons Charles and Philip. His daughter Margaret, *béguine* at Mechlin, survived him : she died on March 23, 1578, thirty-three days after the destruction of the *béguinage*. He left a commentary on the two first *Satiræ* of Horace (Antwerp, 1541) and a *De Cognominibus Deorum Gentilium* (Antwerp, 1541), which was reprinted at Basle. At Poitiers, he published in 1538 a *Declaratio ad Legem Juris Gentium* § Quin imo, π. de Pactis ; whereas a letter to Adrian Nicolai, dated Mechlin, June 17, 1544, recalls the meeting of his brother Janus Secundus in that University : *BibBelg.*, 160, 597 ; *FlandScript.*, 113 ; Paquot, XII, 363-65 ; Burman, II, 231 ; *SweABelg.*, 496 ; *MalNDame*, [65] ; *Mal-Inscr.*, 290.

⁴⁾ Ill health had forced his brother Marius to return after he had lost his wife in Spain : Janus was also suffering from fever, which prevented him following the Emperor to Tunis and to Italy, and made him take the way home : the journey, evidently, was too hard for him, so that he rested two months at Poitiers : his illness proved fatal in September of that same year : Crane, 22-25 ; *OpMBoek*, 116.

⁵⁾ *OpMBoek.*, 116.

Valencia ¹⁾, who stopped there on his way to the north, and published some notes on the *Somnium Scipionis* : he probably was still there when Secundus arrived, for it was, no doubt, about him and about his commentaries that the latter wrote an *Epigramma* ²⁾).

Whilst Musius was at Poitiers, he wrote a poem on the *Institutio Fœminæ Christianæ*, based on the Golden Alphabet of women, the last chapter of Solomon's Proverbs : he dedicated it to his nephew Josse Sasbout, Holland Councillor ³⁾).

¹⁾ Pedro Juan Olivar, Olivarius, of Valencia, reached Belgium, probably in Charles of Austria's retinue in 1520 ; he matriculated in Louvain, on August 1, 1521, as student of divinity : *LibIntIII*, 277, r ; he had started that study there under the guidance of James Latomus, who, on June 28, 1521, wrote to Aleander to recommend that diocesan to Erard de la Marck's generosity, as the priest, whose expenses in Louvain he paid, was just then going to leave : *KAlgL.*, 154. A few days later, on July 9, 1521, Latomus expressed his pleasure hearing that the bearer of his recommendation, Peter Olivar had produced a good impression : *KAlgL.*, 154-55 ; Brom, II, 32. Still the recommendation does not seem to have been effective, for Olivar left for England, where he stayed nearly three years before he returned to Belgium, some time before Jan. 13, 1524, when he wrote to Cranevelt to thank him for books lent : *Cran.*, xlv, 86, pr, 142, c. As in that letter, Olivar mentions a 'Legatus', it seems as if he was himself connected with him and with the Court. In the following years he resided in Spain, and in a letter to Erasmus, March 23, 1527, he refers to the opposition to some of the Humanist's writings, and to several of his friends at Court. In 1535, he was at Poitiers, where he published notes on Latin authors : *OpMBoek*, 115 ; from there he went to Paris, where, for a time, he lectured on Greek Dialectics : *EraSpain*, 550-51 ; *Budé*, 274. By 1542, he was in England studying in Oxford, which town he left to enter the service of George of Austria, Bishop of Liège, 1544-1557. He died in the beginning of 1553, since his *Confirmatio præsentiæ Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Sacramento Altaris* was printed posthumously : Cologne, 1553. Cp. *Cran.*, 86, pr ; Allen, vi, 1791, pr ; *BataoMart.*, 22, 68 ; *EraSpain.*, 248, 344, 393, 418, 521 ; *SaxOnom.*, 178.

²⁾ *JSecOp.*, 136 : *In Commentarios Petri N. in Somnium Scipionis*,

³⁾ Josse Sasbout, Lord of Spalant, was born at Delft, March 4, 1487, from an old patrician family ; he matriculated in Louvain on October 8, 1506 : *LibIntIII*, 130, v. In 1515, he became a member of the Holland Council, and in 1543, Chancellor of Gelderland. He died at Arnhem, November 14, 1546. He had married Catherine van der Meer, and their son Arnold became an inmate of the *Trilingue* in 1531. Josse Sasbout, who was himself a poet, favoured learning and humanism, and showed

With other *Carmina*, it was printed in that town in February 1536 ¹⁾. In that same year he moved northward, and resided a while in St. Amand's Abbey, near Tournai, where he wrote an elegy on the recently deceased Erasmus, dedicating it to James Sanctaragundus. He also composed there his famous distich on his great friend :

Siccine pro studiis cælo donatur Erasmus

Quinto post Nonas, Cæsar Jule, tuas ²⁾.

Although his acquaintances and admirers praised that epitaph as the finest on the subject ³⁾, Musius felt disappointed with it after he had read that or those by Ludovicus Masius ⁴⁾, envying him the honour of having celebrated better the memory of the great Scholar he had dearly cherished the whole of his life : he considered as the most precious of his treasures, a picture of Christ on the Cross which his famous countryman had made when he was still at Steyn ⁵⁾. In that same year Musius celebrated the memory of another renowned countryman, Adrian VI, by a *Phaleucium* and two distichs, which were printed on the reverse of the title-page of the *Vita Hadriani Sexti Pontificis Maximi*, written by his fellow-student and friend Gerard Morinck, and published in November 1536 ⁶⁾.

himself a staunch friend and protector to Erasmus, to Dorp and Cranevelt : Guicc., 185-86 ; Opmeer, I, 460, b ; *BataoMart.*, 69 ; *ConPri.*, I, 56, II, 20 ; *ConPriT*, 30 ; FG, 416 ; Allen, IV, 1092, 15 ; *Cran.*, 113, a, 111, 64, 123, 68 ; *LanzPap.*, 296-99 ; also further, Ch. XVI. — The 'Godefridus Sasbout de Gouda', who matriculated in Louvain as a student of Standonck Pedagogy on May 16, 1523 : *LibIntIII*, 301, r, may have been a relative.

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 161.

²⁾ Cornelii Mvsii Delphi Ad Jacobum Sanctaragundum *Tumulorum D. Erasmi Roterodami Libellus* : Louvain, Rutger Rescius, 'Mense Sep. 1536.' (six leaves in-4°) : *NijKron.*, I, 1582. Cp. further, Ch. XVIII.

³⁾ *BataoMart.*, 69.

⁴⁾ The distich by Masius (*EraCat.*, P 4, r : the last of three ; Opmeer, 476 ; *OpMBoek*, 118) is :

Fatalis series nobis inuidit Erasmum

Sed Desiderium tollere non potuit.

⁵⁾ Musius had added an inscription in letters of gold (*OpMBoek*, 122) :

Hæc Desiderius (ne spernas) pinxit Erasmus,

Olim in Steyneo quando latebat agro.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Rutger Rescius : *NijKron.*, I, 1545 ; *AdriBurm.*, [40].

Musius contemplated accompanying his pupil James Sancta-ragundus to Italy, when he was appointed the successor to John Colman ¹⁾ as spiritual director of the nuns of St. Agatha's at Delft ²⁾. He started on that work on March 12, 1538, and continued it with great success for more than thirty-four years. He was both an example and a leader to his community, and yet he continued studying and writing poetry, mostly devotional, which made him famous. He was not only acquainted with literators and erudites, like Damian a Goes ³⁾ and Peter Nannius ⁴⁾, but also with painters, musicians and theologians, as well as the leading jurisprudents and politicians, like Nicolas Grudius ⁵⁾, Cornelius Suys ⁶⁾, and Maximilian of Burgundy ⁷⁾, not to mention his friend and biographer Peter Opmeer ⁸⁾, with his master Nicolas Cannius ⁹⁾, besides several others ¹⁰⁾. Even William, Prince of Orange, was a frequent guest at St. Agatha's ¹¹⁾, and when, in 1572, the storm broke loose over his native country, and Musius was chased from his rooms by the revolters, he decided to apply to his old friend the Prince, when, on his way to The Hague, he was arrested by the ruthless William Lumey, who, after the most atrocious tortures, had him hanged at Leyden on December 10, 1572 ¹²⁾.

¹⁾ John Coelman, Coolman, *Colmannus*, of Delft, doctor of Canon law, was already director of St. Agatha's in 1516: he died in the winter of 1538: *MonHL*, 375; *Riemsdijk*, 16. ²⁾ *Riemsdijk*, 16, sq, 105.

³⁾ Goes brought to Musius an Ethiopian cup from the King of Portugal after he had settled in Delft: *BataoMart.*, 75, 96; *MonHL*, 614, 689; cp. further, Chs. XIV, XVI.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XX; Nannius dedicated to Musius his *Duarum Sanctissimarum Martyrum Agathæ et Lucie Dialogismi*: Louvain, 1550, and his *De Claris Corneliis*: Polet, 47-49, 186, 310; Paquot, xiv, 59.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XII: his sister Elisabeth, a nun in St. Agatha's, made a fine copy of Count William of Holland's book of daily prayers, by Alexander van Oosterom: *OpMBoek*, 121; *Cran.*, 123, e.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XI.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XII.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXII.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 139-41.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *OpMBoek*, 125-31.

¹¹⁾ *Riemsdijk*, 21; *OpMBoek*, 133.

¹²⁾ Musius' life has been written with full details by his dear friend Peter Opmeer (Opmeer, † 4, v) in his *Historia Martyrum Batavicornum* (*BataoMart.*, 66, sq, with portrait), translated as *Het Nederlands Catholyk Martelaarsboek*: Antwerpen, 1700: II (= *OpMBoek*), 112-168; Opmeer, I, 137, 310, II, 22-24; also in his *Monachum & Silvula Precationum*

If he did not die a martyr for his faith, Musius' friend Crocus ¹⁾ may be fitly compared to him as well for his literary achievements as for the beneficent influence he exercised on his contemporaries by his exemplary life and his teaching. Cornelius Crocus, son of Peter, was born at Amsterdam about 1500 : his name seems to have been 'Safræen'; he went to study in Louvain, where Adrian Barlandus is recorded to have been his master ²⁾ ; he is also said to have applied himself zealously to Greek, so that, without doubt, he attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* to his great advantage; already at twenty-two he was teaching in his native town with such earnest zeal that he at once started composing the treatise to correct the Latin taught in the schools, which he afterwards added to his list of *Sordidorum* <verborum> ³⁾. He was well acquainted with his townsman Alard of Amsterdam, who provided him with a copy of an abstract of Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantie* arranged by Erasmus, so that he might make use of that in his classes ⁴⁾ ; Crocus afterwards worked himself on the subject, and composed the *Farrago Sordidorum Verborum*, a most valuable contribution to the knowledge of the *sermo quotidianus*, based chiefly on Erasmus, whom he esteemed as high as a classic ⁵⁾ ; it was published at Cologne in 1529, along with Erasmus' abstract of the *Elegan-*

Regiarum (edited by his son Lucas : Leyden, 1582), 35, *sq* ; a relation of his torture and death is given by Guil. Estius, *Martyrium Cornelii Musii* : Douai, 1603 : iv, *chapt.* 13-15. Cp. Guicc., 186 ; Mol., 257 ; Miræus, II, 88-89 ; *BibBelg.*, 160-62 ; *ActaMori*, 201, 202 ; *HEpH*, 19 ; Paquot, iv, 32-35 ; *Cran.*, 113, a, 123, e, 277, 2 ; *MonHL*, 375, 462, 485, 614, 689 ; Polet, 18, 47-9, 186, 310 ; Riemsdijk, 16-17, 21, 105. — The 'Cornelius Sebastiani Musius', one of the *fratres Delphenses*, who matriculated in Louvain, April 23, 1566 : *LibIntIV*, 425, r, may have been a relative.

¹⁾ *OpMBoek*, 125, 150.

²⁾ Masseurieu, 141.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2354, 39-43.

⁴⁾ That abstract of, or rather paraphrase on, the *Elegantie*, was written by Erasmus for a schoolmaster about 1488 ; the manuscript was in Cornelius Gerard's possession, who allowed it to be printed by Gymnich in Cologne in 1529. In 1522, Alard of Amsterdam had sent a manuscript copy of it to Crocus, with a letter dated February 1, 1522, which was published in the 1529-edition : Allen, I, 17, *pr*, 23, 106, VIII, 2260, 64, *sq*.

⁵⁾ Masseurieu, 42-43 ; Watson, cxxv.

tice ¹⁾), much to his annoyance, as he humbly announced to the Great Humanist in July 1530, adding that the first part of his own composition was printed through the insistence of some friends, whereas the second was only the orderless series of the notes he penned down in the first period of his studies in Louvain ²⁾).

After having taught for some time in Amsterdam, he went to England, where he received the minor orders from Bishop John Fisher ³⁾). He had returned by 1528 ⁴⁾), and was at the head of a Latin school in Amsterdam by 1530. He lived there in close friendship with Nicolas Canne ⁵⁾), who, after having served Erasmus for over five years, had settled in their native town as private teacher. Their common interest in the excellence of the instruction they gave, prompted Crocus to dedicate to his friend a series of *Colloquia* ⁶⁾) for the use of their pupils, since the famous book by Erasmus, originally intended as a classical manual, had swerved since about 1522 from the initial purpose, and had become as a collection of pamphlets destined to the reading public in general, rather than to some groups of *tyrones* ⁷⁾). Far from disapproving of

¹⁾ The paraphrase was entitled : Corn. Croci *Farrago Sordidorum Verborum, siue Augiæ Stabulum repurgatum* : Cologne, Gymnich, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2260, 81, 2354, 31, sq. It was added to Erasmus' *Paraphrasis in Elegantiarum Libros*, printed by John Graphæus, Antwerp, July 1532 : NijKron., I, 848, and by Hillen, May 1533, 1535, 1538 and 1539 : NijKron., II, 2962-65.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2354, 34-43.

³⁾ In a letter to the Utrecht Official, dated January 5, 1531, Crocus asked to be dispensed, for one month, from reciting the office of Our Lady to which he had been obliged by Bishop John Fisher 'in Anglia, qui <eum> initiauit minoribus ordinibus'; he pleaded the writing of a work in vernacular to prevent that those who journey to the Baltic harbours, should be tempted in their faith : Gabbema, 94-95.

⁴⁾ He delivered an oration on the life of Christ in Amsterdam in 1528. The information imparted by H. Pantaleon, *Prosopographia*, III, 116 ; Keussen, III, 107, that Crocus studied in Cologne about 1525, is probably a confusion with Richard Croke : cp. bef., I, 274-77, inscribed March 20, 1515 : Keussen, II, 505, 65.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 139-41.

⁶⁾ *Colloquiorum puerilium formulæ* : Antwerp, M. Hillen, 1536 ; the letter to Cannius is dated 1534, which suggests that there was at least one previous edition : *BulBiB.*, XIX, 413 ; NijKron., I, 643 ; Massebieau, 60 ; Bömer, 126, quoting a reprint : *Sylvula Vocabulorum puerilis lectionis exercitationi comparata per Cornelium Crocum*... *Selecti aliquot Dialogi*... : Salignac, J. Soter, 1539.

⁷⁾ Cp. *BB*, E, 443.

his great countryman ¹⁾, Crocus expressed at every possible occasion his high appreciation of him, as well by the tetrastich with which he adorned his portrait by Dürer, belonging to their great mutual friend Quirinus Talesius ²⁾, as by the affectionately appreciative letter which he wrote to him in July 1530, in which, in reply to a message received, he declared : ‘*πρὸς πῶτε Ἐρασμε... Recipi a te et optaui semper et, si fas est, speraui sæpe ; at obuium habere sic vltro et spem meam et votum longe superauit*’ ³⁾ ; he even affirms that he does not share at all the ill will of some against him : ‘*velut alter Prometheus, he says, splendidum sapientiæ lumen coelo petatum cæcis mortalium tenebris intulisti, quod nocturnis inuisum esse oculis vetus iam minimeque adeo mirum est*’. In answer to Erasmus’ exhorting to continue the well begun course ‘*in pulcherrimo literarum stadio*’, he thanks him for his splendid example, and promises that he will not have been encouraged in vain ⁴⁾.

In fact, besides the manuals already published, Crocus worked at a classical grammar : whereas most ludimagistri of his days were still clinging to the *Doctrinale* and the verse form as the most practical way of teaching grammar ⁵⁾, he was far ahead of them : as a true disciple of the *Trilingue*, he adapted it to the purpose : he made it clear and easy, basing it on the vernacular : in March 1537, he published his *Absolutissima Grammaticæ Institutionis Propædæumata* <latino-belgica> : he, ‘*C. C<rocus> Petri F<ilius>*’, dedicated it, on January 31, 1532, to ‘*Gerardo Alberti F. Aemsterodamo Fratri suo Chariss.*’ ⁶⁾, ‘*germanus*’ : either a half-brother, or the son of an uncle with whom he had been educated in one family, possibly through the untimely decease of kindred.

That little treatise, which, judging by the difference of the dates of the dedicatory letter and of the publication, had been printed before, was not the only way in which, with his other class books, he testified to the spirit of Busleyden’s Institute : as a real humanist he wanted to help and perfect

¹⁾ Miræus, II, 49, implies that Crocus wrote those colloquies to banish Erasmus’ ‘*impias Formulas*’ from the schools.

²⁾ OpMBoek, 177 ; Opmeer, I, 476, b ; cp. further, Ch. XII.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2354, 2, 12-13.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2354, 18-20, 22, sq, 32-33.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 188, 189.

⁶⁾ NijKron., II, 2729.

his hearers as men and Christians : no doubt it was for them that he, as priest, composed : *Piæ meditationes in passionem dominicam*, published probably from an earlier edition, along with Otto Brunfels' *Precationes Biblicæ*, in August 1531 ¹⁾, which were often reprinted in the same ²⁾ or in a similar collection ³⁾. He was no less solicitous about the purity of faith amongst the spreading errors : instead of indignant ranting, he used calm conviction : in 1531, he wrote about some dogmas of the faith in vernacular for those of his countrymen who sailed to the Baltic ports, and had to be prevented against infection ⁴⁾ ; he answered J. Sartorius' ⁵⁾ pamphlet about justifying faith by a *Litera de Fide et Operibus*, 1531 ⁶⁾ ; wrote a *Dissertatiuncula contra Anabaptismum*, 1535 ⁷⁾ and, in 1536, his *Ecclesia ad confirmandam fidem catholicorum... hisce periculosus temporibus* ⁸⁾.

Those — and other — pedagogical and edifying writings ⁹⁾, inspired by his sincere desire to do to his brethren all the good he could, made him very dear to all those who knew him, and particularly to his close friends Nicolas Cannius ¹⁰⁾, Cornelius Musius and Alard of Amsterdam ¹¹⁾ ; those works

¹⁾ Antwerp, Mart. de Keyser for Gov. van der Haghen, Dumæus : NijKron., I, 501.

²⁾ Antwerp, J. Graphæus, January 1533, — de Keyser & Dumæus, 1535 : NijKron., II, 2571, 2572.

³⁾ In Jud. Clichtoveus' *De Doctrina Moriendi* : Antwerp, J. Grapheus for J. Steels, 1536 and 1538 : NijKron., II, 2678, I, 587.

⁴⁾ Gabbema, 94.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XII ; Opmeer, I, 508, b.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, 1531 : Paquot, XVIII, 195 ; *HEpH*, 101.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, Martin de Keyser ; it was dedicated on March 14, 1535 to Niuenius, Martinus Nivenius, rector of the Sisters of St. Gertrude, Amsterdam : NijKron., II, 2727.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, J. Grapheus for J. Steels ; it was dedicated to Nic. Cannius : NijKron., I, 644.

⁹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 146-47, quotes, besides what is mentioned here, a *Paraclesis ad capessendam Sapientiam*, Iosephi casti exemplo ; *Hypomnematum in X. Præcepta Decalogi*, and an *Orationem in Iesu Christi Laudem* : Antwerp, Steels, 1548 ; a collected edition was published there by Jac. Mees in 1612.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, pp 139-42.

¹¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 490-93 ; Crocus wrote a letter of recommendation to John Steels for Alard's *Cathechismi... D. Claudii Viexmontii Compendium*, dated April 28, 1538 : Antwerp, 1538 : NijKron., II, 2255 ; Alard inserted a letter by Crocus in his *Epitome primi Libri de Inventione Dialecticæ Rod. Agricolæ* : Cologne, 1531 : c iij, v.

did not prevent in any way his literary activity : he made a special study of Cicero and of Terence : the former taught him his fine style, which was of great use to his ever active poetical propensity : some of his poems were edited by Alard in his *Sylvula Carminum* ¹⁾ ; an *Ode Sacra Tricolos ad Psalmum XLV* was printed in 1544, and, no doubt, was he the 'Cornelius poeta' whose poem '*de uita & morte Christi... Opus hactenus typis non excusum*', was included in the bundle entitled *De Christi Iesu servatoris nostri vita, ac morte, diuersa... Poetarum opuscula* : March 1536 ²⁾).

Still Crocus' fame as literator rests on his drama *Joseph*, 1535, one of the first and of the most noble tragedies inspired by Bible History, which has created a very long series of plays on the adventures of Jacob's son. It was played at Amsterdam's fair, 1535, by his pupils under his direction, and was printed during the management of Cornelius Dobbe, *prætor*, probably for the first time at Antwerp by John Grapheus for John Steels in 1536, under the title : *Comoedia Sacra, Cui Titulus Ioseph, ad Christianæ iuuentutis institutionem iuxta locos inuentionis, veteremque artem, nunc primum & scripta & edita, per Cor. Crôcum Amsterodami ludimagistrum*. It was introduced by a few verses and an *Invitatio*, and was dedicated to Martinus Nivenius on March 21, 1536 ³⁾. By that play, Crocus came to the very front of the xvith century Latin tragedians ⁴⁾. It was imitated in 1544 by his much older countryman Macropedius, who had already gained a great renown by his dramas ⁵⁾ ; also by Andreas Diether, of Augsburg ⁶⁾ ; it enjoyed a great ⁷⁾ and well earned success : the tragedy is remarkable for the extreme care with which the principles of classic drama have been applied ⁸⁾, for the novel choice of a sound story, which feels like a breath

¹⁾ Cologne, 1531.

²⁾ Antwerp, Simon Cock : NijKron., I, 1631.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 2728 ; it was reissued by the same printers in 1537 and in 1538 ; Bahlmann, II, 62-63, 110, records 14 more editions before 1550, and a German translation by Jonas Bitner, of 1583 : Creizenach, II, 75.

⁴⁾ Bahlmann, II, 80 ; Creizenach, II, 119.

⁵⁾ *Josephus*, 1544 : Creizenach, II, 113, sq., 116 ; Bahlmann, II, 60-61, 110.

⁶⁾ Bahlmann, II, 92, 110 ; Creizenach, II, 77, 115.

⁷⁾ Creizenach, II, 113, 116, III, 336.

⁸⁾ Creizenach, II, 102, 105, 111, sq.

of fresh air after the dizzying plays of Plautus and even of Terence ¹⁾, and for its elevated character. For the sake of popularity, trivial jests and wild conversations were introduced into *Acolastus* and even into *Hecastus*, in order to make the sacred matter somewhat palatable : there is no trace here of that lack of good taste ; on the contrary, Juvenal's golden advice : *Maxima debetur puero reverentia* ²⁾, was constantly before the author's eyes. It has produced the admirable exquisiteness with which the dubious matter was treated, and it culminates in the considerate way in which Joseph makes his replies to Putiphar's invectives, which only the wife could understand to the full : he thus renders her guilt and remorse the more vivid through his abstaining from all defence ³⁾. By that highly tragic and subtle treatment, the drama was made into a splendid piece of art, and the conscientious *ludimagister* gave to his boys a precious lesson of how to behave amidst the temptations of life, and how to turn them, if they cannot be avoided, into an occasion of practising the ennobling virtues of self-sacrifice and of lofty humaneness.

Considering all that, it gives no wonder that Crocus enjoyed a great success as educator, and that he formed men who, in the very difficult times they lived, acted true to their duty, encouraging their fellow-men in their dire trouble : amongst them the theologian Matthias Bossemius ⁴⁾, the historian Peter Opmeer ⁵⁾, the clever statesman Joachim Hopper ⁶⁾ and the Amsterdam bailiff Wolfhard Michaelis Foppinga Lycosthenes, who died in actual self-sacrifice ⁷⁾. So great was the master's renown during his life that a professorate in Coïmbra

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 221 ; Creizenach, II, 94, *sq.*

²⁾ Juvenal, *Satura*, XIV, 47.

³⁾ Creizenach, II, 99, 111-113.

⁴⁾ Professor of Divinity of Douai : he was born in Amsterdam in 1527, and died, as Chancellor of Douai University, in 1599 : Paquot, I, 407, *sq.* ; *HEpH*, 125.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁶⁾ Hopper attended Crocus' lessons with his *collactaneus* Dominicus Benedixius : Hoynck, II, II, 6 ; *HEpL*, 48-49, 67, 80 ; and further, Ch. XXV.

⁷⁾ He held Amsterdam against the revoltors, and died from a wound received in the defence of the town, November 1577 : *OpMBoek*, 284-298 (especially 282, 285 for Crocus).

University was offered to him. He refused as he still had to look after his aged mother. At her death, he resigned the leading of the School, and took once more to study, spending a large part of his time in Louvain ¹⁾. In his admiration for the incipient Society of Jesus, he decided to enter it, and to walk to Rome to beg the founder to admit him. He left Louvain on May 14, 1550, and, although he was advised in Paris to stay there until the great heat had passed, he journeyed on, possibly attracted by his friend and townsman, Gisbert van Horst, who was famous in Rome as physician ²⁾. Crocus was heartily welcomed by Ignatius of Loyola in the Eternal City, but he was broken down by exhaustion, and he died in November of that same year, only a few days after reaching his aim ³⁾.

The same eagerness for poetry, but not the same success, was disclosed by Peter Gherinx Busconius, — possibly from Busch, near Ecclloo. He attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* in the first twenties, in result of which he wrote endless series of verses; he submitted them to Erasmus, who called him *Metriarius* ⁴⁾. He became Master of Arts and Juris Vtriusque Licentiat, making his living in Louvain by jurisprudence, until he felt tired of that branch. Having found, in the writings of John Driedo, some passage which he took for heresy ⁵⁾, he started writing about it in verse and composed

¹⁾ He seems to have studied theology: he even edited *Duæ* (controversial) *Epistolæ* of James Latomus: G. Bonte, Antwerp, January 1544.

²⁾ Paquot, xii, 302-304.

³⁾ Crocus' life, written by Nicolas Cannius, was lost at his death by the carelessness of his heirs: cp. *BatavMart.*, 163, 174; *Opmeer*, i, 477, b, 481, a; *BibBelg.*, 146-47; *HEpH*, 92, 101, 125; *Cran.*, 96, e, 242, e; *FG*, 333; *Allen*, viii, 2354, *pr*; *JésNécr.*, 1550; *Sommervogel*, ii, 1660-61.

⁴⁾ On July 26, 1533, Goclenius wrote about him to Erasmus: ...quem tu olim a carminibus quæ tibi non infrequenter exhibebat solebas metriarium appellare, — viz., when Erasmus was still in Louvain: *Allen*, x, 2851, 15, 8q, 26, sq.

⁵⁾ Goclenius, who relates the fact, writes: incipit poetari et apologias scribere, orsus a Turnoto, in cuius libris nescio quid hæreseos deprehenderat: *Allen*, x, 2851, 17, sq; as that was written on July 26, 1533, he may refer to Driedo's *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis & Dogmatibus Libri 4.*, which had been issued by Rescius on June 10, 1533: *NijKron.*, i, 744; possibly other books by Driedo had been printed before: yet no trace seems to remain of them.

apologies on the matter, which was utterly unknown to him. He also found a passage in one of Erasmus' letters which he thought he could correct, using less words and more circumspection : when it was announced to him, Erasmus mistook the name Busconius for that of Herman von dem Busche, whom he suspected of criticizing him in Louvain. Goclenius set him at ease on July 26, 1533, assuring that if he read Gherinx' comment he would enjoy it ; that epigrams had been written in vain to rebuke the *metrarius*, since he does not understand the point ¹⁾ : and Goclenius sends as a specimen an autograph poem just then addressed to the Queen, which will allow Erasmus to judge, not the *leonem ab vnguibus sed... Cumanum asinum ab auriculis* : the man was not taken for more than a jester ²⁾. In August 1534, Gherinx published a bundle of his verses under the title : *Metrariolvs En Bvsconianus, Sicut lectu, sic laudatu pariter & honorificentia prædignus, Qui suo ex Metrario longe amplissimo est excerptus et exanclatus*. ³⁾ The book 'per prælum Rutgeri Rescij, in gymnasio quidem Louaniano tudiculatus', with its devices from 'Salomlach', and its strange metrical compositions in out-of-the-way words and expressions, preceded by a *protologia* dated October 3, 1533, produces a sad regret of the time and the talents wasted. It only testifies to the powerful impression made by the teaching of the *Trilingue*, even on those who lacked the sense to discern between brilliancy of diction, and the sterling gold of the ideas imparted. The very Sower of the Gospel could not help dropping some of his good seed on stony ground.

6. PIONEERS

A. GABRIEL MUDÆUS

Little minding the accidental loss of a stray grain, the generous sowing was constantly going on, and even produced

¹⁾ Allen, x, 2851, 10-27 : Exceptus fuit aliquot epigrammatis, sed frustra. Argutias enim non intelligit, nec præstat.

²⁾ Hic non aliter ridetur quam solent vulgo moriones.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 2586 ; cp. further, Ch. XV.

admirable growth throughout its proper field of activity : an occasional residence in Louvain allowed many an industrious man, — like Toussanus Hocedius ¹⁾, — to avail himself of the opportunity to acquire most valuable knowledge, which, in later times, proved of efficient utility in his career. So much the more benefit fell to the lot of those who considered the training and instruction of the *Trilingue* as of paramount importance : like the good grain of the Parable, they brought forth fruit, some thirtyfold, some sixtyfold, some even an hundredfold by becoming real pioneers in their special sphere of action.

One of the most remarkable amongst the latter was **Gabriel van der Muyden, Mudæus**, born at Brecht in 1500, the son of Leonard, who had married the sister of John de Coster, the great grammarian ²⁾. He attended for a time the school of his uncle ³⁾, until, on his recommendation, he entered the service of Adrian of Utrecht ⁴⁾, who took great delight in the clever boy ; at his leaving for Spain, 1515, he became the *familiaris* of another foremost professor of the University ⁵⁾ : he thus got his instruction, and, no doubt, greatly benefited by the example of his masters and their close friends. Amongst

¹⁾ Toussaint Hosey, or Hossey, *Panagius, Hocedius*, of Valenciennes, in literis politioribus... foeliciter versatus, was the first of his promotion in 1514 ; he became professor of philosophy in his Pedagogy the Falcon, but only for a short time, since Erasmus lived with him in one house, and ate at one table with him in Louvain, as Hubert Custineus, a monk of Gorze Abbey, student of Budé († 1547), wrote to Beatus Rhenanus on July 1, 1539 : RhenE, 457. That implies that already by 1516 Toussaint lived with John Paludanus, — for it is hardly conceivable that he should have become an inmate of the Lily. In his *In Pseudodialecticis*, addressed to John Fuertes, on February 13, 1519, Vives mentions as his friends 'Toussanus Hocedius Nicolausque Votonius', — Wotton : cp. Ch. XXII, — who soon will also become those of Fuertes, no doubt on their projected visit to Paris : VOO, III, 67 ; *VivVita*, 215. By 1528, Hosey had been appointed secretary to the Cardinal John of Lorraine, and Gervasius Wain, Paris professor of theology, mentions him as such to Erasmus on August 16 of that year. He became Abbot of Gorze, near Metz, in 1539, and opened there the library, which, for centuries, had been accessible only to moths. He was appointed Bishop of Toul in 1543, and Abbot of Honnecourt, near Cambrai, in 1546. He died on July 30, 1565 : RhenE, 457 ; Allen, IV, 1209, 4, VII, 2027, 20 ; *ULPromRs.*, 70 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 393.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 202-6, &c.

³⁾ *Custos*, xxv.

⁴⁾ *Busl.*, 317.

⁵⁾ Vern., 289.

them must have been the great Erasmus and the equally remarkable Vives, whose influence on his intellectual formation and on his career he gratefully remembered in later times ¹⁾. He was during several years a zealous auditor of the *Trilingue*, the only Institute where at the time he could get the thorough knowledge of the three languages and of the history of thought and civilization in the Golden Age of Antiquity, which he showed when he had finished his training in the Arts. He also gained there that admirable mastery of pure and literary Latin which characterized his lectures, to which he attracted an exceptionally numerous audience, making the dry-as-dust matter he taught, into a literary and intellectual enjoyment by his florid eloquence.

If he apparently lost some time over that most valuable preparation, he did the more excellently whatever he undertook afterwards : he promoted Master of Arts as a student of the Lily in 1523, and was given the first place ²⁾. It is not certain that he resided in that Pedagogy : judging from a deed of January 11, 1523, his father was living with him ³⁾, which suggests that he occupied a house, and had probably already started tutoring boarders ; nor is he mentioned amongst the readers or teachers in the Lily of that period ⁴⁾, whereas, a few years later, he accompanied one of the young men he had tutored on a tour through France that lasted over three years ⁵⁾.

He had, meanwhile, begun studying jurisprudence, and availing himself of the knowledge acquired in the *Trilingue*, he applied the characteristic spirit of that Institute to the branch he had chosen, following the advice of his great mentors, of Erasmus, and particularly of Vives, who, at the *Quodlibeticæ* of December 1522, had explained the method of

¹⁾ Cp. further, p. 212.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 73 ; *Mol.*, 547 ; *VAnd.*, 244.

³⁾ John de Coster, the great grammarian, bought on that day a pasture-ground at Brecht, on which was charged a rent in favour of Leonard van der Muyden, of which his son, Gabriel, had the usufruct ; since both were said to be living in Louvain, a messenger had been despatched there to announce the transfer and request their approval ; he had not seen the father, who was absent for the time being, but he received the consent of the son, the chief usufructuary : *Custos*, 9-11.

⁴⁾ *ULDoc.*, IV, 247-49.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, p 214.

making the *honestæ disciplinæ* clear and bright, instead of confused and dark, as they had been since long, especially on account of sophistry ¹). And that Vives had spoken about a new and better jurisprudence, follows from the fact that Herman Lethmaat, Cardinal Carondelet's secretary, had asked him for some copies of that *Oratio*, which he wished to be sent to some of Cranevelt's colleagues, members of Mechlin Great Council ²).

From the information supplied by a favourite disciple and, during several years, a convictor, Matthias van Wesembeek, attesting to often repeated confidences, it follows that Mudæus, although only a Bachelor of Arts, took part in the debate of those *Quodlibeticæ*, and produced such an impression that Vives publicly expressed his admiration for his eloquence and his intellectual development, joining to it the wish, welcomed by loud applause, that the 'belles-lettres' might soon vanquish barbarous ignorance ³). In fact, as soon as he started studying jurisprudence, Mudæus left the beaten track, and tried to reach reality in the vast amount of juridical matter. The proper texts of the various and most disorderly parts of the *Corpus Juris* had since long been abandoned and neglected for the *glossæ* added to the laws of old Rome, to adapt them to the conditions of life and society in later centuries. Even those *glossæ* became antiquated in their turn, and had to be explained by orderly comments according to the *mos italicus* ⁴), so as to prevent all oversight or oblivion. Since those comments took an enormous amount of time ⁵),

¹) Cp. letter of Dorp to Lethmaat, Louvain, December 29, 1522 : *MonHL*, 388-89, 58-64.

²) Cp. letter of Vives to Cranevelt, Bruges, c May 10, 1523 : *Cran.*, 56, 25-27 ; no doubt Lethmaat had inquired about that most important speech (*MonHL*, 389, 62-64), since he had heard about it from Dorp in the last days of December 1522.

³) Matthias van Wesembeek : *Oratio de Mudæo* : Wittenberg, 1572 : ut sæpius audiui (Mudæum ipsum) memorantem...

⁴) The commentary treated for each detail the *causæ materiales, formales, efficaces*, &c according to the distich which was as the basis of the *mos italicus* (Stintzing, I, 107, sq) :

Præmitto, scindo, summo, casumque figuro,
Perlego, do causas, connoto, objicio.

⁵) Cochlæus complains that in Bologna, in 1517, a professor spent two months explaining the title of part of the Code : *CochlHum.*, 84.

an average jurisprudent only knew a very limited part of the vast matter, and had not even an idea of what he ignored ¹⁾. To remedy to some extent that disadvantage, a series of cases with their solution were proposed as practical examples in collections, such as those by Accursius and Bartholus : they helped even further to lose view of the proper laws, as those *loca* or *topica* were discussed by means of dialectics, which in the course of time were used to make appear lawful what was unlawful, and illegal what was evidently right ²⁾. Mudæus soon saw the inanity of such methods, and bitterly criticized them, praising, on the contrary, the study of the law itself, and the use of a clear, lucid language, which in the meetings of his fellow-students, the *Collegium Baccalau-reorum* ³⁾, roused the staunch supporters of tradition to such violence that they expelled him from the room, and threatened to give him a sound cudgelling before ejecting him from their midst, everytime he should contend those or similar vagaries ⁴⁾.

Meanwhile Mudæus was so successful in his tutoring that Laurent du Blioul, Audiercer, and, from 1531, Secretary to the Privy Council ⁵⁾, requested him to be the mentor of his

¹⁾ *CochlHum.*, 84-88.

²⁾ Stintzing, I, 102-129; *CochlHum.*, 85; Honecker, 100-103.

³⁾ That *Collegium* was only a meeting of the juridical students, under the direction of a *decanus*, a student, of their own choice : it was started in 1503 by Henry Zwynghedau, of Bailleul (cp. before, p 87), and soon became an academical institution : VAnd., 209, sq.

⁴⁾ Wesembeek, *Oratio* : de homine non solum exterminando, verum etiam per collegia (viz. their future meetings) fustigando.

⁵⁾ Laurent du Blioul, knight, Lord of Sart, an official of the Burgundian Court, became secretary of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1496; Philip the Fair appointed him 'secretary of the (his) Chamber', Febr. 1, 1502, when he took him with him to Spain, entrusting to him part of the attributions of Philip Haneton, Audiercer of the Great Seal; he succeeded Haneton at his death, in 1522, taking the title of Secretary of the Privy Council at its foundation, in 1531. Laurent, who was also audiercer of Brabant since 1526, succeeding to John van Rysele, was a most influential man; although his political views did not always please Margaret of Austria, he was often entrusted with important missions at home, in England and other countries. Louvain University found a staunch protector in him : he helped to obtain the *Placetum* to the Privilege of Nomination, on which account he was offered 40 philips,

son Jerome ¹⁾, with whose instruction he had been entrusted since some time, and to accompany him on a journey through France, in order to prepare him for the study of the Law. That proposition was eagerly accepted, and, from 1524 to 1527, the two future lawyers went to hear the masters of Orleans, the great Alciati in Bourges, and the leading jurists of Paris. It seems that in the French capital Mudæus pleaded more than a full day in High Parliament in the lawsuit brought in by Queen Louisa of Savoy against Charles of Bourbon, Constable of France, and that he utterly surprised judges and hearers by his eloquence and pertinence ²⁾).

Mudæus returned with his pupil to Louvain, and adapting himself to the methods in honour in the Faculty, proved his great ability in them when he passed as *prolyta juris*, student of the fifth year, the test of the *Repetitio* about *L. Pactum quod dotali C. de Collat.*, with unprecedented applause in 1531, in so far that it procured him so many pupils that he is reported to have gained more gold coins than there are letters in the passage which he had explained ³⁾. On May 6, 1539, he promoted D. V. J., at the same time as his pupil Jerome du Blioul ⁴⁾, who, in gratitude for the instruction received, paid the expenses, and set up in his household his preceptor, who had recently married Elizabeth Staes. Prosperity had come : in 1537, he was appointed as successor to Hermes de Winghe, who entered the Privy Council, and on

which he refused : therefore his son Jerome was presented with an 'ama vini' in 1537, and another son, Laurent was allowed to promote *extra ordinem* on March 18, 1540 : that son Laurent succeeded his father at his death, in 1542 : cp. *ConPri.*, I, 36, 49 ; *ConPriT*, 174 ; Hoyneck, II, I, 363, 365 ; *AdriBurm*, 449 ; Walther, 161-63 ; Fruin, 444 ; Bergh, I, 286, 295, II, 241 ; *LibIntIV*, 166, v, 190 ; *ActArtInd.*, 34, 38 ; *ULPromRs.*, 105 ; *MélMoell.*, II, 114 ; *MargoOK*, 331 ; *GeldColl.*, 61 ; Henne, I, 37, 52, 209, II, 201, sq ; *MatthAnal.*, I, 176 ; *Cran.*, 141, i ; and before, I, 7, 10.

¹⁾ Jerome du Blioul promoted Master of Arts in 1531, being classed the fourteenth, and Doctor Vtriusque Juris on May 6, 1539, with his tutor Mudæus ; he was canon of St. Peter's, Louvain, and was elected semestrial Rector on August 30, 1539 and 1543. He died on April 22, 1556 as dean of Our Lady's, Breda : cp. Mol., 547 ; *ULPromRs.*, 80 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 266 ; *VAnd.*, 42, 187 ; Hoyneck, III, I, 334, 360 ; and before, p 131.

²⁾ Vern., 289.

³⁾ *VAnd.*, 187.

⁴⁾ *VAnd.*, 187-88.

March 28, 1547, he gave his first lecture in the '*primaria Iuris Civilis cathedra*', which John de Haze had just left ¹⁾).

Those appointments were not obtained without sacrifice : he had been compelled by the Faculty to abandon his own progressive theories for the traditional method : he could not communicate his clear view of truth *obstantibus Barbarorum decretis*, as he often told his friends, and amongst them Suffridus Petri ²⁾). No doubt, he had to earn his living; and, moreover, it was not wise to break off abruptly with the old routine : it was safer to make use of all the good that there was in it, and prepare the advent of the new true method ; for he had to adapt his hearers for the work they were to do in courts that were still clinging stubbornly to the antiquated ideas, where their progressive principles would have roused as wild an opposition as he had experienced himself in the *Collegium Baccalaureorum*. He rather followed the sagacious strategy of his uncle John Custos in his struggle against the *Doctrinale*, forty years earlier ³⁾ ; he made a judicious use of the *mos italicus*, but kept, before all, to the text of the laws, and omitted all commentaries that were not useful, criticizing what was wrong or mistaken. He, moreover, placed each law in its right connection with the rest of the juridical system, and in a magnificent and eloquent exposition, he showed them to be as parts of *ars æqui et boni* ⁴⁾). His lectures were not published, but some of his hearers edited the notes they had taken during his lessons ; his son-in-law, James Roelants, an Antwerp lawyer, had some of Gabriel's notes printed ⁵⁾ : those comments, which were published posthumously, or without Mudæus' consent, may be interesting, but they hardly can explain the popularity which he enjoyed, gathering at times as many as two thousand students in Louvain, as Matthias van Wesembeek definitely asserted ⁶⁾ ; they certainly do not deserve what James Cujas affirmed to

¹⁾ VAnd., 155-56, and before, p 149 : his disciple Renerus Tegnagel replaced him as professor of the *Institutes*.

²⁾ Brants, 115-16.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 200, sq. — When Cochläus wanted to defend publicly a criticism of the jurisprudence as it was taught in Bologna, he was strongly dissuaded from it by his friends, the professor of law Zasius and Pirckheimer : *CochlHum.*, 82-87.

⁴⁾ Cran., 150, i.

⁵⁾ *BibBelg.*, 254-55.

⁶⁾ *Mudæus*, 20.

one of his Louvain disciples about him : *Ante illum talem in Belgio non habuistis, nec post illum habituri estis* ¹⁾).

The real Mudæus is not the one of the public lectures, but that of the private teaching, in which, without any constraint whatever, he could freely communicate the remarkable results of his ceaseless investigations. They had led him to the conclusion that the text of Justinian's Code, the *Institutes*, the *Pandects* and the *Novellæ*, are merely *centones*, a tessellated assemblage of passages gathered by the extraordinary Tribonian and his ten to sixteen scholars, between 529 and 534, from about two thousand writings of sages and legislators, mostly younger than Hadrian's reign, 117-138 ; also, that the difficulties and obscurities are either due to the ignorance of long-forgotten events and situations, with which they are connected, or to the bad copying of the clerks ; further, that to elucidate those passages, there is no use turning to the *glossæ* or to the comments, as the solution can only be given by contemporary literature, and by the study of Roman Law at its most glorious period, that before Hadrian's time. On that account Mudæus, being very well equipped through his education at the *Trilingue*, investigated the writings of the great authorities on Roman Jurisprudence, with Cicero as leader ; moreover, rightly judging that all laws are based on actual facts, he considered history as the chief source for the study of jurisdiction ²⁾ : which made him turn for information to authors like Livy, Suetonius and Sallust ; and finally, convinced that there must have been a unity of principles and a systematic order and connection in the assemblage of the laws at the Golden Era of Roman Government, he tried to understand better the incoherent fragments of the Code by adjusting them, and putting them into their right places, so as to realize the proper structure of what Cicero is said to have described in his *De Jure Civili in Artem redigendo*, which, unfortunately, has been lost since Aulus Gellius referred to it ³⁾).

It would have been glorious if the great Jurisprudent had

¹⁾ *Bib Belg.*, 254.

²⁾ Cp. Paquot, III, 72.

³⁾ Aulus Gellius, I, 22 : Marcus autem Cicero in libro, qui inscriptus est de iure civili in artem redigendo, verba hæc posuit &c.

recorded the result of his investigations, and built as a perennial monument testifying to the immense advance of the science of Law he had realized by the *Trilingue* method. Unfortunately death overtook him on April 21, 1560 ¹⁾, and prevented him from putting into practice the device added to his funeral inscription in St. Michael's, Louvain, *Nocuit Differre*, at least for as far as his own glory is concerned ²⁾. For he had taken good care not to keep his find as a miser for years and years : he had generously communicated it to his numerous disciples, and even impelled them to realize his plans : such as *De Juris Arte Libri* III, 1553, by Joachim Hopper ³⁾, and the *Œconomia, seu Dispositio Regularum Utriusque Juris*, 1557, by John Tack, Ramus ⁴⁾. Never were created so many and so remarkable Doctors of both Laws in Louvain as during his professorate : Tegnagel, Bernaert and Pory, in 1547, Vileers and Leoninus, Ghent and 's Grooten, in 1550, the famous *quadriga* Wames, Vendeville, Peck and Hopper, in 1553, followed by Molinæus, Ramus and van der Aa, in 1559 ⁵⁾. They continued the Master's glorious advance, and some of his disciples went to announce it in other Universities : Baudouin, in Paris and Bourges ⁶⁾, Reyvaert and two fellow-students, in Douai ⁷⁾, Wesembeek, in Jena and Wittenberg ⁸⁾ ; whereas strangers like Nicolas Varnbühler from Tübingen, and Sigismond Feyerabendt, Helias Kembach, Johann Stammler and Andreas Geyl came to Louvain and laid the German Jurisprudence under heavy obligation to the

¹⁾ He left a widow who survived him till November 9, 1569, a son Jerome, who promoted D. V. J. on August 27, 1570 : he became military judge in Mechlin where he died on August 31, 1578, at thirty-five, leaving a widow, Cornelia Wellemans ; also a daughter, married to the Antwerp lawyer James Roelant, mother of the James who became a member of Mechlin Great Council ; also another daughter Barbara, married to Augustine Arbara, of Genua, who died at Antwerp on January 26, 1585 and was buried in St. James's : VAnd., 188, 198 ; *BibBelg.*, 254 ; *SweMon.*, 113 ; *BrabNobl.*, 263.

²⁾ Cp. Matthias van Wesembeek, *Oratio de Mudæo* : Wittenberg, 1572 ; Mol., 740 ; VAnd., 187-88, 380, 403 ; Vern., 289, 292 ; Stintzing, I, 340-42, and passim ; ViglEL, 4, 9-12, 24-25 ; Paquot, III, 72, XVII, 413 ; *ULAnn.*, 1844 : 166-210 ; *Mudæus* ; Brants, 111, sq ; Dekkers, 97-143.

³⁾ Cp. further, Chs. XVII, XXIV.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

⁵⁾ VAnd., 188-196.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIX.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

glorious old student of that *Trilingue* ¹⁾, which one of them described, in 1586, as ‘Celeberrimum Belgicæ litterarum emporium... ad quod passim cujuscumque nationis homines ad capiendum ingenii cultum liberos suos mittere solebant ²⁾).

B. JOHN LEONARDI HASSELIUS

The *Trilingue* method was applied to Theology by a student of the first years, John van der Eycken, son of Leonard, Leonardi, of Hasselt, Hasselius : after his training at the Porc, he promoted M. A. in 1517, the tenth of 162 candidates ³⁾. He followed the lectures on Divinity with so much success that the Faculty granted him, on July 4, 1521, a scholarship of which they could dispose ⁴⁾ : in October 1522, he began the tests for the degree of Licentiate ⁵⁾, which he obtained on August 19, 1532 ⁶⁾, becoming Doctor on September 23, 1539 ⁷⁾. In 1535, he had succeeded John Driedo as professor of Theology ⁸⁾, and he was appointed President of the College of the Holy Ghost in 1538 ⁹⁾. When Charles V, in 1546, founded in the University two new daily lectures of Divinity, one on Scripture, the other on Scholastic Theology, John Leonardi was entrusted with the former, and started it on May 4 of that year. He was of such uncontested value that he was chosen to represent the University at the Council of Trent ¹⁰⁾, where he made an excellent impression by his fine figure and

¹⁾ Stintzing, I, 342, 352, 495, sq, 688, sq.

²⁾ Sigismund Feyerabendt, in his *Epistola Dedicatoria* to the Elector of Brandenburg of his edition of Mudæus' Commentaries : Frankfurt, 1586 ; — he also says that not only *Belgæ* are largely indebted to Mudæus' work and lessons : Imo Germani, Galli, Itali, Hispani, et quicumque alii tum... frui ejus beneficio potuerunt.

³⁾ *ULPromLe.*, 7.

⁴⁾ De Jongh, *46.

⁵⁾ De Jongh, *48.

⁶⁾ De Jongh, *60.

⁷⁾ VAnd., 108 ; on August 31, 1540, he was elected semestrial Rector : *ULDoc.*, I, 266 ; VAnd., 42.

⁸⁾ John Driedo, of Turnhout, died on August 4, 1535 : VAnd., 100, 79 (1525 is a mistake for 1535 : Hasselius was not yet Licentiate in 1525) ; Allen, IV, 1163, 10 ; *MonHLL.*, 344-45 ; *CorpCath.*, XVIII, 157 ; *SonnE.*, xii.

⁹⁾ VAnd., 288 ; Vern., 205 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 17 ; he resigned the presidency by the middle of 1550, and is recorded as living in the ‘Backelyn’ on August 14, 1551.

¹⁰⁾ VAnd., 363 ; Mol., 517 ; *RamTrente*, 15, 32 ; *SonnE.*, xiii ; de Jongh, 50.

his great erudition : he delivered a *Sententia super facto Nectarij Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani circa sublationem Confessionis*, the only one of his works that was published ¹⁾, since he died at Trent in the house of the Countess de Nazorolla, on January 5, 1552, almost in the middle of his development as erudite and professor ²⁾.

To that development greatly contributed a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, which he had acquired in the *Trilingue* : he wanted to write and speak a pure, correct Latin, in the conviction that it was far more advantageous than the labyrinth of some of the new divines, who imagined that they could not be true theologians unless they talked and wrote a barbarous, equivocal language ³⁾. He moreover investigated the Bible and the writings of the Fathers of the Church, in which study he derived a most efficient help from his acquaintance with the languages : he thus became one of the very first who based their theological knowledge and their exegesis on the true intelligence of the texts according to the methods advocated in the teaching of the *Trilingue*. Although no exegetical work by him exists, his excellence is singularly illustrated by the fact that it has been asserted that the conspicuous *Commentaria in Esaiam & Pauli Epistolas* ⁴⁾ by one of his aptest disciples, Adam Sasbout ⁵⁾, were nearly literally written down from Hasselius' exposition in his lectures : 'Quod dico', Franciscus Lava declares in his preface to the *Sententiam super facto Nectarij*, 'norunt qui ipsum

¹⁾ Through his disciple Francis Lava, that *Sententia* was printed by Chr. Plantin, Antwerp, 1564 : Mol., 517 ; the same subject was treated by Latinus Latinius, Baronius and Cardinal Bellarmine.

²⁾ He was buried in St. Marcus' at Trent : 'Hic procul a patria conditur Hasselius', as his monument states ; by his will of August 14, 1551, made before he left for Trent, and a codicil of January 5, 1552, made at Trent, he bequeathed all his books to the College of the Holy Ghost and to the House of Standonck, founding a scholarship for a student in divinity as well as an anniversary : FUL, 1672 ; VAnd., 291 ; Mol., 648 ; Paquot, xvi, 306-7. Cp. VAnd., 108 ; Mol., 517, quoting an epitaph by the famous jurisprudent John Ramus ; Vern., 273.

³⁾ VAnd., 208 ; Vern., 274.

⁴⁾ *Commentaria in Esaiam Prophetam. — In Omnes D. Pauli et quorundam aliorum Apostolorum Epistolas Explicatio* : in Adami Sasbout... *Opera Omnia* : Cologne, Arn. Byrckman, 1575 : 1-248, 249-556.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIX.

viva voce docentem audiverunt, & ipsius Commentaria cum Hasselij scripta contulerunt' ¹⁾). Others, and amongst them Martinus Delrio ²⁾ and Cornelius Verburch ³⁾, attribute those comments to Hasselius, whereas Sasbout's nephew, Michael Vosmeer, claims them for his uncle ⁴⁾. Most probably they are based on the lectures of Hasselius, which Sasbout used for his own, no doubt enlarging and completing them : at his premature death, they were found amongst his papers and acquired by Arn. Byrckman, who printed them, along with his *Homiliæ* and other writings in 1568 ⁵⁾. Whatever may be the solution of that controversy, it proves beyond dispute the beneficent influence of the teaching of the *Trilingue* on exegesis in little more than a quarter of a century.

C. NICOLAUS BEKEN CLENARDUS

A third pioneer formed at the *Trilingue* was the famous **Nicolas Beken Clenardus**, who in his zeal of linguistic pursuit in the service of the propagation of faith, went to study the language of the secular enemies of the Christian name in their own country, Morocco. That humanistic apostle, who wished to vanquish the Mahometans by the cross instead of by the sword, was born at Diest ⁶⁾ ; he matriculated in Louvain on August 31, 1512, as paying student of the Porc ⁷⁾, where he enjoyed Barlandus' teaching, and acted some parts in the comedies of Terence played under his direction ⁸⁾ : he recalled them in after years to his townsman and co-actor, Arnold Streysters, Abbot of Tongerlo ⁹⁾. He promoted Master of Arts

¹⁾ VAnd., 108 ; Mol., 517.

²⁾ In his *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, III, 1, 3, 2.

³⁾ In his preface to the edition of *In Omnes D. Pauli Epistolas Explicatio F. Adami Sasbout*, opera et industria Cornelii Verburch Delphii : Antwerp, J. Steels, 1561.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 108 ; *BibBelg.*, 4, 527 ; Miræus, II, 48-49, 140.

⁵⁾ Mol., 517 ; Dirks, 89.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 414, 419.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIII*, 185, r : Nicolaus de beca de diest.

⁸⁾ ClenE, 60-61 ; *BB*, B, 250, 11 ; Daxhelet, 11, 207, sq.

⁹⁾ Arnold Streysters studied Canon Law after promoting M. A., and went for a time to Orleans. Entering the Premonstratensian Abbey of Tongerlo, he served for a time as parish priest of Waalwijk and Rozendaal before becoming Abbot Antony 'sGrooten's coadjutor, and,

in 1515, being classed the third of 152 competitors ¹⁾. He soon started teaching Latin in his Pedagogy, and became member of the Faculty before 1520 ²⁾. He meanwhile studied theology ³⁾, and thus came under the influence of James Latomus, who had been his teacher of rhetoric. That influence was necessarily anti-Erasmian and anti-humanistic ⁴⁾: Latomus cannot but have inspired Beken with a deep antipathy and even a hatred of the spirit of the *Trilingue*, which he declared useless and harmful to divinity studies in his *De Trium Linguarum et Studii Theologici Ratione Dialogus* ⁵⁾, and very bitterly opposed as long as he lived ⁶⁾. Whatever may be said of Latomus' knowledge of languages ⁷⁾, and of his mastery of Latin, which Beken praised in one of his letters to him ⁸⁾, he was considered at that special period as a blind and passionate adversary of that very study, even by calm and reserved men like Vives and Cranevelt ⁹⁾. In the dedicatory letter of his *Dialogus* to Cardinal William de Croy, he even made the unsolicited avowal that he felt that he was laying himself open to the criticism of the young generation of humanists: 'impudens esse dictitantes de tribus linguis eum disserere qui ne vnam quidem nouerit'! ¹⁰⁾ — It follows

on April 19, 1530, his successor. He was highly esteemed for his erudition in Canon Law, which made him be called *Doctor Canonum* and *Sæculi sui Papinianus*. In 1559, the Faculty of Arts applied to him for advice and help for the formation of well equipped professors: cp. before, I, 70, sq. He died at Mechlin in 1560: cp. *Tongerloo*, 308, sq; *TongNecrol.*, 161, 72-3; *Diest*, 140.

¹⁾ *ULPromLv.*, 6; Nicolaus beken; *ULPromRs.*, 70.

²⁾ *LibNomI*, 162, v.

³⁾ He promoted Bachelor on September 28, 1521, and Licentiate on June 4, 1527: de Jongh, *47, *54.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 324-34, 347, 566-69, 586, and further, Ch. X.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1519: cp. before, I, 324, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 465-66, and further, Ch. X, 4, A.

⁷⁾ Valerius Andreas calls him: *Vir trium linguarum peritia... clarus*: VAnd., 105, or *trium Linguarum peritissimus*: *BibBelg.*, 416; Aub. Miræus made him: 'Lingua namque vtraque egregie imbutus' &c: Miræus, II, 40.

⁸⁾ *GlenCorr.*, I, 175, 142: still that praise may not mean much more than that he was better than most divinity professors, who spoke an indifferent Latin, and were, many of them, *balbutientes*; cp. bef., p 219.

⁹⁾ *Gran.*, 46, c, 18; Allen, v, 1256, 24-29, 74, IV, 1059, 1113, 12-14, 1123, 17-19.

¹⁰⁾ *BibRefNe.*, III, 44. Cp. before, I, 326-28.

that a man like Clenardus, whose fame and value rests on his linguistic accomplishments, can have received very little from Latomus in that respect, although for his lessons of rhetoric, of philosophy and theology he remained most grateful to him the whole of his short life ¹⁾).

That animosity communicated by Latomus to his disciple explains why Clenardus did not think fit to make Erasmus' acquaintance ²⁾), although living with him in a comparatively small town : as a member of the Faculty he must have taken part in the debates about the *Trilingue* and about the Great Humanist himself. Although in after times he adopted practically most of his pedagogic and linguistic principles, and made evidently use of his books ³⁾), yet he could not help expressing most sarcastic jests and scathing remarks about his old enemy when the news was spread that he had entered eternity ⁴⁾).

If he never could get reconciled with Erasmus, Clenardus soon changed in his disposition toward the study of languages. He had been provided with a scholarship in Houterlee College by the middle of 1521 ⁵⁾), succeeding the founder's friend John Driedo ⁶⁾). He even was entrusted with the presidency over the three other bursars, and was therefore allowed a term of ten years instead of seven ⁷⁾); he could accept boarders, and, without doubt, the first was the resigning President. From that wise and prudent scholar, Clenardus learned to disaccustom himself from following blindly the highly excitable and prepossessed Latomus, and to examine and investigate things before hating and condemning them, taking Christian charity and sound common sense as guides ; nor did it last long before the *Trilingue* found in him a most zealous hearer, and Humanism one of its glories ⁸⁾).

From the epistles which Clenardus wrote to his friends from the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco, and which are one

¹⁾ Many of Clenardus' letters are addressed to Latomus : *ClenCorr.*, 1, letters 23, 24, 42, 47-51, 54.

²⁾ Clenardus is mentioned for the first time in Erasmus' correspondence on July 14, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2352, 323-24, 2258, 7-8.

³⁾ *ClenHum.*, 4.

⁴⁾ *ClenHum.*, 5-6 ; *ClenCorr.*, 1, 79, 91, 99, 101, 103-4, 106-7, 132.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 412.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 344-45, and before, I, 532.

⁷⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 168, sq ; *MonHL*, 412.

⁸⁾ *ClenHum.*, 8, sq, 10.

of the gems of the literature of our people, it appears that he was well acquainted with Goclenius ¹⁾, with Alard of Amsterdam ²⁾ and other Louvain Latinists ³⁾; even more with the professors of Hebrew and Greek, John van Campen ⁴⁾ and Rescius ⁵⁾. The latter especially was his intimate friend; nor did the disciple ever forget that he owed to him all his knowledge of Greek ⁶⁾. He became himself private teacher of that language ⁷⁾, in which he was highly successful, for he knew the difficulties from experience, as he acquired the mastery of that idiom at an age of mature judgment. He even published a manual based on the *Compendium Græcæ Grammatices*, by Adrian Amerot ⁸⁾, under the title of *Institutio in Linguam Græcam*, April 28, 1530 ⁹⁾, which, after little more than a year, was followed by *Meditationes Græcanicæ in Artem Grammaticam*, July 11, 1531 ¹⁰⁾; both books soon became universally known, and remained in use as long as Latin was the language employed in teaching.

In the first weeks of 1529, Clenardus had also published a *Tabula in Grammaticen hebræam* ¹¹⁾, which language he taught to beginners, since Campensis did not communicate the elements of grammar and vocabulary, but explained the difficulties of the Bible texts on which he lectured ¹²⁾. It thus happened that, from a decided opponent, Clenardus became a most welcome helper: for he prepared many hearers who ignored the rudiments of either languages, or who arrived when the lectures were well under way, so as to make them into regular and eager auditors, — at least until circumstances

¹⁾ ClenE, 81.

²⁾ AgricO, II, *3 v; *ClenCorr.*, I, 1, sq, II, 1-4.

³⁾ Such as his fellow-student Francis de Houwer, of Mechlin: *MonHL*, 413; *ClenCorr.*, I, letters 4, 5, 7, 34, 45, 46; and further, Ch. XVI.

⁴⁾ ClenE, 57, 73-4, 88, 92, 181, 219-20, 228-29.

⁵⁾ *ClenCorr.*, I, letters 22, 25, 33.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 414.

⁷⁾ *ClenHum.*, 11.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 223, 273; *Clénard*, 80.

⁹⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius & J. Sturm: *Clénard*, 190, sq; *NijKron.*, I, 585, II, 2673; cp. *Mameran*, 70-71, 241.

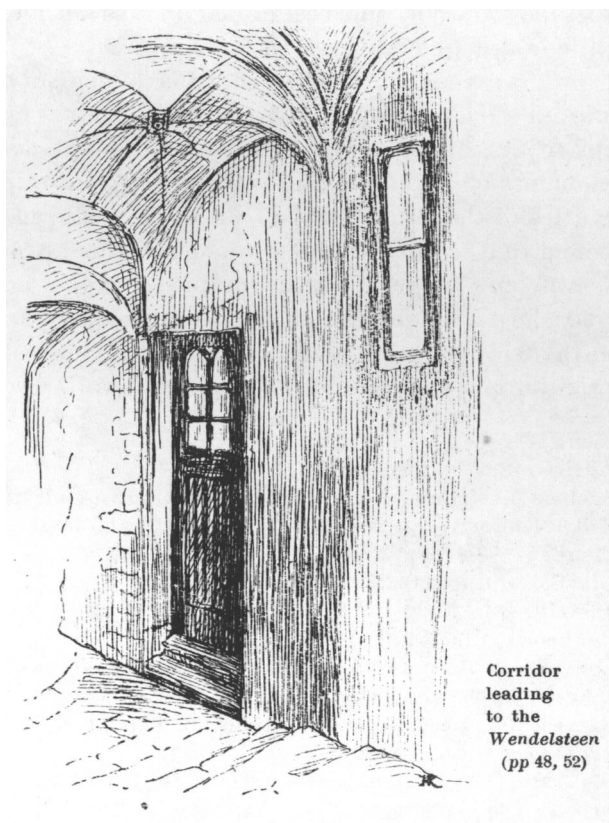
¹⁰⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius for B. Gravius: *Clénard*, 198, sq; *NijKron.*, II, 2674, 2675; cp. *OlaE*, 408, 430, 456, 472.

¹¹⁾ Louvain, Th. Martens: the preface is dated January 30, 1529: *Clénard*, 162, sq; *Iseghem*, 340-42; *NijKron.*, II, 2676.

¹²⁾ *ClenHum.*, 12-14.

put an end to that introductory activity ¹⁾, and made him start in quest of an Arabian master for the sake of the Peaceful Crusade. There could hardly be pointed out a more unquestionable proof of the marvelous efficiency of the teaching in Busleyden College, than the complete revulsion of a man, trained in utter hostility to its spirit, becoming a decided lover, and growing into a glorious champion, — although not at all subjugated, as happened in many cases, by Erasmus and his glamour ; but rather notwithstanding his lifelong aversion to the very inspirer and soul of the *Trilingue* he admired so much.

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XV.



Corridor
leading
to the
Wendelsteen
(pp 48, 52)

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
Ground-plan of the <i>Trilingue</i>	pp 46
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	50
Ormendael and neighbourhood	58
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	94
Nicolas Cannius	139
Corridor leading to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	224
<i>Wendelsteen</i>	296
Entrance to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	386
Door-way to Lecture Room	515
The Founder's Crest and Device	637

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

On p 85, nn, l 1,	please read	1560	instead of	1540
» 92, n 5, l 1,	» »	ortum	» »	ortium
» 137, l 7,	» »	messages ⁴⁾ .	» »	messages.
» 166, n 4,	add : Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.			
» 166, nn, last l but one,	read	⁵⁾	instead of	⁶⁾
» 269, l 18,	»	1530	» »	1529
» 323, l 12,	»	B	» »	E
» 358, n 6, l 7,	»	<i>PolE</i> Fr	» »	PolE
» 359, n 6, l 1,	»	Wotton	» »	Wotten
» 403, l 1,	»	dus,	» »	dus ⁷⁾ ,
» 517, l 27,	»	Thomas	» »	William
» 636, l 16, & n 6, l 3,	»	Josse	» »	John

CHAPTER X

STERCKE'S PRESIDENCY

II. MANAGEMENT

1. FINANCES

A. ADVANCES

Although the success of the *Collegium Trilingue* far exceeded all previsions, it would, probably, not have subsisted very long if it had not been able to rely on the foresight of the executors : John Stercke, with all his experience, could not have kept in working order the new Institute, however carefully it had been devised and furnished. A large amount of money was wanted at once, not only for the professors' fees and for his own, but for the regular housekeeping, whereas the returns of the investments and the payment of the boarders could not be disposed of, even if substantiated. On that account, Bartholomew van Vessem advanced the necessary money for the first months ¹⁾. He also paid the President ²⁾ and indemnified him for the expense of his board and lodging for over a year that he was in the service of the Foundation, but remained in St. Donatian's ³⁾. He discharged

¹⁾ Jnden jersten gegeuen mr. Janne van meerbeke president vand. collegien vors. op diuerse tijden omden cost te doene vander keukenen voer dat jaer begonst als voer xvij^a octobris xx iij Ciiij £ iij s vj d. — Jtem den seluen betaelt noch omde vors. costen te doen vj decembris ende vij februarii xxj CxCv £ : *Rek.*, 94, r ; *AccMeerb.*, 1, r, v.

²⁾ Jtem den seluen zijn gagien vand. Jaer vors. begonst xvij^a octobris xx ende eyndende xvij^a octobris xxj l £ : *Rek.*, 94, r.

³⁾ Jtem den seluen <meester Janne van meerbeke> betaelt bij ghelijck ouerdrach voer zijn verlies ende verlet bij hem geleden mits dat nae dat hij aenveert was om te comen Resideeren jnt collegie bijcans een

the wages of the two professors, Rescius and Goclenius, from September 1, 1520, to a similar date in 1521 ¹⁾, and refunded their expenses for their board and lodging until October 18 or November 1, 1520, when they came to live in the College ²⁾. Evidently the larger part of the sum advanced was required for the maintenance of the bursars, who had to be provided for by the Foundation : in the very beginning, the executors could dispose of the money realized by the sales of the Founder's belongings : still things had to be arranged that what had been done, up to then, by van Vessem, should be managed by the President : he was expected to turn into profit the outlay and the care bestowed on the boarders ; also to administer the assets of the Institute so as to realize all the requirements expressed by Busleyden in his will with care and provident thrift, and even lay by what would help him through a rainy day or a lean year.

B. INVESTMENTS

The executors displayed a conscientious care in realizing Jerome de Busleyden's estate, and after the payment of all dues and bequests, they tried to increase the amount of the

Jaer lanck heeft moeten verbeyden mits der timmeragien vanden collegie van st. donaes sonder proffijt te doene de somme van xxv £ : *Rek.*, 93, r, v < : there seems to be here a mistake of the scribe who copied '*timmeragien van den collegie*' instead of '*timmeragien, inden collegie*' > ; most likely he took up his new abode as soon as the rooms were ready. — John van Meerbeke sold some of his linen to the *Trilingue* : Jtem gecocht noch tegen mr. Jan van meerbeke out lijwaet luttel gebesicht te weten vier paer bueken tsamen iij Rg. / vj seruietten xv st / twee ammelaken xvij st ende een marten huicke om ij Rg voer tsamen vj £ xiiij s : *Rek.*, 82, r.

¹⁾ Jtem betaelt mr. Rutgheer professorj greco zijn gagien vanden jaer begonst prima septembris xx ende eyndende prima septembris xxj xlvij £ / Jtem meester coenraet professorj latino zijn gagien vanden jare vors. van prima septembris xx tot primam septembris xxj xxxvj £ : *Rek.*, 94, r, v.

²⁾ Jtem noch betaelt den seluen Rutghero zijn montcosten van prima septembris xx tot xvij^{am} octobris dair na eodem anno dat hij metten anderen gecomen js jnde costen vand. collegie iij £ xiiij s / Jtem den seluen <conrado> voer zijn costen van prima decembris xix tot primam nouembris xx als hij quam jnde cost vand. collegie betaelt xxxij £ x s : *Rek.*, 92, v.

residue destined to the new Institute by gathering the revenue still due for benefices or prebends, by claiming the payment of debts and debentures, and the refunding of all loans ¹⁾. The money thus collected was used to buy rents offering a satisfactory income and a reliable security. Nispen, Josel and van Vessem made personal inquiries right and left ²⁾, so that the new Institute was provided with an amount of safe investments which were to be its stock. Some of them had been acquired by the testator : he had bought a yearly rent of 33 florins on Mechlin town : it was going to be refunded when, on June 1, 1522, van Vessem managed to have it renewed ³⁾. There was another and more important rent, of 100 Rhine florins, invested on five towns in Holland : Dordrecht, Delft, Haarlem, Leyden and Gouda, which had been acquired by Jerome de Busleyden on June 28, 1515 ⁴⁾. On September 13, 1505, he had bought a rent of 100 'pieters' from John Cloetinck, or Clutinck, warranted on his property, the lordships of Samme, of Oestkerke and of Glabbeek ; on February 9, 1518/19, that rent was renewed by an agreement between Nicolas de Nispen and Bartholomew van Vessem, on one hand, and, on the other, John Clutinck's daughter Jane, widow of John de Lannoy, wife of Nicolas Witttaert ⁵⁾. Other rents had been acquired after Jerome de Busleyden's decease by Nicolas de Nispen and van Vessem : one of 30 Rhine florins from the 'LX brethren' of St. Rombaut's Church, Mechlin, on November 7, 1517 ⁶⁾ ; another, of 100 Rhine florins, from the children and heirs of Embrecht van Etten, of Antwerp, on November 8, 1518, warranted by their

¹⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 115-17.

²⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 120.

³⁾ *Inv.*, 20, r : Rentebrief A ; *Rek.*, 34, v : Vessem paid 132 £ in addition to the amount originally invested.

⁴⁾ Rentebrief B : *Inv.*, 20, r ; notes about the payment of that rent occur in Vessem's account : *Rek.*, 41, r, v, 42, r.

⁵⁾ Rentebrieven K, L, M and N, O, P : *Inv.*, 22, v-23, v ; *Rek.*, 31, r, v, 46, r, v, mentioning the acts of infeodation, and the inquiries made about this greatly appreciated investment ; the cost of the rent itself came to 1800 Rh. fl., the money being carried in a basket. In the accounts that rent is also called the *rent of Faquez*, probably because Jane Clutinck lived at Faquez or Fauquez, on the territory of Virginal and Ittre.

⁶⁾ *Inv.*, 20, v ; *Rek.*, 30, v ; Laenen, 1, 113, sq : it was paid 480 Rh. fl.

estate at Steenberghe ¹⁾). Moreover Nispen acquired on May 10, 1519, a rent of 48 Rhine florins on the property of Everard van Wisschel, of Breda, situated at Meersel, under Meerle, near Hoogstraeten ²⁾), and on May 10, 1519, a rent of 24 Rhine florins on William van der Daesdonck's farm and lands, the 'Alinger Hoeve', under Princenhage, near Breda ³⁾).

On September 7, 1520, was bought a rent of 36 Rh. fl. from Zeger Amoer, mayor of Halen, on his property at Linter ⁴⁾); some time afterwards, one of 50 Rh. fl., on the Prince's contributions to be levied at Antwerp ⁵⁾). On May 15, 1523, was negotiated a rent of 50 Rh. fl. on the domains of Brabant ⁶⁾); on February 1, 1525, one of 30 Rh. fl. on the town of Bergen-op-Zoom ⁷⁾); on February 19, 1525, one of 12 Rh. fl. on the estate of Paul Mechelmans, Brussels town secretary, invested on landed property at Vilvorde, Strombeek, Laeken, Heembeek and Grimbergen ⁸⁾); and on April 5 of the same year, one of 18 Rh. fl. on Florent of Egmont, Count of Buren, Lord of Ysselstein, on his towns of St. Maartensdijk and 'Cortkiene', Kortgene, in Zeeland ⁹⁾).

Those investments, made for the account of Jerome de Busleyden's inheritance, were all gathered practically into the hands of van Vessem, who, on March 31, 1530, made a solemn declaration in front of the notary John van Hove, of Louvain, stating, that if any property or rents had been acquired in his colleagues' or in his own name, it was with the money of his deceased master : they had only acted on the part of the Institute, to whose president he, in his own and in their behalf, formally delivered up every right. On November 30 of the preceding year, 1529, he had appointed

¹⁾ Rentebrief E : *Inv.*, 20, v ; *Rek.*, 30, v, 42, r : the capital paid amounted to 2000 Rhine florins.

²⁾ Rentebrief G : *Inv.*, 21, r ; *Rek.*, 32, v, 37, v, 38, r, 41, v : it was paid 1248 Rh. fl.

³⁾ Rentebrief F : *Inv.*, 21, r ; *Rek.*, 32, v, 33, r : the cost amounted to 577 Rh. fl. without the charges.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 31, v, 34, v : it was paid 648 Rh. fl.

⁵⁾ *Rek.*, 34, v : it cost 800 Rh. fl.

⁶⁾ Rentebrief C : *Inv.*, 20, r : it is marked as serving for the president and the bursars.

⁷⁾ Rentebrief D : *Inv.*, 20, v.

⁸⁾ Rentebrief H : *Inv.*, 22, r.

⁹⁾ Rentebrief J : *Inv.*, 22, v.

several persons as his procurators, empowered to declare before court, if necessary, that neither himself, nor his heirs had any right to those rents, or to the College, or to Ormendael farm, or to any property which had been bought for the sake, and with the means, of Jerome de Busleyden's inheritance, and that they belonged, in full and exclusive right, to the *Trilingue* ¹⁾).

C. ACCOUNTS

On December 4, 1521, John Stercke van Meerbeke, styling himself 'Economus seu Rector', gave an account of his management from October 18, 1520, to the same date 1521 : it was heard and approved of by Nicolas de Nispen and Bartholomew van Vessem : it showed a total of 371 £ 16 s for the expenses and only 308 £ 12 s for the receipts, of which the larger portion were advances by van Vessem, since only a very small part of the fees for the boarding and lodging had been paid. The executor refunded the 63 *Rh. fl.* 4 s that were wanting, and paid to the President his yearly wages, 50 £, for which he wrote a due receipt on December 6, 1521 ²⁾).

Of Stercke's subsequent accounts nothing seems to be left : one is referred to by Vessem in his general account : as Nispen was suffering, he and Stercke went to Brussels, 'opten

¹⁾ *Inv.*, 24, r, v ; *AccHoevI*, 50, v : mentioning xxx *stivers*, as the charge for that deed and the Inventory.

²⁾ *AccMeerb.*, 83, v, 84, r, v, 85, r ; *Rek.*, 94, r. — Stercke's account, now *FUL*, 1450, (1), is an assemblage of 4 quires, on which, from the 2nd leaf to the last but 4, are written down day by day the *exposita* for the kitchen and the housekeeping : several leaves are missing. On the first leaf of the bundle, the title was added for the audit, and the receipts for the boarders are marked ; on two of the last pages are all the *Exposita* for the rents due for the building, besides the comparison of the assets and debts, and a list of what was due to the College by the various boarders. On what is now f 84, v, are the signatures of Vessem and de Nispen ; on f 85, r, Stercke wrote and signed a receipt for the balance, as well as for his wages paid by Vessem ; a last leaf, 86, is blank. Three smaller documents have been added : the account of the wine and the board of the two executors at the Louvain fair of 1521 ; the receipt of a rent levied on the College by St. Peter's, January 29, 1521, and another by the Convent of the 'Dames Blanches', May 6, 1521.

saue'l', on the square in front of our Lady's of the 'Sablon' ¹⁾, and spent there three days from May 19, probably 1523 ²⁾. After that time, the secretary of the Bishop of Cambrai was often ailing : on February 29, 1524, when Vessem wanted his advice about their final account, he was too ill to listen ³⁾. Finally, from March 14 to 16 following, the two executors were able to put the last hand to it. In fact the mention of the three days that Vessem spent in Brussels, is as the very last item that he entered before the totals were compared in the final account of the execution of Jerome de Busleyden's will, which he rendered in his own name and that of his co-executors Antony Sucket, Adrian Josel and Nicolas de Nispen. It was then submitted to Giles de Busleyden so as to disburden themselves of all responsibility and prevent any obloquy, although the testator had declared that they were not to answer to anybody about the gestion of his succession. That most interesting document, comprising the account of the funeral and of the legacies, as well as of the building and equipping of the College, extends over one hundred leaves ; it closes with a total amount of 24·190 £ 15 s 1 1/2 d of expenses against 24·592 £ 2 s 3 d of receipts, leaving a balance to the good of 401 £ 7 s 1 1/2 d. On January 24, 1525, it was signed by Giles de Busleyden in approval of all the items and in attestation of the exactness of all the sums, mentioning that the account was rendered freely and without any obligation, as a perpetual memorial for the descendants of Busleyden family ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 39, r ; cp. before, p 13.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 98, v.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 99, r.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 99, r, 100, v ; ff 99, r and 100, r, are taken up by the list of the jewels, pictures and other objects disposed of specially in the will ; on f 100 v, is written the list of four debts which proved irrecoverable, e. g., that of Canon Leonard Priccard, of Aix : *Busl.*, 255-56. To that most precious account, now FUL, 1436, have been joined a few documents : f 101, a list of Busleyden's silver entrusted to Josel at his leave for Spain to be transmitted to Nicolas and Philip de Beuckelaer, Antwerp, for safe keeping, June 23, 1517 : *Busl.*, 322-23 ; f 102, the receipt of Arnold de Wree for his work at the College : October 6, 1520 ; ff 103-4, rent on Ormendael farm, March 28, 1451 ; ff 105-113, receipts for the partial payments of Ormendael by Nispen and Vessem, as well as for that of rents due for that estate to William of Vianen, to John de Winckele, and others : July 1520 to September 1521.

2. EQUIPMENT

A. ADAPTATION

In the first months of its installation in its appropriate buildings, the *Trilingue* necessarily must have shown how some details had been forgotten, and others wrongly conceived in the maturely and prudently prepared plan. It was chiefly for such odd changes that van Vesseem remained on the premises, and took care that they were executed promptly and effectively. As they were generally of little importance, they were only mentioned accidentally in his account, — such as the ironwork adapted to the windows in the room of some of the first boarders, the brothers Enckenvoirt ¹⁾. Nor was it only the boys' comfort that claimed attention and care : even their pastimes and recreation had to be provided for, and, what probably had not been foreseen, a place had to be fitted or at least adapted to the game of balls that was then in fashion. No doubt the exuberant life and the noise and gaiety of the students in an otherwise calm and peaceful corner, excited spiteful discontent, and roused an old grief into a virulent animosity : at any rate, one of the neighbours, Peter van de Putte, owner of the inn 'De Handt', on Fishmarket, raised a question as to the exact boundary between his ground and what was used as a place for playing fives, the *caetspel*, by the inmates of the College. The same question had been debated before between the neighbour and Walter de Leeuwe, and had been settled by the surveyor of the town, Lambert Jordens, or Joerdens, on July 4, 1516 ²⁾. The difference, which had started again in the first months of 1523, was submitted to the same surveyor, who, as an umpire, settled the dispute on April 13. A few months later, van de Putte found another cause of litigation about the same enclosure, namely the drips

¹⁾ In de camer van Enckenvoert een halve Raem met iij leden een schuifelinck xxij s : *Rek.*, 78, v.

²⁾ The decision of the 'paelmeester der Stadt van Loveno' is indicated on the list of documents inventoried in 1542, under numbers xv and xvj : *Inv.*, 6, r. Joerdens had terminated, on April 21, 1518, a similar debate about the enclosure between the neighbour Gerard de Thymo and Cornelius de Weerdt, executor of Wouter de Beka's will : *Inv.*, 6, v : xvij.

and the drain between the two properties : the difficulty was, once again, solved by Jordens, on June 8, 1523 ¹⁾. To prevent all further quarrels, the fence was replaced by a wall in bricks under President van der Hoeven's regime in 1530 ; yet it did not terminate the difference, for a scabinal decision was given on November 3, 1541, referring to that wall which the College had built near the '*caetspel*', adjoining the property of Peter van den Putte, about the way in which it had to be used and kept in repairs ²⁾.

B. LIBRARY

Of far more importance than those casual adaptations, although not of pressing necessity, was the arranging of the library and the installing of books and manuscripts in their definitive places. Bartholomew van Vessem devoted his time and his care to that work after the inauguration of the College : it required his constant attention, as shelves and bookcases, as well as convenient desks and chests, were to be made and adapted to the room which had been selected for the library : over the dining-room and the calefactory, a place had been provided for it in the plan. Going by the details provided in the glazier's account, it was fairly sized, as it had ten windows, which had a total superficies of seventy-seven square feet ³⁾. The accounts duly mention the wood used for desks ⁴⁾, as well as for the heavy door supplied with ornamental hinges and the lock ⁵⁾. The collection for which that room was destined, seems to have been a real treasure : indeed the library started with the books of the founder, and considering his wealth, his numerous friends amongst the

¹⁾ *Inv.*, 6, r, v : document marked 'xvj'.

²⁾ *Inv.*, 6, v : document marked 'xvj.xvj'. That wall was extended to the passage towards the Augustines Street, where it also touched van de Putte's property : once again Lambert Jordens was appealed to : he had indicated the right limits in May 1530 : *AccHoevI*, 50, v.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 71, v ; cp. before, p 53.

⁴⁾ *Rek.*, 54, v : Noch van hondert voeten breed bert totten lesseneer vander liberarien...

⁵⁾ *Jtem... van te hanghen de deure vander librarien metten halsen ooghen een nieu slot ende ij slotellen xiiij s. Jtem... van... iij ooghen jnde liberarie tstuck ij s... : Rek.*, 77, r, v.

humanists and erudites, and especially his connection with Italy, then the country of the '*editiones principes*', it may be safely assumed that his selection was as fine and various as that with which Bishop Fox endowed his Corpus Christi College ¹⁾. Thomas More refers to it as '*tam egregie refertam bibliothecam, ut me plane obstupescerit*': yet he esteems even more the riches of the possessor's *pectus*. Erasmus likewise calls him *utriusque linguae callentissimus*, and praises him as *omnium librorum emacissimus* ²⁾.

When Busleyden's belongings were sold by auction in Mechlin, some of the books were packed into three big hampers, and stored for the time being in the house of the parish priest of St. John's ³⁾. When the College was quite in working order, the books in those three hampers, as well as those in three big chests, were sent from Mechlin by ship to Louvain ⁴⁾, and placed in their new home, to be one of the greatest ornaments of the new Institute.

Busleyden's library was naturally most rich and copious: he was fond of books: he gave some as presents to his friends from the time of his studies ⁵⁾ till his last years ⁶⁾; as he had at his disposal a large amount of money, he must have purchased choice works in Italy. Erasmus refers to a copy of Polydore Vergil's *Proverbia*, printed at Venice, by Chr. de Pensis, November 6, 1500, which he had looked for in vain throughout the country, and which he found in the *Biblio-*

¹⁾ P. S. Allen, *Bishop Shirwood of Durham and his Library*: *Eng-HistRev.*, xxv, 445, sq.

²⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 460-61; Allen, I, 178, 12-13, II, 388, 140-146, IV, 1175, 50-53; Sandys, II, 212; *Busl.*, 64, 197.

³⁾ Jtem van iij groote manden omde boecken dair jnne te packen ende te loeuen te vueren als men thuys vercocht vij s. Jtem vanden seluen boecken te hulpen packen... ende vanden voirs. iij gepacte manden te vueren vuten huise tot des prochiaens huise van St. Jans bet. iiij stuuers: *Rek.*, 47, v.

⁴⁾ Jtem van drie groote kisten ende drie groote packmanden met boecken te mechelen tscepe te doene om tot louen te vueren xij s van vracht om die tscepe tot louene te vueren betaelt iij xij s ende van vuten scepe te doene ende jnt College te bringhen bet. vj s: *Rek.*, 82, v.

⁵⁾ In 1502 he offered a Martial to 'Andreas Lusitanus': *Busl.*, 277.

⁶⁾ He sent Charles Fernand's *Pœana* to Sylvius Italicus, Budé's *De Asse* to Dorp, and he received himself a book on art by Pomponius Gaugerius from John-Louis de Moscheron: cp. *Busl.*, 198, 371, 458, 461.

theca clarissimi viri Hieronymi Buslidij, who had brought it from beyond the Alps ¹⁾. Also in the Netherlands, Busleyden was *librorum emacissimus*, and even wanted to secure information about those volumes which were beyond his reach, as results from his letter to William Heda, his most erudite friend ²⁾.

A few months afterwards, the value of that treasure was largely increased when, on August 11, 1522, van Vessem arrived in the College with a large chest of Jerome de Busleyden's manuscript books on parchment ³⁾, which had been estimated before they were placed in the library ⁴⁾. Unfortunately of that treasure hardly anything seems to remain; far from being as lucky as the choice collection with which his emulator Richard Fox enriched Corpus Christi College ⁵⁾, it appears as if even the names of what formed Busleyden's literary hoard were lost — with a few exceptions. Peter Nannius, Goclenius' successor in the Latin chair, in his *Miscellanea* ⁶⁾, mentions a *codex buslidianus* of the works of Titus Livius, which he compares with the *codex atrebatensis*, bequeathed to the College of Arras by its founder

¹⁾ Letter of December 23, 1520, to Polydore Vergil (Gabbema, 5) : Allen, iv, 1175, 50, sq.

²⁾ It probably dates from 1509, and refers to a mutual friend Baltasar Balistarius, of Treves, who was requested to help them in their search for important books and documents : *Busl.*, 409-11.

³⁾ Busleyden had bequeathed to his Institute all his Latin and Greek authors in manuscript : he had also a fine collection of French manuscripts, and a splendidly illustrated Missal, as well as a Pontifical, which were sold by auction : *Busl.*, 113-14.

⁴⁾ Jtem betailt van vrachte van een groote steeckkiste den sterfhuys toebehoorende met allen den gescreuen boeken jn perkement daerjnne gesloten te wagen besteet om te louen te vuerene jnt collegie ix st Ende van deselue boeken te doen te voren taxeren betailt iij s vj d : *Rek.*, 98, r. — Jtem den voirs. barths. heeft geuaceert... van Johannes xxij... Jtem tot louen xja augustj gereyst metten gescreuen boeken om die te doen taxeren ende jnt collegie te laten vacerende ij daghen... : *Rek.*, 98, v. — Of the result of the estimation, which would have supplied a list of the items, no trace seems left.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, *Bishop Shirwood of Durham and his Library*, *EngHist-Rev.*, 1910 : 452-56 : according to Corpus Christi tradition, Fox's books are still on the very shelves where they were placed in the beginning.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Serv. Sassenus, 1548, mense Junio : Polet, 158-159 ; *Nève-Ren.*, 219.

Nicolas le Ruistre ¹⁾. The textual notes; which were drawn up with the assistance of an expert in Livius, Guy Morillon ²⁾, are unfortunately not numerous enough to judge about the value or the genealogy of the codex, although Nannius, who also used it for his *Castigationes... in Titi Livij historiarum decadis primæ librum tertium* ³⁾, quotes from it several readings which differ from the text that then was generally accepted : some of them are quite unique, and others have been adopted by recent text criticism on the authority of newly discovered manuscripts. It makes the loss of that codex so much the more to be regretted.

Nannius' student John Bosche, of Loon ⁴⁾, had made use of a Greek manuscript of Busleyden's collection, the *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Παντός Φύσεως*, by Ocellus Lucanus, publishing in 1554 a Latin translation, with critical annotations on its text, correcting a preceding version which William Chrétien had brought out in Paris in 1539 ⁵⁾. Three Hebrew manuscripts of the treatise of *Physica* ascribed to Rabbi Aben Tibbon, were studied by John Isaac, who had been invited to Louvain by Granvelle : he published one, and used the two others for notes, adding a translation, in 1555 ⁶⁾. Finally, a manuscript, ascribed to the xith century, contained Prudentius' works, as well as two contradictory letters, one by Symmachus and the other by St. Ambrose : the latter were made ready by Nannius às *Symmachi, et Ambrosii de Religione Epistolæ adversariæ*, with his comments, and edited posthumously by his pupil Victor Ghiselin, who reprinted from that manuscript, and commented, *Aurelii Prudentii Opera* in 1564 ⁷⁾. That Manuscript of Prudentius came safe through the French Revolution and was preserved as MS 234 in the Louvain Library : it had a note on the fly leaf : *Collegii Buslideani Louanii — ex Cubiculo Nannii Alcmariani* ⁸⁾ : unfortunately it perished in the Fire of August 25/26, 1914.

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 8-9; *Busl.*, 305-307.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIV.

³⁾ Lovanii, Servatius Sassenus, 1545 : Polet, 139-141.

⁴⁾ He became professor of Ingolstadt University in 1558 : cp. Ch. XXV.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV.

⁶⁾ Cologne, J. Soter : cp. Ch. XXIV.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, Chr. Plantin ; cp. further, Ch. XXIV ; Polet, 177-79.

⁸⁾ Brys, *Études sur la Vie et les Écrits de Prudence* : Louvain, 1855 : x-xi ; NèveMém., 154, 310.

The literary treasure accumulated by Jerome de Busleyden must have been of paramount interest to professors and students, which explains how in gratitude some offered their books and their manuscripts, and even the result of their own lifelong researches to the Library of the *Trilingue* : as example may be quoted the generous bequest of John l'Heureux, Macarius, Canon of Aire, near Arras, who died on June 11, 1614 ¹⁾, as well as that of Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, who departed this life on August 11, 1578. The latter had left his books and his papers — amongst them the *Oratio Funebris* on Nannius, 1557, and that on Charles V, 1559, — to Busleyden Institute : in 1643, Valerius Andreas stated that those documents were in the *Trilingue* ²⁾ : in 1614, he had even promised to edit the first of the two orations ³⁾, whereas the second was actually published in 1654 ⁴⁾. A century later, in 1768, — after the frequent wars that visited Louvain, — the librarian John-Noel Paquot averred with regret that those and other manuscripts had disappeared from Busleyden College, and that there were only the remains of a collection which evidently had contained many literary treasures ⁵⁾.

Fortunately at least part of Auwater's manuscripts have been recently found by the author of this *History* ⁶⁾.

C. LECTURE ROOM

Another part of the *Trilingue* had become, since some time, the object of the attention and care of van Vessem and of the President : the number of the auditors was increasing to such an extent that the big lecture room could not contain them any longer. If, on July 5, 1521, Erasmus could boast that the *auditorium* often counted no less than three hundred

¹⁾ Cp. *AireSP*, 108, 266-68 ; *FlandScript.*, 101-2 ; *BibBelg.*, 529-20 ; and further, Ch. XVII.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 166 ; *Opmeer*, II, 38, b (1611 : quædam <opera sunt> adhuc impie suppressa).

³⁾ *VAndEx.*, 59.

⁴⁾ It was added by Bern. Heymbach to Vernulæus, his predecessor's *Epitome Historiarum* : Louvain, 1654 : Foppens, II, 923, b ; Paquot, III, 448.

⁵⁾ Paquot, XII, 155.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 177, and further, Ch. XVII.

listeners ¹⁾, John Stercke declared to Erasmus, on November 24, 1522, that every thing went according to his wish, except perhaps the *scholæ* which should be much bigger ²⁾. Fortunately, in the beginning of 1524, that wish was likely to be fulfilled, for on January 28, John Stercke bought for van Vessem's account from Henry van den Borre, glazier, and his wife Catherine van Rode, the house that was situated at the back of the lecture room ³⁾. Soon after, that hall was arranged ⁴⁾ so as to provide more room, in so far that Erasmus, on April 8, 1525, pointing out to Henry Stromer, Leipzig Councillor ⁵⁾, the advantages of Louvain over Leipzig, remarked that it was most encouraging to be able to teach in a magnificently constructed hall to no less than six hundred hearers, and that not only as an exception, but regularly, with, amongst them, sons of the highest nobility ⁶⁾. The enlargement was conceived and executed after the same style as that of the building constructed in 1520 by Arnold de Wree ⁷⁾ : it had also at least one room on the first floor : in 1530, a cross-window was made in the school, and another in the chamber over it, which was then occupied by Cornelius Suys ⁸⁾. The latter paid for having his coat of arms put, in

¹⁾ Letter of July 5, 1561, to Daniel Tayspil : Allen, iv, 1221, 15-17.

²⁾ <In Collegio trilingui> omnia... sic indies magis magisque prosperari vt nihil amplius desiderare possis, nisi forte ampliores scholas : Allen, v, 1322, 4-6.

³⁾ Item eenen scepenen brief van Louene vander daten xvc ende vierentwintich Januarijs xxviiij waer mede henrick vanden borre glaesmakere ende kathlijne van Rode zijn huijsvrouwe ouergegoet hebben heeren ende meesteren Jannen van meerbeke tot behoef van meester Bertholomeus van Vessem een huys dwelck plach te stane achter der scholen vander collegien metter plaetsen daer aen doen ter tijt staende / Geteeckent Joerdens : *Inv.*, 7, v, marked : xxij.

⁴⁾ The accounts for the years 1524 and 1525 are missing, so that it is impossible to give any details about the date at which the lecture hall was enlarged : most probably during the summer holidays of 1524, for on April 8, 1525, Erasmus declared that it could contain twice as many auditors as it did before.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, ii, 578, *pr.*

⁶⁾ Est aliquid in loco magnifice extracto habere sexcentos auditores, idque continenter, et inter hos magnorum principum filios : Allen, vi, 1564, 11-13.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 50, *sq.*

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XI.

stained glass, into the two upper partitions in his room, whereas those of the founder were represented in the window downstairs. The white stones for sills, lintels and mullions, were provided by the demolition of the chimney of the house bought in 1524 ¹⁾, of which only part had been used for the enlargement : it included a cellar, of which even a light, issuing in the *schola*, was covered with glass on the same occasion ²⁾.

3. THE STAFF AT WORK

A. PRESIDENT STERCKE

Although apparently of paramount importance, the accounts and even the care for the material conditions of the College were only things of minor consequence to John Stercke, when compared with the interest he took in the teaching and in the intellectual activity of the Institute, in the founding of which he had been most influent. He had made to bear all his friendship with Jerome de Busleyden and his intimate acquaintance with University life ³⁾, and if his original plan of grafting the *Trilingue* on an already existing College did not succeed, yet the whole undertaking was planned out so carefully that no mistake was possible about the Founder's intention, and that the executors knew in what direction to work. If Erasmus may be praised as the inspirer of the great enterprise, Stercke worked it out to a practical efficiency, so that the generous testator had almost only to approve of it before proposing it to execution and

¹⁾ The bricks and other materials of the demolition were used to build a wall to separate the College ground from that of Henry van den Borre, the former owner, and a second, in the passage towards the Augustines Street, to divide it from the property of Peter van den Putte of 'De Handt', according to the measurement by the town 'paalmeester' Lambert Jordens : *AccHoevI*, 42, v, sq.

²⁾ *AccHoevI*, 42, v, sq.

³⁾ Stercke was one of the most experienced members of the Faculty of Arts, as results from the fact that in 1512, when he was acting as dean, he was one of the members to whom was entrusted the renewing of the statutes : *Decano Joanni Stercke conceduntur 18 Rf pro 56 vacationibus in renouandis statutis...* : *ActArtInd.*, 6.

endowing it with the necessary funds. In the history of Louvain University are recorded several most ample foundations which, through the lacking of a detailed plan and of a practical arrangement, hardly reached the stage of an attempt at execution ¹). It is in gratitude for those eminent services rendered to Busleyden in his lifetime and more especially for the regulating of the founding of the College ²), that, on Sept. 3, 1521, the executors offered a present of fifty pounds 'arfois' to Stercke, as well as for the help he had provided to the executors in the prosecution of the great plan ³). Being one of the foremost members of the Faculty of Arts, he knew better than anybody how to lay the difficulties that were raised : when the University made only a dilatory reply to Sucket's demands about the admitting of the *Trilingue*, Stercke, after mature deliberation with Erasmus, went to advise the executors in Mechlin, on February 17, 1520 ⁴), of the argument which soon provided complete satisfaction, namely the threat of accepting the offer of Bruges or Tournai, establishing the *Trilingue* in either place ⁵) ; he journeyed to Mechlin once more on March 4 to prepare Antony Sucket ⁶) for the final meeting of March 12, which procured to the

¹) That was the fate of the foundations devised by Ruard Tapper, 1558, by Adrian Amerot, 1559, by Roderic Ordoñez, 1567, by Francis van den Nieuwlande, 1571, by Michael de Bay, 1578, by John Quenen, of Meuwen, 1579, by Josse de Voocht of Rynevelt, 1598, and that of the St. Hilary College, or of Bierbeek, 1570, which were never worked out, and of which the dowries were lost in the indecision of the delays and the wasteful adjournments : cp. FUL, 2929, sq, 3074-75, 3079, 3219, 3240, 3323-25, 3611-15.

²) Item gegeven bij ghemeyn ouerdraghe der executeuren meester Janne van meerbeke tertia septembris xxj voer vele diuerse diensten ghedaen den testateur binnen zynen leuene sunderlinghe *jnde ordinantie vander fundatien vand. collegie ende oick na zyn doot jnt veruolghen desselfs collegie metten executeuren tot louen ende betaelt* L £ art. : Rek., 93, r.

³) Thus Stercke is specially mentioned, *MotJuris*, 11, for having advised with Erasmus the abandoning of the scheme of grafting the foundation on St. Donatian's College, and the starting of a quite independent Institute.

⁴) Rek., 49, v-50, r ; cp. before, I, 514, sq.

⁵) Rek., 50, r, and before, I, 524, sq.

⁶) Rek., 50, r, v : Stercke and van Nispen had alighted 'jnden leeuwe' : cp. before, I, 529.

new Foundation the unconditioned and unrestricted incorporation into the University ¹⁾).

Quite as important was the service that John van Meerbeke rendered by securing the best and most qualified collaborators. When, in November 1519, Barlandus abruptly left his post to resume his private teaching ²⁾, Erasmus was in Antwerp, and could not interfere at once ; yet the matter did not brook any delay, for Barlandus' candidate was the Alard of Amsterdam ³⁾ who had discontented the Faculty of Divinity in the first days of March of that year by his unseasonable zeal ⁴⁾ ; as he was rather intriguing and obtrusive, there was every danger of his thrusting himself into the confidence of one or other of the executors, and of wheedling them into appointing him to the vacancy, which would have called up in arms once more a great part of the University, not to mention the dubious quality of the new acquisition. John Stercke found the right man, and sent in all haste letters to Giles de Busleyden, in Brussels, to Robbys and Sucket, at Mechlin, and to Adrian Josel, at Antwerp ⁵⁾ and thus acquired for the *Trilingue* the first-rate professor of Latin, the chief artisan of the success of the whole enterprise as long as he lived ⁶⁾. Erasmus, who had backed another candidate, was soon convinced of Goclenius' excellence, and before a week had elapsed, he had full-heartedly taken his part against Barlandus and against the bitterly disappointed Alardus ⁷⁾. John van Meerbeke also backed the new professor of Hebrew John van Campen, who, notwithstanding his shortcomings, brought much lustre to his *Trilingue* ⁸⁾. He understood their trouble and their need, and fully aware of the rather illiberal disposi-

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 50, v ; cp. before, I, 530, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 447-49.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 487, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 318-20.

⁵⁾ Item van twee brieuen gesonden bij Mr. Jan van meerbeke te mechelen ende te bruessel ter begheerten van mr gielys onder lessen wille jn latine doen vacerende betaelt den seluen meerbeke ij s ende noch van eenen anderen brief aen M. adriaen 3 st voor tsamen ij s vj d : *Rek.*, 38, v-39, r.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 486-87, and pp 95, sq, 109, sq.

⁷⁾ Letter to Barlandus, first days of December 1519, and to Alard, 'cuidam 'Αθυσργλώττωφ', December 7, 1519 : Allen, iv, 1050, 1051 ; cp. before, I, 487-93.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 503, sq, and further, Ch. XII, &c.

tion of the executors where money interests were at stake, he encouraged his staff in their demands for a more adequate remuneration ¹⁾, which led to the new statutes of February 1522, towards the enactment of which he had greatly contributed ²⁾.

B. GOCLENIUS

Although a welcome improvement had been introduced into the system of the wages of the professors by the *Mutatio* of February 1522 ³⁾, their situation was by far not enviable. Being placed in the highest school for languages in the country, they had to possess an undisputable mastery of their subjects, which required hard and constant work; for study and research had been kindled, and it was their duty to keep the lead. It would mean the loss of his authority if any of them stood in somebody's shadow. It probably gave misgivings to Rescius, either on account of his far more brilliant Latin colleague, or of the presence in Louvain of the much cleverer Hellenist Ceratinus, which made him think earnestly of resigning by the middle of 1522, whereas Erasmus advised him to stay and struggle on calmly and patiently ⁴⁾. No mention is made of Campensis who was zealously engaged in mastering the problems of Hebrew language ⁵⁾: but from Erasmus' correspondence it looks as if Goclenius was showing tiredness in the summer of 1523, overburdened as he must have been by his studies, and no less by his teachings, as it was he that drew to the *Trilingue* the hundreds of hearers, who, after two years, made the lecture room of 1520 too small by half.

Most probably one of their acquaintances had just been

¹⁾ The demands were formulated at the meeting for the hearing of the yearly account of August 31, 1521: cp. before, pp 103, sq.

²⁾ Jtem voer de vacatien... jnde vergaderinghe van den testamenteurs tot Bruessel jn februario xxj om te wyderen alle de difficulteyten gecollegeert de executie ende het collegie aengaende oick om met mr. Jan van meerbeke den president vand. collegie te ouercomen ende den professeurs eenen staet te geuene... : *Rek.*, 88, v-89, r; *MotJuris*, 30, 62, 68; *Mut.*, ll 22, 35, sq, and before, pp 102-9. ³⁾ Cp. before, pp 103, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 100, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 120, sq.

favoured with a very wealthy position far beyond his deserts, which caused the scantily paid drudgery of the conscientious Goclenius to appear more heavy and hopeless ; it made Erasmus remark, on September 25, 1523, that instead of fretting at somebody else's success, he had better expect a greater for himself, so much the more since the good fortune he now envied, would neither suit nor please him ¹). Still the disappointment of the man on whose shoulders the welfare and the future of the *Trilingue* rested, produced solicitude and anxiety, especially since it proved more than a passing whim ; the Great Humanist fully realized the weight of the continuous teaching and all its inconveniences, whereas on the other hand he knew too well the stinginess of Giles de Busleyden ²) and of the executors, who seemed to consider themselves entitled to compensate that way for the loss they had suffered from the refusal of the Foundation by the Faculty of Arts ³). Without losing any time, he appealed to the most humane Dean of Mechlin, John Robbyns, making him acquainted with the imminent danger in which the *Trilingue* was just then of losing its cleverest professor for the sake of a handful of money. The appeal was fully understood, and answered without much delay : the situation was exposed to the Founder's brother and to the executors, who decided offering to Goclenius an honorary present of twelve gold florins in addition to his wages. The news of the good result of his interference reached Erasmus in March 1524 : on the 31st of that month he thanked his friend for having brought about that satisfactory solution : not so much for the additional payment as for the fact that, through the executors' generosity, Goclenius was going to be kept at his place ⁴) ; 'for certain it is', he adds, 'that it will not be a light matter to

¹) Ne quid te cruciet aliorum successus, sed expecta feliciora : quamquam non video quur istius fortunæ te magnopere poeniteat : Allen, v, 1388, 2-4.

²) Aegidii Busleidii nota est tenacitas ; non audet de alieno esse liberalis, ne quando discat etiam esse de suo : Goclenius to Erasmus, July 14, 1530 : Allen, viii, 2352, 330-31 ; cp. *Busl.*, 21, 119, sq.

³) Cp. before, pp 108-9.

⁴) Habeo gratiam quod Goclenio nostro aliquid honorarij muneris datum est, non tam ob ipsum donum quam quod hac vestra benevolentia retinetur in theatro suo : *Cran.*, 95, 1-4.

find a professor of equal value ¹⁾; and, after all, what are twelve pounds? I myself, with my most limited means, I have already given him more than that to keep him in the position he had accepted ²⁾.

No doubt Erasmus wished that the favour bestowed on Goclenius should be announced to him by the executors, so that their spontaneous bounty should keep him at his post by rousing his gratitude to his appreciating employers, — and should not seem to be a favour, which had been begged from them. He therefore did not mention the good news to Goclenius on April 2, 1524, when he announced that Francis I had requested him to come to Paris and institute a College of Languages ³⁾; he even promised that, in the event he should accept, he would not miss the occasion to recommend him: 'Si recipio me in Galliam, et datur occasio commendandi tui, significabo tibi ⁴⁾. Et tu interim scribe per Levinum quid habeas animi erga Galliam' ⁵⁾. No doubt Erasmus wrote all that to gain time and to encourage Goclenius until he should hear from the executors; he only mentioned quite casually that he had written in his favour to Robbyns and to Giles de Busleyden ⁶⁾; the rest of the long letter is taken up by the dispositions about money entrusted, about his biography, and about the reissue of his writings, as his own look-out was not very brilliant: for he thought of leaving Basle ⁷⁾, and he even feared for his life ⁸⁾.

The executors' kindness was not lost on Goclenius: he stayed at his post, and showed his firm decision when, a few weeks

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 95, 5-6: hoc enim habeo certum, non facile successurum illi similem.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 95, 3-5.

³⁾ On July 1, 1524, Giles de Busleyden congratulates Erasmus for Francis I's invitation, which he considers as an honour to the *Trilingue*: Allen, v, 1461, 12-18, 1457, 14-17.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 179-180: there was little likelihood that Erasmus should bring another hornets' nest about his ears, by accepting Francis I's offer: *Cran.*, 95, 7-10; he probably only wanted to humour Goclenius by his promise.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 181: Livinus Algoet had brought the letter, and had gone on to England: Allen, v, 1430, 20, sq, 1452, 47, sq.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 95; Allen, v, 1437, 188.

⁷⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 98-99 (Si novissem ingenia ac perfidias Germanorum, citius migrassem ad Turcas quam huc), 107-116, 166, sq.

⁸⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 117-165.

later, Robert of Croy, Bishop-elect of Cambrai ¹⁾, tried to secure him as his private tutor, and offered him a better situation and larger wages than the College could afford. Goclenius declined, preferring to work for the welfare of the community rather than for that of one person, which gained him, if possible, even a deeper sympathy and a greater appreciation from John Robbyns ²⁾; the latter knew how strict and niggardly the executors were, — probably on account of the very limited means of the Institute; whatever their motive may have been, they did not fully understand Goclenius' value ³⁾.

Fortunately John Robbyns appreciated the exceptional excellence of the Latin professor, and full-heartedly promised his help to retain him in the *Trilingue* and to see to his good entertainment there ⁴⁾. On that account he managed to make the occasional present of the College administrators into a perpetual addition to his salary. In order to prevent every envy, that yearly liberality was kept a strict secret, and the presidents, from 1523 on, wrote in their yearly accounts that twelve florins were given to a certain person, by order of the executors ⁵⁾. That liberality evidently was taken as a grati-

¹⁾ Prince Robert of Croy, who had had Vives as tutor, also seems to have been trained for theology by James Latomus; probably Goclenius was chosen to replace Vives who left for England on May 10, 1523: Allen, v, 1256, 74, sq, 1457, 5, sq; *MonHL*, 6, sq.

²⁾ Robbyns announced the good news to Erasmus on June 28, 1524: *Noster Goclenius mansit in Collegio trilingui, licet vtilior conditio et pi<n>guior fortuna illi fuerit oblata, videlicet docere dominum Robertum modernum Episcopum Cameracensem: et spero quod non leui ex causa illud relinquet. Magis affectat prodesse communitati quam priuate persone, quod inter alias eius virtutes non parum in eo commendabile est*: Allen, v, 1457, 3-10.

³⁾ *Domini executores testamenti... sunt satis stricti et tenaces, non, vt debent, perpendentes qualis sit hic Goclenius*: Robbyns to Erasmus: Allen, v, 1457, 10-13.

⁴⁾ *Ego pro viribus cooperabor semper pro eiusdem retentione, et bona etiam intertentione*: same letter: Allen, v, 1457, 9-10.

⁵⁾ Accounts of Nic. Wary: for 1526-1527: *Jtem wytten beuele vanden heeren Executooren anders syn noch betaelt xij Rgs*: *AccMarvI*, 107, r; for 1527-1528: *Jtem wyten beuele vanden Heeren Executoeren anders sijn noch betaelt xij Rg*: *AccMarvII*, 64, r; for 1529: *Jtem vuyt beuele vanden heeren executores eenen persoen ghegheuen v gouden g makende tsamen vij Rg. Jtem... noch ghegheuen om een sonderlinghe*

fyng token of esteem, and bound Goclenius to the College, to which he devoted all his time and talents, thus realizing the wish expressed by Robbyns to Erasmus that he should not lightly desert the *Trilingue* ¹⁾. On the contrary, he tried to mix as intimately as possible with the life of the University : as a member of the Faculty of Arts, he had been admitted to the Academic Council on February 29, 1524 ²⁾ ; he was elected procurator of the Holland nation on June 1, 1525, and dean on June 1, 1526 ³⁾.

In later years, Goclenius was offered an appointment by the Danish Court, evidently that of tutor to Christiern II's children, but he declined ⁴⁾. And when Wolsey availed himself in all haste of Vives' absence to dispose of the Corpus Christi lectureship in 1525 ⁵⁾, he durst not hope to succeed in securing Erasmus for that vacancy ⁶⁾, but set his heart on getting Goclenius. When John Hackett ⁷⁾, Robert Wingfield's ⁸⁾ successor as resident ambassador at Margaret of Austria's Court, came to Brabant, he journeyed to Louvain on the very first day after his arrival, May 7, 1526, in order to make the offer. Goclenius answered, with thanks to Wolsey's kindness, that he should come to England as soon as he could 'be rid of some charges'; being probably asked about his terms, he declared that he expected at least forty pounds, to make up for the practice and the profits, as well as for the preferments which he should have to abandon. Probably Hackett, on mailing those details to Wolsey ⁹⁾,

saecke iij phs. g. makende v Rg : *AccMarvIII*, 84, r. Accounts of Judocus van der Hoeven : for 1529-1530 : Jtem gegeuen zekeren persoon bij ordinantie van den Executeurs ex causis ipsis notis xij R : *AccHoevI*, 50, v ; for 1529-1533 : Jtem adhuc ad mandatum Executorum dnj. fundatoris duas libr. valen. ... xij Rg : *ManHoev.*, 15, r ; for 1533-1534 : Jtem gegeuen zekeren persoene by ordinancie ende beuele der executeurs xij Rg : *AccHoevII*, 42, r ; the item is wanting in the account of Goclenius himself for 1537-1538.

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1457, 6-7.

²⁾ *LibActVI*, 21, v ; *Cran.*, 95, d.

³⁾ *LibNomI*, 185, r, 200, r.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1765, 22 ; *Cran.*, 182, a.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 185, a ; *MonHL*, 21.

⁶⁾ The offer was made through Charles Harst on his leaving England in March 1526 : *Cran.*, 172, a-b, 182, 14 ; Allen, vi, 1682, 2, and declined by Erasmus on April 25, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1697, 94-95.

⁷⁾ Brewer, iv, 2149, 2161, 2177.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 167, 12 ; *DNB*.

⁹⁾ Brewer, iv, 2177 ; *Cran.*, 185, a ; *MonHL*, 21.

warned him for the disappointment of a decisive refusal, or at least imparted the impression that the offer was not going to be accepted; indeed, the matter seems to have been dropped, not being mentioned any more in the ambassador's dispatches; whereas, on November 12, 1526, Goclenius expresses the pleasure he had felt when learning that Erasmus was of his opinion about the English and the Danish appointment: for his judgment had more value with him than that of all the rest of humanity; he had himself taken, once for all, the resolution to βραδέως σπεύδειν in the acceptance of such offers ¹⁾).

That esteem was quite mutual, as results from the absolute confidence which as nice a man as Erasmus professed to have in Goclenius: for he served as intermediary between him and friends like Vives ²⁾ and Martin Lipsius ³⁾, like Cornelius de Schepper and Claud Cantiuncula ⁴⁾, like Gerard Morinck ⁵⁾ and others ⁶⁾; he further entrusted to him his money matters and all his financial interests in this country ⁷⁾; and to that *amicorum sincerissimo* ⁸⁾, whom he dearly affectioned ⁹⁾, and in whom alone he put all his trust ¹⁰⁾, he confided, besides the execution of his will, the care of what was dearest to him, his memory, feeling certain that his enemies would not stop reviling him after his death ¹¹⁾. He therefore sent him on April 2, 1524, a *Compendium Vitæ*, as the literary testament

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1765, 21-25.

²⁾ Cp. Allen, v, 1306, 3-27, vii, 1836, 11, 2026, 3-6, &c.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1473, 8, vii, 1837, 2, 61, 79, 2076, 1, 19.

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 1994, 60, sq, 2063, 61-64.

⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1994, 85.

⁶⁾ E. g., Peter Wichmans: Allen, v, 1351, 28; John Oom van Wyn-gaerden: Allen, vi, 1668, 35.

⁷⁾ Cp. Allen, v, 1355, 39, 1437, 122-140, 150-159, 199-202.

⁸⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 117.

⁹⁾ Non hortabor te, mi Gocleni, vt huic affectui vere paterno in te respondeas, qui iam filii pietatem vbique præstiteris: Allen, v, 1437, 150-52.

¹⁰⁾ Letter of April 2, 1524: opus est Pylade, hoc est tui simili. Nam hanc fiduciam concepi in te, neque quicquam addubito, quin sis eum animum præstiturus quem hactenus præ te tulisti: ...uni tibi credo omnia ...Vide quam tibi fidam... &c: Allen, v, 1437, 2-4, 139, 219.

¹¹⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 117-19: superest vt tibi... commendem id quod habeo charissimum, memoriam mei, quam suspicor multis calumniis fore obnoxiam.

of a father to a son, with the request to write his biography, if necessary ¹⁾, and, above all, to help publishing a collected edition of his works ²⁾; that request is repeated in his first will of Jan. 22, 1527, by which he bequeathes to the Louvain professor, besides the honorary fees for that editing, his complete collection of gold and silver medals, as well as the six silver cups which had been entrusted to his keeping ³⁾.

C. SCHEME REALIZED

Goclenius' faithfulness and qualifications, naturally, explain Erasmus' great affection towards him; still there probably was, in that hearty feeling, a large part of gratitude to the man to whose untiring efforts was due the splendid success of his own great scheme, the School of the Three Languages. His pride in its unmistakable efflorescence radiates in several of his letters. 'Notwithstanding its enemies', he wrote, on February 24, 1525, to John Lallemand, Charles V's secretary, 'the College will send forth, like from a Trojan horse, good secretaries to the Court, eloquent councillors, well-spoken ambassadors, noblemen who can both act bravely and talk excellently, humane citizens; in one word, *men*, since those who lack the knowledge of what are rightly called the *litteræ humanitatis*, hardly deserve the name of men' ⁴⁾. It was a joy to him to refer to that success when writing to his numerous friends: 'Louanii plane triumphant bonæ litteræ', he stated to John Vlatten, on July 21, 1524 ⁵⁾, and on the same day to Willibald Pirckheimer, 'Studia foelicissime procedunt' ⁶⁾. On September 6, 1524, he mentions to Melanchthon 'collegium illud florentissimum', which he introduced in Louvain ⁷⁾; whereas, on March 14, 1525, he declares to Pirckheimer: 'Floret Louanii supra quam credas Trilingue Collegium' ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 119-140, 215-217.

²⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 142-145.

³⁾ Allen, vi, pp 504-505.

⁴⁾ Trilingue Collegium... inde et Principi et reip<ublicæ> plurima utilitas. Ex hoc velut ex equo Troiano prosilient aulæ Cesareæ boni secretarii, facundi consiliarii, legati non elingues, procures qui norint tum facere strenue tum dicere præclare, cives humani. Nam homines absque litteris quas non abs re vocant humanitatis, vix merentur hominis vocabulum: Allen, vi, 1554, 40-45.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1467, 8.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1466, 15.

⁷⁾ Allen, v, 1496, 170.

⁸⁾ Allen, vi, 1558, 300.

On August 14, 1527, writing to Nicolas Vary, then President, about 'isto celeberrimo Collegio', he declares : 'Collegium habetis longe florentissimum' ¹⁾; in the first days of February 1528, he assured Joachim Camerarius : 'quod agimus Louanii pulcre succedit' ²⁾. Whereas up to 1520, he used to praise Louvain only for its 'coelum salubre' ³⁾ and its 'locus perquam amœnus' ⁴⁾, he joined to it from the summer of 1521, — when the *Trilingue* had fairly started, — the excellence of the studies : 'Nusquam studetur quietius, nec alibi felicior ingeniorum prouentus. Nusquam professorum maior or paratior copia', as he announced to William Thale, on August 13, 1521 ⁵⁾, and to Bernard Bucho, on September 24, 1521 ⁶⁾, when he added : 'Iuuentus nusquam magis ardet in bonas literas ; et succedit res multis mira felicitate' ⁷⁾, — as he had already explained to Daniel Tayspil in his letter of July 5, 1521, mentioning the large number of students then attending the University lectures : 'Academia Louaniensis frequentia nulli cedit hodie præterquam Parisianæ. Numerus est plus minus tria milia, et affluunt quotidie plures' ⁸⁾. That affluence John Robbys victoriously pointed out to Erasmus, on June 28, 1524, as being the result of the excellence of the *Trilingue* : 'Floret... nunc, pretextu Collegii Trilinguis, Vniuersitas Louaniensis, et de die in diem augmentatur' ⁹⁾.

Nor was Erasmus less outspoken for as much as the Institute was the glory, not only of the University, but even of the whole country : recommending the *Studium Generale* to the Datary Matthew Giberti, September 2, 1524, he stated that 'hæc Academia est vnicum ornamentum Cæsareæ apud nos ditionis, sic florens omni genere studiorum vt non cedat Parisiensi' ¹⁰⁾. Writing to John Lallemand on February 24, 1525, he attributes all that glory to the *Trilingue Collegium*, styling it 'vnicum nostræ ditionis ornamentum ; ...inde et

¹⁾ Allen, vii, 1856, 27, 60.

²⁾ Allen, vii, 1945, 5.

³⁾ Letter to Vives, June 1520 : Allen, iv, 1111, 78-79.

⁴⁾ Letter to Polydore Vergil, December 23, 1520 : Allen, iv, 1175, 38-39.

⁵⁾ Est Louanii cœlum quod vel Italico quondam adamato præferas ; non amœnum modo verumetiam salubre : Allen, iv, 1224, 8-11.

⁶⁾ Louanii cœlum est perquam amœnum, nec vsquam studetur quietius : Allen, iv, 1237, 15-16.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1237, 15-18.

⁸⁾ Allen, iv, 1221, 10-34.

⁹⁾ Allen, v, 1457, 15, sq.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, v, 1481, 53-54.

Principi et reip<ublicæ> plurima vtilitas' ¹⁾); in a letter of about the same time to John Sucket, he called the *Collegium Buslidianum*, 'vnicum nostræ regionis, imo totius Cæsareæ ditionis ornamentum' ²⁾); whereas in his letter to Henry Stromer, April 8, 1525, he explains, referring to the *Trilingue*, that 'certe Louaniensis Academia celebritate vix vlli cedit, nisi forte Lutetianæ : in qua nunc mire regnant sophistæ barbari, frigent iacentque recta studia' ³⁾). It was the consciousness of that disadvantage which moved Francis I to imitate the *Trilingue* : 'Videt enim nunc manifeste', Robbys wrote : 'quantum ornatus et vtilitatis per illud sue famose Academie accresceret' ⁴⁾, and Giles de Busleyden remarked : 'Summæ mihi voluptati est quod audiam tantum Regem tanto sumptu cariss<imi> fratris mei piæ recordationis consilium et institutum imitaturum. Quod si contingat, video et nonnihil amplioris gloriæ in fratrem ex hac regia imitatione recasurum, et hoc nostrum Trilingue Collegium apud omnes commendatius fore' ⁵⁾).

4. OPPOSITION

A. JAMES LATOMUS

Unfortunately that unmistakable success did not please a few short-sighted members of the Faculty of Theology, who from the very beginning had tried to raise as many difficulties as possible to the scheme patronized by Erasmus ⁶⁾. If the latter mentions the prosperous state of the *Trilingue* in his letters, he always refers in the same breath to that opposition. 'Iuuentus nusquam magis ardet in bonas literas', he had

¹⁾ Allen, VI, 1554, 38-40.

²⁾ Allen, VI, 1556, 8-9.

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1564, 8-13 : he then mentions the glorious fact of gathering, not exceptionally but regularly, in a handsome room, six hundred hearers, and, amongst them, the sons of great princes.

⁴⁾ June 28, 1524 : Allen, V, 1457, 14-17.

⁵⁾ Letter of July 1, 1524 : Allen, V, 1461, 14-18.

⁶⁾ Even John Robbys mentions that opposition on June 28, 1524 : Floret... nunc, pretextu Collegii trilinguis, Vniuersitas Louaniensis, et de die in diem augmentatur : quod quanquam pluribus, et fere omnibus, summe placet, sunt tamen, licet pauci numero, quibus displicet quod ea occasione contingit : Allen, V, 1457, 17-21.

announced to Bernard Bucho already on September 24, 1521, 'et succedit res multis mira felicitate, frustra reluctantibus veteris inscitiae mystis' ¹⁾. For several years the announcement of the growing prosperity of the Institute is regularly coupled with the reference to difficulties and opposition ²⁾.

Soon after his leave for Basle, Erasmus heard from Vives that both Nicolas of Egmond and James Latomus abused his name slanderously; it was not a new thing, he says, for they did so long before Luther was heard of. He calls the one *ὁ Κἄμηλος*, as Erasmus did in several of his letters, and, no doubt, in his familiar conversations ³⁾; the other is styled *ὁ χῶλος* ⁴⁾, on account of his lameness, as is often mentioned in letters and pamphlets ⁵⁾; he adds that they both rave worse than ever Orestes or Hercules, and *Saxicida* Latomus beyond all belief: all his words and all his actions are *saxa*, stones; he is a worthier personage for the tragedy than those of Rome and Greece ⁶⁾. There is hardly any doubt but Vives loathed him: in another part of the same letter, he mentions that rumour will have it that his colleagues hate him; that he himself thinks great things of his having entered the family of Robert de Croy, appointed bishop of Cambrai, and that he is considered very mighty since he serves that boy ⁷⁾. In his correspondence with Cranevelt, Vives declares on more

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1237, 16-18.

²⁾ Cp. Allen, v, 1466, 15, 1467, 8, 1496, 168, sq, vi, 1558, 300, sq, vii, 1945, 5-6.

³⁾ Allen, ii, 483, 26, iii, 1165, 12, 1173, 113: it is not a common nickname as Allen suggests, iii, 1165, 12. since neither in Flemish nor French the mistake is possible — *Camelus* for *Carmelus*; it may be compared to that of *Merdardus* for *Medardus*. Cp. *EpMagNos.*, 46, 78.

⁴⁾ *ὁ χῶλος καὶ ὁ Κἄμηλος*. Istos audio criminose quibusdam conuiciis locutos esse de te: quod iam faciebant antequam Lutherus nasceretur: letter of January 19, 1522: Allen, v, 1256, 24-26. Cp. before, i, 324, sq, 347, 465-66.

⁵⁾ E. g., Allen, iii, 934, 3, vii, 1804, 211; *DiaBiTril.*, 451, n, 557; *EpMagNos.*, 216. — Even the name *Hephestion*, or Vulcanus, which Erasmus gives him, evidently refers to the same defect. Cp. bef., i, 347, 569.

⁶⁾ Nunquam sic Orestes insaniuit aut Hercules vt isti duo, sed incredibiliter *Saxicida*; cuius omnia, siue loquatur quid siue agat, mera sunt saxa; homo dignior tragœdia quam illi veteres: Allen, v, 1256, 26-29.

⁷⁾ *Saxicidam* collegæ oderunt, vt ferunt: tantos spiritus sumpsit ingressu huius domus Cameracensis, et arbitrantur eum plurimum posse quod puerum sectetur: Allen, v, 1256, 74-76.

than one occasion his deep contempt ¹⁾ for the man who before February 1523 had, one day, made a virulent outbreak against John Robbys, apparently about the *Trilingue*, of which he was the great protector ²⁾. That adversary of Erasmus and of his new movement was all the more dangerous, since he was very cautious, and hardly showed himself as an opponent, except amongst those on whom he had an influence. Moreover he had been teacher of Latin for several years ³⁾, whereas Baechem made himself the butt of many jests through his surprising deficiency in grammatical and lexical knowledge ⁴⁾.

Most of the trouble he had experienced in Louvain, so Erasmus had learned, had to be traced to Latomus ⁵⁾: by September 1514, he had incited Dorp to write against the Humanist; he had kept rousing up the leading theologian John Briart ⁶⁾,

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 13, 30, sq — most probably Latomus : 46, c, — 152, 1-2; *Præp.*, 241. — Vives mentions him in his chapter contending that knowledge of Latin does not imply heresy : VOO, vi, 90.

²⁾ Letter of John de Fevyn to Cranevelt, February 22, 1523 : *Hodie in prandio Viues et ego fuimus apud Laurinum. Sed quid non ibi Viues?... de Latomo et virulentia apud tuum Decanum : Cran.*, 46, 16-18.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 325-28.

⁴⁾ The *EpMagNos.*, 127, 140, mentions a mistake which Baechem always made, and to which Erasmus refers in his letters : Allen, iv, 1110, 15, 1153, 215, 1196, 450-459. — In his open letter to the Christians of Antwerp, in which James Proost, *Præpositus*, relates his troubles, he writes : Auch der Egmundensis zürnet über mich, wann ich ein lateinisch wort (jm unbekant) für ein anders dem gleich in der bedeutung, setzet, so sagt der Lathomus zu jm. Wirdiger herrmeister, disz wort hat ein solichen verstandt. Antwort Egmundensis : Warumb redt er nit latein wie wir es gelernet haben : *Præp.*, 295-96; *CorpInq.*, iv, 166.

⁵⁾ On March 30, 1527, he wrote to Thomas More of the trouble caused by the Louvain divines, and concluded : Harum omnium technarum artifex primarius est claudus ille Latomus : Allen, vii, 1804, 210-211.

⁶⁾ Ille <Latomus>... Dorpium instigabat in me. Nam et hunc et Atensem, nunc blandiens nunc minitans, non aliter quam bubalos trahebat naribus : Allen, vii, 1804, 216-218. In 1519, he considered Briart as the instigator, as he related to Tunstall on October 16 : Allen, iv, 1029, 2-4; in June 1520, he had found out that : Precipua pars huius mali fuit Iacobus Latomus; et adhuc est, quoniam decreuit hic regnare, as he wrote to Melanchthon : Allen, iv, 1113, 12-14. In January 1520, after Briart's death, he applied for concord either to Latomus, or, more probably, to the dean of the Faculty, Godschalk Rosemond : Allen, iv, 1059. In his letter of July 31, 1520, he reproves Mosellanus for praising,

whose most excitable nature ¹⁾ was at the mercy of his countryman, who assiduously courted his benevolence in the latter years of his life ²⁾, although he could not be brought to celebrate his memory at his death ³⁾. Warned by that elderly friend and professor, and dreading the virulence of the repartee, Latomus carefully refrained from openly attacking Erasmus : still he excited against him the most captious amongst the divines, especially those who were eager to revenge the denouncement of the Order to which they belonged. Even when peace was concluded in September 1519, and a welcome period of mutual understanding had set in at length, he had managed to turn Erasmus' friend Edward Lee into a bitter enemy, on account of a slighted or not acknowledged help ⁴⁾, and thus to form as a leader of the henceforth relentless opposition. In the same letter of January 19, 1522, Vives mentions that a 'sodalis κληρικῶν' — one of the Dominicans, also called Preachers, was accusing Erasmus in his sermons, first, of having put up an Antwerp bookseller to offer for sale Luther's books, notwithstanding the severe defence ; and, secondly, of being the first amongst Luther's councillors, those especially whom he wanted to consult before he consented to recant, as he was requested to do at Worms Diet ⁵⁾. The falsehood of the latter allegation follows from the absence of all reference to such an appeal in the authentic reports of

in a way, Latomus-Hephestius, and adds : Sed is est vnus qui Noxum < Briart > instigauit, quique nunc est huius tragoediæ caput, homo mire virulentus ac pertinax : tales esse solent qui emergunt e sterquilinio : Allen, iv, 1123, 16-19.

¹⁾ In his *Spongia* Erasmus wrote : Atensis vir erat nec inhumanus, nec iniquus bonis literis, sed ingenio irritabili : EOO, X, 1649, A ; *Briart*, 396, r, v. ²⁾ *Briart*, 397, r.

³⁾ When Gerard Morinck wrote his *Vita Briardi*, he added a dedicatory letter to Julian de Gavere, of Ath, beseeching to insist on Briart's writings being published by Latomus or Tapper, and his biography written : *Briart*, 392, r, v : 'Audio', he declares, 'ad rem eam molientdam a plerisque excitari subinde, sed qua nescio de causa quo minus maturent omissiores esse'.

⁴⁾ < Latomi > consilio et commendatione Leus emisit fratrem suum Lutetiam, vt opera Bede liber < his *Annotationes* : Paris, c 1520 > absolueretur. Nam Leus id temporis ne vnam quidem paginam scribere poterat in re theologica. Et stilus in compluribus locis est Bede ipsis-
simus : Allen, vii, 1804, 211-215. ⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1256, 40-46.

the Diet ¹⁾ as well as in Luther's own *Acta Wormaciæ habita* from April 16 to 26, 1521 ²⁾; it also makes the former look very dubious, as no other mention is made of the subversive advice given by Erasmus. The accusations of that Dominican, most probably the old *oblocutor* Vincent Dierckx, of Haarlem ³⁾, show that Erasmus was still charged with being a collaborator, or at the least a favourer, of Luther, and that in all likelihood they continued coupling his name to that of the Wittenberg Reformer in their lectures and their preaching. As the *Trilingue* was considered as the embodiment of his principles and as the symbol of the New Method of Study, it was naturally included in the antipathy, and even the animosity which was felt by some for the Great Humanist.

B. NICOLAS EGMONDANUS

A recrudescence of that animosity was occasioned by the publishing, in the spring of 1522, of an enlarged issue of the *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ*, printed by John Froben at Basle in March 1522 ⁴⁾. There were namely four passages referring to vows, to indulgences, to confession, and to fasting, which were taken exception to by Baechem ⁵⁾, and

¹⁾ There is no mention of it in the *Reichstagsakten*.

²⁾ *LuthO*, vii, 825, sq; Grisar, i, 386, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 464-65; Erasmus coupled Baechem to Dierckx for their animosity against the *bonas literas* and for their joining his name to Luther's in their sermons; he often complained about them at that period: Allen, v, 1263, 26. sq (March 7, 1522, to Wolsey), 1268, 68, 1274, 51, 1275, 57 (c April, to John Glapion), 1299, 11, 46, sq (July 14, to Josse Lauwereyns), 1342, 139, sq (February 1, 1523, to Mark Laurin), &c. — Dierckx is caricatured in the colloquy *Funus* as 'Vincentius dominicanus'.

⁴⁾ *BB*, E, 441.

⁵⁾ Two of those passages are found in the dialogue *Alia in Congressu*, one relating how inconsiderately some vows of going on pilgrimage are taken, and the other making fun of the idea of gaining heaven by letters of indulgences bought in Rome. In the third passage, in the *Confabulatio Pia*, a boy relates that he confesses his sins to God daily — viz., by a devout Confiteor and an act of contrition, which, he adds, would be sufficient to him if the Church had not instituted the auricular confession to the priest: for it is not easy to confess to Christ as it means a real abhorrence of one's misdeeds. The fourth passage, intro-

gave him fresh food for his public criticisms in his lectures and his preaching. Still Erasmus lost no time in protesting at Court against that obloquy ¹⁾, and he even wrote a formal answer to Baechem's criticism in the form of a letter addressed to the Theologians of Louvain ²⁾. Meanwhile he complained to some of his friends about being treated as a heretic, not only on a level with, but even worse than, Luther by Egmondanus ³⁾, as well as by another — no doubt Latomus — who harms in secret, but to a much greater extent ⁴⁾. In the new edition of the *Colloquia*, published in the last months of 1522 ⁵⁾, the four incriminated passages, far from being omitted, are enlarged and explained ⁶⁾, which provided to the divines of Paris the occasion to find fault with Erasmus'

duced into what afterwards became the *Convivium Prophanum*, discusses the comparative importance in spiritual life of the precept of abstaining from eating meat on some days. Those passages are such that, if they had been written by anybody else but Erasmus, they would have passed without comment; the practice of the Church has long since adopted the views expressed by Erasmus, not even excepting that of the third passage, which is as an admonition to bewail one's sins continually and sincerely, as the fittest preparation to the sacramental confession. Cp. *BB*, E, 441, 4-8.

¹⁾ On July 14, 1522, he wrote a letter of complaint about Baechem, and of justification of his *Colloquia*, to Josse Lauwereyns, President of Mechlin Great Council, and to Jerome van der Noot, Chancellor of Brabant : Allen, v, 1299, 1300.

²⁾ That letter written about July 14, 1522, contains Erasmus' declaration that, although he does not see that the Church has ever defined that Confession, as it is generally practised, was instituted by Christ, still he declares to submit to the judgment of the Church. The letter, which was sent in a shorter form, published in 1607 by Merula : *Era-Vita*, 332-38, was enlarged and inserted in the *Catalogus Lucubrationum* : Basle, J. Froben, April 1523, ff 3, sq; Allen, v, 1301, as well as amongst the documents added to the editions of the *Colloquia* from the one printed by the brothers Elzevier in Leyden, 1636 : *BB*, E, 562, 8-13.

³⁾ Letter to Peter Barbirius, about July 14, 1522 : <Egmondanus> Mechliniæ in publica concione monuit populum vt cauerent ab hæresi Lutheri et Erasmi. In conuiuiis passim iactabat Erasmum esse hæreticum peiorem Luthero, ac dira minabatur si adessem : Allen, v, 1302, 66-71 ; cp. 1330, 52.

⁴⁾ Est alter qui tectius lacerat, sed nocentius : Allen, v, 1302, 71, and also 1330, 53-54.

⁵⁾ *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ* : *BB*, E, 443.

⁶⁾ *BB*, E, 443, 3-10.

opinions ¹⁾). The Louvain divines do not seem to have encouraged any further criticism : no doubt because Erasmus had applied to Adrian VI, after he had received from him most gratifying letters ²⁾). He may have entrusted his messenger to Rome with a request for the Pope's interference, — which is not mentioned in the correspondence preserved ; or one or other of his friends may have acted on his behalf ; certain it is that Nicholas Baechem was enjoined to abstain from all hostile acts or talks against or about the Humanist by a missive from the Pope himself ³⁾).

C. BANNED MANUALS

Although superabundantly solicitous about the mote in Erasmus' eye, those over-zealous divines did not behold the beam in their own : they externally obeyed Adrian VI's order, but far from acting in the generous spirit suggested by their great Master, now invested with the highest power on earth, they tried one means after another to further their obstinate, shallow-minded purpose. The occasion for the first way of eschewing the observation of the Pope's order, seemed provided by the so-called suspicious passages in the last edition of the *Colloquia*, which, to be true, they abstained from criticizing, whereas the Paris Faculty censured them

¹⁾ *HB*, E, 443, 8-10. Baechem seems to have had the habit of suspecting everybody : on December 29, 1522, Dorp announced to Lethmaat, afterwards inquisitor and Vicar-General of Utrecht diocese, that Baechem had accused him 'cum primis... Lutheranum esse' : *MonHL*, 389 ; *Cran.*, 56, a, b.

²⁾ Letters of Dec. 1, 1522 and January 23, 1523 : Allen, v, 1324, 1338.

³⁾ On August 29, 1523, Erasmus announced to Pirckheimer : 'Pontifex imposuit silentium Ecmondano : itaque mussitant theologi' : Allen, v, 1383, 23-24 ; also on July 21, 1524 : 1466, 13. On February 23, 1525, he repeated the statement to Maximilian Transsylvanus and John Lallemand : Allen, vi, 1553, 39-41, 1554, 34-35 ; on June 15, 1525, he related it to N. Beda, and on July 1, 1525, even to the Louvain Theologians : Allen, vi, 1581, 372, 1582, 41-42. On the next day, July 2, 1525, Erasmus referred again to it when writing to Transsylvanus : *Scribis hos <those slanderers> facile compesci posse. Atqui hoc non potuit Pontifex Adrianus, qui diplomate misso silentium indixit Carmelitæ. Siluit ægre, sed a morte Adriani abunde pensavit hoc silentium* : Allen, vi, 1585, 60-63.

most severely ¹⁾. They mentioned them to the Academic Senate, suggesting them to take measures to prohibit the employ of that and other dangerous books by Erasmus as manuals for classes. If that measure were decided on, their responsibility was untouched, especially since it was not directed against the *Trilingue*, but apparently against the schools of the Lily, where Erasmus' devoted friend Peter de Corte was then ruling ²⁾. Most of the elder members were soon gained as favourers of the prohibition; still there were many others, who were fully aware of Erasmus' great merits about studies, and they prevented any motion to be adopted against him ³⁾. Consequently his treatise '*De Constructione*' remained a manual in the Pedagogies ⁴⁾, especially if their *Regentes* or *Legentes* were favourers of Humanism. It gave to Peter de Corte the gratifying occasion to announce to Erasmus on January 21, 1525, that he continued to use his books in his institute and that his students had in hand the *Colloquia*, the *Enchiridion* and others of his writings. In their disappointment, the adversaries ⁵⁾ tried to reach their aim by condemning those manuals in their sermons, and

¹⁾ Basle, 1522 : *BB*, E, 443, 8-10 : the edition does not bear a month date; it is evidently posterior to Baechem's censure, which Erasmus answered by insisting on his opinion : cp. before, pp 253-54.

²⁾ He succeeded John de Neve († Nov. 25, 1522), together with John Heems of Armentières, at least until November 1527 : *Cran.*, 83, *b*; cp. before, pp 83-84, 86, 151. He announced the attempted prohibition adding : *Ea... faba in nos potissimum cudebatur* : Allen, vi, 1537, 23.

³⁾ On January 21, 1525, de Corte wrote : *ante menses aliquot... nullum non mouerunt lapidem theologi, vt publico senatusconsulto tui libri e scholis artium eliminarentur; atque in eam sententiam iam propulerant veteranos pene omnes. Verum quotquot recte de Erasmi erga literas senserunt meritis, — senserunt autem sic plurimi — nunquam id videbantur passuri : quare cepto destitere desperantes* : Allen, vi, 1537, 17-23.

⁴⁾ In other Pedagogies, de Corte said, only *De Octo Partibus* was used : Allen, vi, 1537, 24-25; *EraBib.*, i, 60. In the Lily, on the contrary, several more books by Erasmus were read, and the students were all eager to make the acquaintance of the Man who was so highly appreciated by their teachers. 'Nam', de Corte wrote, '*Lilieto ipsi adeo nihil de veteri decessit obseruantia, vt etiam accesserit plurimum. Nullum hic sacrum fit sine Erasmo, nihil absque Erasmo doctum, nemo non hic Erasmo suam eruditionem refert acceptam*' : Allen, vi, 1537, 10-14, 23-24.

⁵⁾ Peter de Corte describes them in his letter as : *pre inuidia rum-pentes omnis bonæ literaturæ osiores* : Allen, vi, 1537, 17-18.

even by refusing the absolution to their penitents who should not abstain from reading the *Colloquia* ¹⁾). The latter measure evidently roused protestations and contradictions, even in the very Faculty of Divinity, which counted as members Erasmus' most decided enemies. As rumour would have it that several penitents, who had read the *Colloquia*, had been sent away by their confessors without absolution during that very Easter week ²⁾), the question was proposed for examination at the meeting of the Faculty of April 1, 1524. The divines present ³⁾ stated that, although it did not seem convenient for young men to peruse that book, they did not see how that reading could be prohibited; none of them, they declared, had sent away any of their penitents unabsolved; of course, considerations were brought forward in the debate by some members to justify the dismissal without absolution ⁴⁾).

If those measures planned by some of the theologians were directed against the students of the Lily, they certainly were devised also against those of the *Trilingue*, who, no doubt, went even further into Erasmus' views. It seems, indeed, as if the very fact of being partial to the studies of languages were considered by some as little short of a defection from the faith, of which they held themselves as the authoritative judges. It explains the discontent growing with the prosperity of the College. 'Studia foelicissime procedunt', Erasmus wrote to Pirckheimer, describing Louvain, on July 21, 1524, 'frustra frementibus theologis' ⁵⁾. 'Theologi et bonarum

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1537, 25-28.

²⁾ Easter came on March 27 that year.

³⁾ They were Nicolas Baechem, William of Vianen, John Driedo, Martin van Dorp, Godschalk Rosemondt, Eustace of Sichein, Vincent Dierckx, James Latomus, Ruard Tapper, and, as dean, Nicolas Coppin.

⁴⁾ Cp. the summary of the report of that meeting: de Jongh, *49. On December 23, 1528, Erasmus wrote to Louis Berquin: Apud Louanienses nunquam exiit aedictum aduersus mea Colloquia. Vanus igitur fuit is rumor. Iamdudum hoc priuatim agunt, ne praelegantur in collegiis solenniter idque in gratiam monachorum: Allen, vii, 2077, 34-36.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1466, 15-16. On August 31, 1524, Erasmus declared to Haio Herman Hompen: 'De sene illo <Baechem> nihil admiror; eo ingenio natus est vt ipse sibi litteras inuideat. Talis fuit ante annos xxv; nec morbus hic solet ætate reddi mitior': Allen, v, 1479, 37-39; cp. also the letter of September 2, 1524 to Matthew Giberti: Allen, v, 1481, 57, sq.

literarum osores nullum non mouebant lapidem vt perderent Erasmum', he confides to Philip Melanchthon on September 6, 1524, 'quum quod attacti essent libris meis, tum quod collegium illud florentissimum inuexerim Louanium, eamque regionem totam infecerim linguis ac bonis literis : sic enim illi loquuntur' ¹⁾. A few months later, about February 1525, he remarks to John Sucket : 'Sunt complures Louanii velut in hoc coniurati, vt Collegium Buslidianum, vnicum nostræ regionis, imo totius Cæsareæ ditionis ornamentum, sublatum cuperent' ²⁾. He repeats his alarms to John Lallemand, on February 24, 1525 : 'Nullum non mouent lapidem vt subuertant Trilingue Collegium, vnicum nostræ ditionis ornamentum' ³⁾; and, on March 14, 1525, to Pirckheimer : 'Floret Louanii supra quam credas Trilingue Collegium, adeo vt iam nunc Sophorum istorum inuidiam meruerit' ⁴⁾.

Without doubt the animosity against the College was as the sequel of the opposition to Erasmus, and on that account he deeply regretted to be in disagreement with some of the theologians. It seems as if the time had passed when he chiefly thought of himself; he now makes even his own interests fall back for considerations of higher importance or wider scope, as results from his letter to Adrian Barlandus of July 2, 1525, in answer to the announcement of Dorp's decease ⁵⁾. The latter, he writes, was almost the only one of his Faculty who was just to the fine letters, which some of his colleagues endeavour to oppress : most unrightly, it must be said; for thus they harm their own studies, which are the only ones they wish to be flourishing. Indeed, as experience will teach them, if ever proper literature were to be uprooted, it would entail the ruin of the very study of divinity, which

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1496, 168-172.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1556, 8-10.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1554, 37-38.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1558, 300-302.

⁵⁾ Dorp died on May 31, 1525 : *Gra.*, 24, b, 152, a, b. Erasmus mentions his decease to Transsylvanus on July 2, 1525, and praises his broad-mindedness : 'solus ingenue fauebat rectoribus studiis; nec perinde atque cæteri detestabatur quicquid vlllo pacto Lutheri dogmatibus est affine — ea res effecit vt illius fauor non multum adferret momenti —, nec ita multum tribuebat pseudomonachis : Allen, vi, 1585, 75-79, v, 1437, 187-88, where he regretted his timidity, confiding to Goclenius on April 2, 1524 : Dorpius, vt videtur, mussat. Est aliquid monstri quod alitur apud theologos, et ille natura timidus est.

they try to promote with more zeal than prudence. Things would be far more promising if the supporters of the old order would kindly receive into the community of the hospitable University, the studies of languages and of literature, which now return, after a long absence, to the place they rightly occupied a long time ago. As friends they would contribute a lot of good, while nobody can tell what has to be expected from enemies; and in return of the welcome, the '*bonæ literæ*' would insinuate themselves most courteously into the company of the disciplines which are reigning in the schools. Now, unfortunately, the improbity of some jeopardizes and destroys all advantage on one side as well as on the other ¹⁾.

5. APPEAL TO ROME

A. UNDERHAND ATTACKS

Another way of eluding the silence imposed on Baechem by Adrian VI was the use of an interposed assailant who happened to be an old fellow-student and even a friend of the Pope, Florent Oom van Wyngaerden, Dordrecht pensionary ²⁾. As he often took part in actions against heretics, he occasionally worked with the Carmelite ³⁾, who suggested him to attack Erasmus ⁴⁾. On September 12, 1523, he wrote in Dutch a lengthy letter, — it was called *libellus*, — by which he admonished the great Humanist, first, not to attack monks or divines, and, secondly, not to urge that the Bible should be read by everybody, and certainly not translated. The letter, which mentioned that the writer was a jurisprudent, did not give his name, and seemed to Erasmus to have been written in Dutch, so as to appeal to the ordinary reader and to be left unanswered ⁵⁾. He replied to it on May 15, 1524, in a letter addressed to Nicolas Everardi, then President of Holland Council ⁶⁾, and pointed out that saints, and Baechem himself, had reprimanded some members of religious families ⁷⁾, and

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1584, 6-17.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 7-8.

³⁾ E. g., in the actions against Nicolas van Broeckhoven, Cornelius Grapheus and Peter van Etten, 1522 : *CorpInq.*, iv, xxix, &c.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1469, 20-25.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1469, 2-19.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 123, a-e; and, Ch. XI, 4.

⁷⁾ Allen, v, 1469, 26-76.

that the texts quoted to discourage, and even to prohibit, the reading of the Scripture, such as 'Puteus altus est, et in quo haurias non habes', are not at all pertinent, and give a poor idea of the mind of that disciple of Accursius ¹⁾. Maybe he was dissuaded by President Everardi from having the libel printed, and the matter might have gone entirely into oblivion if Oom's son John, then a student in Louvain, had not written on February 28, 1526 ²⁾, to tell Erasmus that his father, who by his advice had helped in the founding of the *Trilingue* ³⁾, was the author of that letter, and that he wished for an acknowledgment and a reply. The Humanist sent a curt answer to the son on April 29, 1526, remarking that a contest in Dutch would have brought no good to the reader, a little dishonour to himself, but much more to his father: 'Auspicecetur mecum amicitiam melioribus auibus', he wrote, 'et inueniet Erasmus ad omnia Gratiarum munia promptissimum' ⁴⁾.

Far more publicity was reached by another vicarious, and also anonymous, attack, the malevolent pamphlet issued at Antwerp on March 21, 1525, under the title *Apologia in eum librum quem ab anno Erasmus Roterodamus de Confessione edidit*, Per Godefridum Ruysium Taxandrum, Theologum. *Eiusdem libellus quo taxatur Delectus ciborum, Siue Liber de carniū Esu ante biennium per Erasmus Roterodamum enixus*. That pamphlet ⁵⁾, dedicated to Edward Lee, Henry VIII's *ab eleemosinis* ⁶⁾, from Louvain, 'vndecimo Idus Februarij <expressed in letters>, Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo Vigesimo Quinto', was attributed by Erasmus to Vincent Dierckx, a Dominican, who had been a decided antagonist for several years ⁷⁾: it highly moved the Humanist, who mentions it with great bitterness in several letters of

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1469, 77-184; St. John, xviii, 30.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1668.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1668, 12-13: nec hic Louanii trium linguarum Collegium sine eius consilio institutum est; cp. before, I, 8.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1699; cp. Ch. XI, 6.

⁵⁾ Simon Cock and Gerard Nicolas: NijKron., i, 1840.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 324, 399, sq, 439, sq, 567, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 148, a-h; and before, I, 464-65; writing to Lallemand, Erasmus complained about the *impudentissima mendacia* of Baechem and Vincentius 'of Alkmaar', on February 24, 1525: Allen, vi, 1554, 30-33.

1525 ¹⁾; his friends shared his deep indignation ²⁾, and no less a person than Thomas More wrote about *libellus ille ineptus* to his friend Cranevelt, requesting him to inquire about the real author, so that to him '*innotescat etiam iste asinus qui alterius feræ p[e]lle sese texerit*' ³⁾; a few months later he remarked: '*Nebulones qui conspirarunt in Taxandri nugas, uelut serpentes euomito ueneno, sese abdiderunt in tenebras, sed infamia scurrarum versatur in luce*' ⁴⁾.

Those proofs of deep indignation from his sincere friends explain how, on July 1, 1525, Erasmus lodged a formal complaint against the author and his slander before the Theological Faculty of Louvain ⁵⁾, declaring that all the members made themselves a party to the unrighteous attack by not silencing its author ⁶⁾; he mentioned that it was doing great harm to themselves, as they coupled Latomus to Vincent Dierckx ⁷⁾, burdening their Faculty with unlearned and unable men ⁸⁾. He answers in short all attacks, and appeals to the Dean Nicolas Coppin, to Vianen, to Rosemond, and to Driedo for the sake of the tranquillity of studies and of their

¹⁾ The pamphlet was sent to Cranevelt as a new book by Peter de Corte on March 31, 1525: *Cran.*, 148, 1, sq. and Erasmus mentions it first in his letter to Beda of April 28, 1525: *Allen*, vi, 1571, 65; he refers to it in several letters in the following months: *Allen*, iv, 1581, 396, sq., 1585, 63, 1586, 27, 1598, 12, 1603, 37, sq., 1606, 29, 1621, 36, 1624, 41, 1655, 6, sq., 1674, 30, 1686, 48.

²⁾ Francis de Cranevelt wrote a most indignant letter about the 'libellum' of 'Gulielmum Ruysium Taxandrum' to Martin van Dorp on April 3, 1525: *Cran.*, 149; Vives wanted to know from him the real author, June 20, 1525, and expressed his indignation on September 2: *Cran.*, 157, 43-44, 160, 17-24, 172, 7-9.

³⁾ More had seen already the *Apologia* in England when he inquired about the author on May 16, 1525: *Cran.*, 151, 7-14.

⁴⁾ Letter from More to Cranevelt, February 22, 1526: *Cran.*, 177, 11-13.

⁵⁾ *Allen*, vi, 1582.

⁶⁾ He mentions that 'Adrianus Pontifex imposuit silentium stolidis vociferationibus Ecmondani', adding: 'vos dissimulatis': *Allen*, vi, 1582, 41-42; cp. before, p. 255.

⁷⁾ *Bellum vero iugum theologorum Louaniensium, ut talem aliquis iudicet Latomus qualis est Vincentius. Formica camelus, ut aiunt*: *Allen*, vi, 1582, 30-32; *ErAdag.*, 200, c.

⁸⁾ *Oneratur collegium vestrum indoctis quibusdam ac stupidis. Vincentius attrahit Vincentium, Carmelita Carmelitam. Vereor ne quorum gaudetis consortio, eorum metatis et messem*: *Allen*, vi, 1582, 57-60.

own dignity ¹⁾. Two months later Erasmus writes once more to Nicolas Coppin, Dean of St. Peter's Chapter and Chancellor of the University ²⁾, and to the other divines ³⁾, announcing that he had heard that the *Apologia* had been composed by several Dominicans ⁴⁾, namely by Godfried Strirote, Striroy, of Diest ⁵⁾, Walter Ruys, of Grave ⁶⁾ and Cornelius van Kempen, Campensis, Taxander, of Duiveland ⁷⁾, reproducing large parts from a book by Vincent Dierckx, which he had been forbidden to publish by his superiors ⁸⁾. He also refers to the trouble he sustains from the Lutherans, which makes the opposition of an Egmondanus and a Vincentius most disagreeable ⁹⁾. That the *bonæ literæ* are in a large way the cause of the dissension seems to result from the final declaration, that he is ready to lay down all animosity, and even to correct what is wrong in his writings if it is pointed out. Yet, he asserts, 'Hæreses et schismata non possum amare, bonas literas non possum odisse. Nec tamen inimicus sum protinus illi cui non placent bonæ literæ, modo ne nimium obstrepat iis qui diligunt'. He then closes his letter with these words : 'Ego paratus sum omnem animi rancorem deponere, non aliter quam si sim hodie moriturus. Si qui sunt inter vos qui pacem aspernantur, hæc epistola me liberabit apud Christi tribunal' ¹⁰⁾. Unfortunately his appeal for peace was spurned contumeliously.

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1582, 112-116.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 404, sq, &c ; Coppin succeeded Adrian of Utrecht, in 1519, as canon, and, in 1520, as Dean of St. Peter's : Mol., 136 ; in the absence of the Provost of St. Peter's, the Dean of the Chapter officiated as Chancellor of the University ; — because that absence had since long become regular, the Dean was looked upon as being invested with that dignity : VAnd., 56-57.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1608.

⁴⁾ Cp. Erasmus' letter to Cranevelt, December 24, 1525 : *Cran.*, 172, 7, sq ; Allen, vi, 1655.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 148, e.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 148, f ; Allen, v, 1472, pr.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 148, g.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 148, b-c, g-h ; no doubt Erasmus had complained to the authorities of the Order about Dierckx, to whom he wrote a sharp satirical letter : *Obtrectatori suo Pertinacissimo*, March, 1521 : Allen, iv, 1196 ; he probably applied to John Faber, Vicar-General for Lower Germany, with whom he was on excellent terms in 1521 and 1522 ; maybe through him Dierckx was prevented from publishing a book against the Humanist : *Cran.*, 172, 11-13 ; Allen, vi, 1582, 2.

⁹⁾ Allen, vi, 1608, 8, sq, 41, sq.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, vi, 1608, 42-47, 49-52.

A few weeks after that *Apologia* was published, a new attack was made on Erasmus in three pamphlets by James Latomus, which he had printed, as one volume, at Antwerp by Michael Hillen, in May 1525 ¹⁾ : the book did not mention at all Erasmus' name : yet since it criticized and condemned opinions about church laws and their obliging strength, as well as about the auricular confession which Erasmus had expressed in the *Colloquia*, and since his own words were quoted, there was left no doubt about Latomus' intention, and the onslaught was deeply resented ²⁾. In fact the new underhand attack was so much the more mischievous as it was directed against Oecolampadius and Luther, in such a way that it made Erasmus appear quite as heterodox and damnable as they were. Even Latomus' distinguished student and future colleague Peter de Corte felt disgusted : sending a copy of it to Cranevelt, on May 27, 1525, he wrote : 'Prodiit rursus libellus (immo vero libellj) ex officina Latomj, qui molitur struere perpetuo aduersus Erasmum... Percurrij verius quam legj' : it appeared, indeed, when the Regent of the Lily was spending all his free time by the side of the bed where his friend Martin van Dorp lay dying, to the great sorrow of all those who were interested in literature and in the improvement of studies, 'literis melioribusque studijs' ³⁾ :

¹⁾ *De confessione secreta. De quæstionum generibus quibus Ecclesia certat intus & foris. De Ecclesia & humanæ legis obligatione* : the three pamphlets, of which the first is found by itself, were printed with different signatures in one volume : Antwerp, Michael Hillen, 1525 : the dedicace to Rudolph of Monnikendam is dated May 6, 1525 : Nij-Kron., I, 1325.

²⁾ Erasmus mentions the *treis libellos* when writing to Maximilian Transsylvanus, July 2, 1525 : *strophis obliquis in me ludens* : Allen, VI, 1585, 80-81 ; to Pirckheimer, August 28 : *Latomus tres emisit libellos, in quibus miris strophis me petit* : Allen, VI, 1603, 46-47 ; to Peter Barbirius, October 3, 1525 : *Latomus prælegit treis libellos Louanii, subinde iaculans aliquid in caput meum ; suppresso quidem nomine, sed quid referebat ? citabat verba mea* : Allen, VI, 1621, 28-30. Similarly in letters to Thomas Lupset, John a Laski, Francis Chieragati, and Francis Molinius : Allen, VI, 1624, 38, 1674, 30, 1686, 47, 1719, 55. A few months before, on April 28, 1525, he related to Natalis Beda that, in April 1518, he had asked Latomus to indicate what he found fault with in the *Novum Instrumentum* : *nunc lacerat, quod tunc poterat corrigere, siquid offendeat* : Allen, VI, 1571, 13-14 ; also 1581, 158, 230 (June, 15, 1525).

³⁾ *Cran.*, 152, 1-12.

the irony of fate must have been particularly cruel to the earnest favourer of equity and erudition.

The report of the new underhand attack sounded as one more warning of danger to Erasmus. Like the trouble caused by Baechem and Dierckx, it indicated unequivocally the intolerance of some divines threatening all humanistic studies; it implied difficulties necessarily created to the *Trilingue*, as the theologians were practically dominating the University. It meant even the downfall of all studies, since theology was then more and more degenerating into controversy and useless quibble, which involved the disregard of proper investigation and research, and monopolized all attention for dialectics. The teaching and the almost exclusive practice of that art, caused the neglect of the *bonæ literæ* and of all other disciplines: it had a ruinous influence on the various branches, including divinity, through the growing lack of the indispensable training, — as was then clearly shown in most Universities beyond the Rhine: 'Per uniuersam Germaniam', Erasmus wrote to Barlandus on July 2, 1525, 'simul cum bonis literis omnia fere studia collapsa sunt. Nulla theologorum autoritas' ¹⁾. As he wanted to avert that danger from the *Trilingue*, he appealed to the public authorities: it was consistent that they should take under their protection the Institute of which they were the first to reap the benefit. When, on February 24, 1523, he applied to John Lallemand, Imperial secretary ²⁾, for the payment of his pension, he added that the Emperor could prevent the obloquy of his contradictors in Louvain, if he would write three words to the University. Pope Adrian VI had already told them to be silent, but from his death the frogs had resumed their croaking ³⁾. He points out that it is not merely for his own self that he is

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1584, 18-19.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1554, *pr.*

³⁾ *Imposuerat illis silentium Pontifex Adrianus. Ab huius morte redierunt ranæ ad suum coax. His omnibus Cesar imponeret eternum silentium, si Cesar Academiae scriberet tria verba. Nam istos rabulas ridet atque oderunt omnes: Allen, vi, 1554, 34-37.* In a letter of the same date to Maximilian Transsylvanus, he mentions the 'immedicabile odium' which some theologians and monks in Louvain feel for him: *quorum coryphæus Ecmondanus Carmelita. Huic Adrianus imposuerat silentium diplomate: vix tacuit. A morte illius, silentium illud multa maledicentia pensauit: Allen, vi, 1553, 38-41. Cp. before, pp 255, 261.*

pleading : indeed, they wish to ruin Busleyden College : 'Nullum non mouent lapidem vt subuertant Trilingue Collegium, vnicum nostræ ditionis ornamentum : vnde mihi quidem nihil metitur, sed inde et Principi et reipublicæ plurima vtilitas. Ex hoc velut ex equo Troiano prosilient aulæ Cesareæ boni secretarii, facundi consiliarii, legati non elingues, proceres qui norint tum facere strenue, tum dicere præclare, ciues humani' &c ¹⁾). He concludes his letter by remarking that he writes all this, in order that, when opportunity offers, Lallemand should be fully informed so as to influence the Emperor for the sake of Erasmus and of 'good letters' ²⁾). He also applied to King Ferdinand, who wrote to his aunt Margaret of Austria, not only for the payment of his office of Imperial Councillor, but also to request her to order the Carmelite and his confederates to keep silence ³⁾). The letter reached the Chancellor John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo, who probably did not choose to act upon it ⁴⁾).

In February 1525, Erasmus also wrote to John Sucket, condoling with him for the death of his brother Antony ⁵⁾, in the strange ignorance that John had died two years before his brother ⁶⁾). The aim of the letter is to request his patronage, at Court and in the leading circles, for the great Institute,

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1554, 37-43 ; cp. p 247, and further, p 266.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1554, 46-48.

³⁾ Ferdinandus... nunc illustrissimæ Dominæ scripsit, vt Carmelitæ debacchanti in nomen meum imponat silentium : letter of February 24, 1525, to Maximilian Transsylvanus : Allen, vi, 1553, 58-60.

⁴⁾ Princeps Ferdinandus... scripserat satis accurate. Epistola reddita est Archiepiscopo Panormitano : an ea per illum aliquo bono consilio suppressa sit nescio : letter of July 2, 1525 to Maximilian Transsylvanus : Allen, vi, 1585, 71-75.

⁵⁾ Antony Sucket died on August 31, 1524 : cp. before, I, 57-58 ; Busl., 95-96, 124.

⁶⁾ John Sucket died at the end of 1522, as he was succeeded in the Great Council by Engelbert van den Daele on January 17, 1523 : cp. before, I, 58-59 ; *Cran.*, lviii, 49, a, 204, a-c ; Busl., 122-24. John had left only a daughter Mary, married to John Vranckx van der Vorst, Margaret of Austria's physician, whom he had wished to disinherit, and who brought in a lawsuit against her uncle Antony, to whom her father had transferred his estate, although burdened with debts : probably on account of those difficulties no news had been given to Erasmus of his old friend and host, as he recalls in this letter : Allen, vi, 1556, 42, sq.

which his brother had helped to establish and which just then was mercilessly attacked ¹⁾. 'There are several in Louvain', he writes, 'who seem to have made a conjuration in their wish to destroy Busleyden College, that only ornament of our native country, nay, of the whole of the Imperial estate; they undertake ruining it by strange underhand dealings, and yet from it, on one hand, will proceed to all, the greatest advantage as well in private as in public, and, on the other, there will come to the Emperor's Court, erudite secretaries, wise councillors, eloquent ambassadors and grandees who are not merely noble through their appearance and their crests; moreover, princes, able to answer ambassadors without an interpreter, if they like to do so; and, finally, from it is to derive a large amount of light and dignity to all higher disciplines and even to all arts'. 'If such a College did not exist, it would be the urgent duty of the Emperor to found one at his expense. And now that an admirable Institute has been erected by somebody's generosity, there are several who try to ruin it. Some are incited to it by the dullness of their minds; others by the love of gain, and many by spite; there are also who blindly obey another man's will. Therefore I request you', he concludes, 'to complete to a larger extent what your brother Antony happily started, effecting by means of the favour and the authority by which you deservedly are very powerful in Court, that this College should become favoured with the highest possible esteem of all the great personages at the head of the Country. Its revenues are still slender, and are hardly sufficient to keep the professors: the liberality of princes and of rich men will augment them if you and your equals take its welfare to heart' ²⁾.

Through the uselessness of the appeal to a man who had been dead three years, and through the interception, so it seems, of King Ferdinand's request to Margaret of Austria to interfere effectively, Erasmus' efforts remained without result, in so far that on May 13, 1525, he wrote to Clement VII's secretary, Felix Trophinus, who, on August 24, 1524, had succeeded John Peter Caraffa as Bishop of Chieti ³⁾; and he

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1556.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1556, 8-28; cp. before, p 264.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1575, *pr*.

sent his amanuensis Charles Harst to Italy ¹⁾ with that letter and with another to the Datary John Matthew Giberti ²⁾, as well as to other friends in Rome to obtain protection against the Louvain theologians. It was most readily granted on account of his recent attack on Luther by his *De Libero Arbitrio Διατριβή*, September 1524 ³⁾, and of his promise of further writings, for which he justly claimed a calm study and the absence of all difficulties caused by Roman Catholics. As Thierry Hezius, secretary of the late Pope ⁴⁾, was just then returning to the Netherlands, he was entrusted with the mission to advise the two detractors, friendly and secretly, in Clement VII's name to abstain from all wild attacks on Erasmus, and to learn to talk with the modesty befitting theologians and members of religious Orders, as the censurers were said to be ⁵⁾.

When, by the end of May or in the very beginning of June, Hezius left Rome with that mission against the Carmelite Baechem and the Dominican Dierckx, the three *libelli* by James Latomus had appeared, which censured some opinions expressed by Luther and Ecolampadius and also in the *Colloquia* ⁶⁾. That hidden criticism roused Erasmus' indignation, and he decided on further and more insistent complaints in Rome by himself and by his friends and high-placed protectors ⁷⁾, especially since he realized that his adversaries could avail themselves, not only of their authority as professors, but as well of their power as inquisitors, against which any resistance would be ineffectual, if not disastrous. Those complaints probably reached Rome by the end of June or the beginning of July, and highly disappointed the Pope and the Datary, as they informed them that Erasmus was denounced as a heretic, although he had so valiantly taken

¹⁾ Charles Harst was recommended to the Bishop of Chieti as the most trustworthy of his amanuenses; he also obtained in Rome for his master, the power to make a will. Erasmus expected him back by July 2, still he did not reach Basle before September 21, bringing a letter to be sent on to Hezius at Liège, and other missives: Allen, vi, 1575, 7, 8, 1586, 23, 1589a; Herminjard, I, 388.

²⁾ Cp. further, pp 270, sq.

³⁾ *EraBib.*, I, 20.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, pp 270, sq.

⁵⁾ Evidently Baechem and Dierckx.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 263.

⁷⁾ Leplat, 49; Allen, vi, 1589, 17-24.

the field against Luther. As thus the advice and gentle order which Hezius had been enjoined to impart a few weeks earlier proved ineffective, the Pope ordered his Datary to issue for the Humanist an *Apostolicum Breve Rigorosum admodum aduersus Lovanienses theologos detractores suos... evoluturum in vniuersum orbem*, which was so severe that an old student of Louvain, Albert Pigge, the Pope's Chamberlain ¹⁾, took the alarm : although a very enthusiastic humanist, he wanted to avert that contumely on the honour of the theologians whose student he had been ; and with great difficulty he obtained that the *Breve*, which he had seen, was not sent off. In return he was ordered to write to the Dean and the Faculty of Divinity *vt omni modo studeat* <Facultas> *ne plures istinc querelæ afferantur* ; also to announce to Erasmus that he had not to be afraid of being annoyed any further, and that his appeal to the Pope should not prove fruitless. Pighius wrote his letter in all haste on July 12, 1525, describing the mission entrusted to Hezius, the further complaints reaching Rome, and the danger of the *Breve Rigorosum* he warded off. He consequently urged the Faculty to compel the slanderers to talk with more modesty of Erasmus, and to write to the latter so as to give him entire satisfaction ²⁾ ; he urges them, 'vt' as he expresses it, 'rationem habeant honoris <Erasmi>, quem hic studuimus modis omnibus facere non vulgarem, & diligentissime semper promouimus : cui per illam nonnullorum peruicaciam, maledicentiam, & detracta-

¹⁾ Albert Pigge, *Pighius*, of Kampen (c 1490-Dec. 26, 1542), promoted M. A. in 1509 in Louvain, being placed the first ; he studied theology under Adrian of Utrecht, and mathematics under Driedo ; he was appointed as 'cubicularius' and councillor of Adrian VI, and afterwards of Clement VII and Paul III. In 1535, he returned to the Netherlands where he had obtained, besides other benefices, the Provostry of St. John's, Utrecht. He published several controversial writings, and occupied himself with theological studies, for which he wished to obtain the provostry of St. Peter's, Louvain, to be able to work in the University atmosphere : *Cran.*, 97, a-l, 220, a ; cp. Ch. XI, 1, A.

²⁾ The letter, which does not bring much honour to the Louvain divines, was not published before 1783, when Josse Leplat, professor of Law, in a fierce controversy with the Faculty of Theology, used it in reply to the statement by professor J. F. van de Velde that Erasmus had been excluded from that Faculty : Leplat, 11-13, 48-51 ; *NèveMém.*, 386-87 ; Allen, vi, 1589.

tiones, & per aliorum assiduas contra vos querelas plurimum derogatur' ¹⁾).

B. HEZIUS' MOVE

The bearer of the Pope's message to Baechem and Dierckx, Thierry Hezius ²⁾, had been Adrian VI's secretary, and, as long as his master lived, he was an outspoken admirer of Erasmus. On January 25, 1523, he wrote a most flattering letter to the Humanist, and expressed the request to be 'inter eos qui tibi <viz., Erasmo> addictissimi sunt perpetuoque erunt' ³⁾. After Adrian's death, Hezius came under the influence of his colleague Jerome Aleander, who, in view of the unequivocal favour the Pope bestowed on his famous countryman, had silenced the insatiable hatred which he bore against Erasmus ⁴⁾; at the Pontiff's decease, however, it flared up more vehemently than before, and was communicated to Hezius, with whom he was most intimate by 1524 ⁵⁾: from a hearty friend, the latter became one of the bitterest enemies of the Humanist, who, in the summer of 1529, hardly could believe Goclenius' announcement of an evident proof of that startling change ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Leplat, 50; Allen, vi, 1589, 34-38.

²⁾ Thierry Ariaans, *Adriani*, of Heeze, *Hezius*, was trained in the Falcon in Louvain, where he matriculated on February 28, 1504: *Lib-IntIII*, 110, r; he taught for a time philosophy, whilst studying theology under Adrian of Utrecht, whose friend and secretary he became. He followed him to Spain and to Rome, and after his death, he secured most of his master's documents, which he is supposed to have taken to Liège, where he had obtained a canonry in St. Lambert's, January 7, 1524, and where he went to live in May or June 1525. In 1540, he was appointed inquisitor for Liège diocese, and, in 1541, arch-priest and vice-dean of his Chapter. He died in 1555, founding scholarships in the College of his master Adrian VI, in Louvain: cp. *Cran.*, 228, a-e, and the authorities quoted; Allen, v, 1339, pr; *MonHL*, 509-31; *FUL*, 1377, 2471, 2738; *Mol.*, 75, 359; *OpMBoek.*, 37; *AdriBurm.*, 70-71, 123, 139.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1339, 2, 21-28.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIV.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, xi, 3130, 19-20, and further, Ch. XIV. An illustration of the spirit and feelings of those two personages is provided by Hezius' letter of June 15, 1536, and Aleander's reply: *AléaLiège*, 302-06; *MonHL*, 510-6.

⁶⁾ Letter to Goclenius, December 14, 1531: Allen, ix, 2587, 61-66, 2369, 25, sq. — Blasius Ortiz, in his *Itinerarium Adriani VI*, calls Hezius 'vir timoratæ conscientiae qui benigna quadam & dulci conversatione

It was through Hezius' interference that, in 1525, Clement VII's injunction in favour of Erasmus was counteracted, and produced hardly any other effect than the promise of Baechem and Dierckx to abstain from calling him a heretic, on condition that he himself should restrain his biting and perverse writing ¹⁾. Indeed, when Hezius arrived in the Netherlands with the order from the Datary to effect the silencing of the two slanderers, and went to interview them in Louvain ²⁾, he only found Egmondanus, who, protesting his readiness to obey the Pope's orders, declared that he would observe them according to the spirit in which he thought his Holiness had given them ³⁾. He argued that Erasmus was a pernicious author and Luther's abettor ⁴⁾ : he could not believe that the Pope wanted to allow the Humanist to write whatever he liked against the *prædicatores catholicos*, and to call them by a thousand contemptuous and ridiculing names ⁵⁾ ; whereas, on the other hand, he would prevent orthodox authors from striving against the wrong doctrines of Luther and of all

studiosus virtutis omnes confovebat : *AdriBurm.*, 169 : he must have fallen an easy victim to Aleander, who considered Erasmus as equally bad as Luther.

¹⁾ Cp. further, p 276.

²⁾ *BalaRef.*, 552-55 : letter of Theodorus Hezius to the Papal secretary Blossius, Liège, October 26, 1525.

³⁾ Baechem declared : *velle illud eatenus servare quatenus S. D. N. mandasse crederet* : *BalaRef.*, 553.

⁴⁾ Baechem proves his assertion by quoting a sentence (: *Hæc scribo non [Allen : non admoneo] ut facies, sed ut quod facis, perpetuo facias* : *BalaRef.*, 553, 556-57) from a letter of Erasmus to Luther on May 30, 1519, consequently before Rome had censured him : *Allen*, III, 980, 52 : it obviously looks like condemning an author for one sentence excerpted from his writings. Evidently the initial *Hæc* refers to what precedes in the letter, and for several lines (*ll* 38-51), there are only maxims of prudence and wisdom : *'mihi videtur plus profici ciuili modestia quam impetu. Sic Christus orbem in suam ditionem perduxit... Magis expedit clamare in eos qui pontificum autoritate abutuntur quam in ipsos pontifices... Scholæ non tam aspernandæ... quam ad studia magis sobria reuocandæ... Interea seruandus animus, ne vel ira vel odio gloria corrumpatur; nam hæc in medio pietatis studio solet insidiari'* : on those words follows the quotation : *'Hæc non admoneo...'* viz., do all that, not only once, but all the time : not merely occasionally, but regularly ; — had Luther followed Erasmus' advice, Protestantism would have been nipped in the bud.

⁵⁾ *BalaRef.*, 553.

those who stood by him ¹⁾. His interview with Vincent Dierckx, which took place very much later ²⁾, had the same result : the Dominican was surprised that His Holiness took so much trouble for the quarrels of Erasmus who had deserved so little by his writings against the Papal See and against religion ³⁾. On August 31, 1525, Baechem confirmed by letter to Hezius what he had declared by word of mouth ⁴⁾.

The secrecy, which had been enjoined to Hezius, was more than welcome, since the news of the Papal admonition would have been as humiliating to the enemies of Erasmus, as it would have encouraged and flattered the Humanist. As Dierckx was absent, Hezius had a reason to postpone his reply to Rome, where the repeated complaints suggested the *Apostolicum Breve Rigorosum*, which Albert Pigge managed to spare his old masters, replacing it by the monitory letter of July 12, 1525, addressed to the Dean and the Faculty of Theology ⁵⁾. A few days later, on July 21, John Matthew Giberti, the Datary, reminded Hezius of his mission to liberate Erasmus from his Louvain slanderers, in order to procure him the calm and quietness to continue his many works : he requests a reply to himself, as well as a letter to the great

¹⁾ BalaRef., 554. Hezius concludes the relation of his interview with Egmondanus — whom he must have known from the time of his studies — with this praise : *hoc unum dico, me invenisse eum virum (ut mihi quidem visum est) sanctum, zelosum pro fide ac religione, Christi et Sedis Apostolicæ observantissimum, omninoque alium quam mihi illum multi etiam ex alumnis dictæ Lovaniensis Academiæ depinxerant* : men, he explains, who although good, bore ill Baechem's vehemence against Lutherans, which it is difficult to master, and which he, Hezius, accounts as most praiseworthy : BalaRef., 554.

²⁾ The first time, Hezius went to Louvain, Dierckx was absent : he had probably already started his work as inquisitor for the diocese of Utrecht, to which office he had been appointed by the General of the Order, as is recorded in Rome under date of July 8, 1525 : *CorpInq.*, iv, 366-67, and proclaimed in the provincial chapter of Zierikzee of 1525 : *CorpInq.*, v, 90 ; *BatawDom.*, 91-92.

³⁾ BalaRef., 555-556.

⁴⁾ BalaRef., 556.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 268-69 ; the Dean, from the last of February to the end of August, was Eustace a Fine, of Sichein, a Dominican : de Jongh, *51, 167-170 : in 1531, he published an *Apologia pro Pietate* against Erasmus' *Enchiridion* : Antwerp, W. Vorsterman : NijKron., II, 2988, 2989 ; *BibRefNe.*, III, 216.

Erudite ¹⁾. That announcing to Erasmus was just what, in Louvain, they wished to avoid, for if it ever came to his knowledge that his adversaries had been silenced by the order of Clement VII, his victory would be blazoned at once to the four corners of the world. As he afterwards learned ²⁾, his chief foe, Latomus, who, with his pupil, Robert de Croy, had been residing for a time at Cambrai, returned to Louvain ³⁾, and was at once informed of the Papal admonition by his colleague Baechem; since the latter had felt Hezius' antipathy against Erasmus, they soon found a way-out of the difficulty: as there were only two divines who knew of the admonition, for Dierckx had not been informed as yet, the matter was kept a secret, and from an impartial mediator Latomus soon turned the Roman messenger into a plotter and into a decided adversary of the bitter critic of 'all religious Orders and all practices of devotion' ⁴⁾. When Pighius' letter came to Louvain, he also managed to hush up that disagreeable warning: as the Dean, Eustace of Sichem, was far from being an admirer of Erasmus, the matter was kept hidden from all but the three or four conspirators, who decided to let it die out. It is a fact that there was not the least mention of it in the *Acta* of the Faculty of Theology ⁵⁾,

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1589a, 2, sq: iniunxeram, vti Erasmum nostrum ab obtreptatoribus Louaniensibus liberari curares... 10-12: vti Erasmum ipsum, vel bona executum multa, vel meliora, vt pollicetur, executurum, tranquillum et quietum sinant.

²⁾ On June 6, 1526, he mentions it to Pirckheimer: Allen, vi, 1717, 7-10.

³⁾ Latomus, who was still teaching theology to Bishop Robert of Croy (cp. before, I, 327, 582), often resided with him at Cambrai, where he received a prebend in 1526: cp. de Jongh, 174.

⁴⁾ On June 6, 1526, Erasmus relates to Pirckheimer what he had heard of the Pope's admonition to the two divines and adds: *reuersus Latomus cum suo collega presserunt rem*: Allen, vi, 1717, 7-10: that is to say, Latomus returned to Louvain, and with his colleague Baechem, — Dierckx being absent, — he hushed up the affair.

⁵⁾ Professor J. F. van de Velde, who had made a kind of digest of the *Acta Facultatis Theologiæ Lovaniensis* for the years 1515 to 1534, which are now lost (cp. de Jongh, *38-62), made annotations in the margin of his copy of Leplat's pamphlet with Pighius' letter (cp. p 268), marked as n° 12765 in the *Catalogue* of his books: on p 12 he noted down the statement that there is no reference at all to Pighius' letter in the *Acta* of the Faculty: the note is copied in the *Catalogue*, now in Ghent University Library: cp. de Jongh, 20.

which is a certain proof that it was never mentioned there, for the reports fully describe even the apparently insignificant details communicated by the Dean to the members. It also explains how Pighius has never had either a reply to his personal message, nor even a grateful acknowledgment for the signal service he had rendered ¹⁾. In the xviiith century, that letter was not found by Leplat amongst the documents of the Faculty, but in the *Collegium Regium* ²⁾, whose president, Francis John Thysbaert, was a frank adversary of his colleagues the theologians ³⁾, and allowed that document to be used in the bitter controversy moved against them under Joseph II.

Meanwhile the letter of the Datary of July 21, 1525, expressing his surprise at the lack of all information about Hezius' mission, and requesting him to inform Erasmus ⁴⁾, reached Liège, probably in August, and occasioned further deliberations with Latomus and Baechem, whose views the Roman messenger now fully shared, in so far that the accused parties had become as judges in their own cause. A formal answer was decided on, in which the two Louvain divines were to be represented as the faithful and staunch protagonists of the Church and of her teachings, and Erasmus as a sneaking and most dangerous adversary. That answer was probably maturely studied, and delayed until Dierckx had returned to Louvain from his inquisitional field of action ⁵⁾. It became Hezius' circumstantial report dated Octob. 26, 1525, addressed to Blossius, the Pope's secretary ⁶⁾ : he relates at length what

¹⁾ It is not even mentioned by Hezius, neither in his report to Blossius, nor in his letter to the Datary Giberti, dated October 26 and 27, 1525 : — it is quite possible that Latomus and Baechem even kept that letter a secret from their great helper.

²⁾ Note by J. F. van de Velde on p 12 of his copy : cp. note ⁵ on p 272.

³⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 379-80 ; Verhaegen, 209, 239, 249, &c.

⁴⁾ Allen, VI, 1589a, 1, sq, 10-13.

⁵⁾ That did not happen before the very month of October, for on September 30, 1525, Dierckx did not resign his professorate and supplicate again for it personally, no more than did Latomus : both 'absentes supplicarunt per alios' : de Jongh, *51-52 : it thus seems that the latter had left Louvain, whereas the former had not yet returned at the feast of St. Jerome.

⁶⁾ *BalaRef.*, 552-560 ; reproduced in *CorpInq.*, v, 421-27.

he had done in the matter, and what the innocently accused Baechem and Dierckx had replied ; he moreover gives his own views on the matter : Erasmus has written a large amount of books about faith and religion, from which the temptation has come to many to join Luther ¹⁾, with whom he himself often corresponded ²⁾. It would be imprudent of His Holiness to approve of him by a public Breve, and to show that he either should be praised or feared ³⁾ ; if Erasmus were to attack the Pope and the Church, he could not write worse than Luther had done ; it would even be better if he stood openly on the Reformer's side ⁴⁾. Above all, it would be a bad thing to encourage him : for he, Hezius, has heard that a letter mentioning the Pope's promise to silence the two Louvain divines, has already been printed ⁵⁾ ; on that account Hezius judged it convenient not to write about this present mission to the Humanist, notwithstanding the order given to that effect, for fear of providing matter which he should publish to his own glory ⁶⁾ ; therefore Hezius' interference has been kept a secret, and, yet, as he has heard, Pighius had written to the Rector and the Faculty in July, insisting on the silencing of the two theologians ⁷⁾. Erasmus' triumph

¹⁾ BalaRef., 556.

²⁾ BalaRef., 556 : Hezius repeats his statement — cp. before, p 270 — eum <Erasmus> per epistolam hortatum fuisse Lutherum non quidem ut faceret quod faciebat et quod pessime cæperat, sed ut id perpetuo faceret ; he adds : *audivi ex quodam doctissimo et fide dignissimo viro* <— probably Latomus —> *factum fuisse ab eo posteaquam Lutherus inceperat manifeste venena sua effundere* : as has already been stated, facts do not corroborate that double charge : cp. before, p 270.

³⁾ *Quam ob rem multis apparet non esse nimis consultum S^mum D. N. vel brevibus ad hominem scriptis, vel factis ostendere se admodum vel magnificare vel etiam timere illum &c* : BalaRef., 557.

⁴⁾ BalaRef., 557.

⁵⁾ BalaRef., 558 : that piece of information seems to be baseless : Erasmus mentions the Pope's intervention to silence the two divines for the first time in his letter to Pirckheimer, of June 6, 1526 : Allen, VI, 1717, 7-13.

⁶⁾ *Quæ... ratio me movit ne ipsi Erasmo quicquam scripserim de commissione et mandato mihi ad memoratos duos Theologos a SS^{mo} D. N. seu R^{mo} D^{no} Datario datis ; quod videlicet tinerem eum scriptis suis de hoc gloriaturum* : BalaRef., 558.

⁷⁾ BalaRef., 558 : it thus *seems* as if he was not fully informed about Pigge's warning, which certainly was not addressed to the Rector.

would, in fact, cause a bitter disappointment to all those who defend faith and the Church, as Hezius does, although he used to be an admirer, and even a correspondent, of Erasmus ¹⁾. Realizing that he is treading on dangerous ground, he beseeches Blossius not to divulge, or even mention, his report, for fear that his name would be made *toti mundo fabula* by Erasmus ²⁾; he addresses his memoir to Blossius, and not to his own particular friend Albert Pigge, as he is fully aware that the latter dislikes and despises Baechem, and would, for certain, counteract and contradict the present account ³⁾. Further, he, Hezius, protests that he is only animated by the zeal of the faith, and he names as authority in this matter the Bishop of Brindisi, Jerome Aleander, advising Giberti to ask his opinion about Erasmus, without mentioning either his own name, or that of the two divines ⁴⁾.

For security's sake the report, addressed to Blossius, was thus sent to the Datary Giberti, along with a letter of October 27, 1525 ⁵⁾, in which Hezius requested him to read it before delivering it, and to consider it as a matter of secrecy; he repeats how inconvenient it would be to silence the two divines, as it would imply that the Pope stood on Erasmus' side; and, as to the help which the Pope expects from the Humanist's writings, such as his recent judgment on Oecolampadius about the Eucharist ⁶⁾, it would be better to go

¹⁾ BalaRef., 558-559; Hezius prevents an objection: Neque putet Rmus Dus meus vel Dominatio V. me hoc odio Erasmi dixisse; quem semper... admiratus sum &c: as if past love excused present hatred.

²⁾ BalaRef., 559.

³⁾ BalaRef., 559-60: ...quod sciam ipsum D. Albertum ex multo tempore non multum diligere Egmondanum, neque admodum bene de eo sentire propter nonnulla mihi nota quæ non est huius loci explicare. Quare timui eum, in aliis mihi fidelissimum, in hoc uno non satis fidelem fore vel saltem contraria dictis meis pro virili persuasurum.

⁴⁾ BalaRef., 560: interrogetur Dominus Brundusinus, quo nemo melius omnia ista novit, quid ipse de Erasmo eiusque scriptis sentiat et puto quod apparebit uter nostrum [viz., Pigge or Hezius] veriora dixerit. — Hezius suggests that a laudatory Breve should be sent to Margarete of Austria for her zeal in punishing heretics in Holland, and another to Erard de la Marck for keeping his dominions free from Lutheranism.

⁵⁾ BalaRef., 561-563.

⁶⁾ In his letter to the Basle town-council, about October 1525, and in his *Expostulatio* to Conrad Pellican, about October 15, 1525: Allen, vi, 1636, 1637.

without them, as thus people might believe that all he ever wrote about confession and freedom, about abstinence and the authority of human constitutions, and other matters, were 'omnia sacra et sincera' ¹⁾). The letter closes with this as postscript : Ambo illi theologi lovanienses polliciti sunt se amplius non nominaturos Erasmum hæreticum, dummodo tamen ipse a mordendo et perversa scribendo temperet ; meo iudicio amplius ab eis requiri non debet ²⁾).

From that letter, as well as from his report, it follows necessarily that Hezius' opinion was based on that of his friend Aleander and on that of Bæchem and Latomus, who, as already mentioned, thus managed to become the judges in their own cause ³⁾, and to have their wrong conceptions and rash condemnations endorsed by Clement VII's influential adviser, Aleander, whose judgment was not based on any sounder ground than bitter prejudice ⁴⁾. With all that, Hezius not only doomed Erasmus without hearing him, but even helped to get out of the way the troublesome evidence which Pigge wanted to bring forward in the case ⁵⁾ ; whereas he himself gave an evident proof of his short-sighted views, when he insistently requested the honour of an approving Breve for his new patron Erard de la Marck ⁶⁾, whom, a few months earlier, Margaret of Austria and her Council of State

¹⁾ BalaRef., 561-562.

²⁾ BalaRef., 563.

³⁾ Erasmus remarked in July 1526 : Interim is cui commissa fuerat executio (theologus est), persuasus a Latomi collega, quo nullum animal sceleratius vivit, scripsit clanculum Datario, quod mutarit consilium, excusaret se Pontifici : Allen, vi, 1717, 10-13.

⁴⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 512-15 ; *Cran.*, 228, c-d, and sources quoted. A paper on Erasmus and Aleander by the author of this History is in preparation.

⁵⁾ Hezius betrayed his friend Pighius, and represents him as not acting 'ex zelo fidei', as he himself pretends to do : BalaRef., 559-60. Cp. *MonHL*, 508, sq.

⁶⁾ BalaRef., 560 : Deinde suggero... Breve ad Rmum D. Leodiensem quo ipse... laudaretur de eo quod civitatem suam Leodiensem et temporalia Dominica Ecclesiæ Leodiensi subiecta... tam incontaminatam servaverit quantum ad Lutheranam hæresim finitimis civitatibus et locis non parum illa infectis ; he also suggests to recommend him to Margaret of Austria as helper in the repression of heresy : still Hezius had been too short a time in the Netherlands to know the situation thoroughly, and he evidently had some interest in flattering the Bishop, on whose character many documents throw a sinister light : *MonHL*, 481-482 ; cp. further, Ch. XIV.

had refused to accept as the Supreme General Inquisitor, as they considered it merely as a design by which he wished to extend unduly his influence ¹⁾).

Hezius' letter, with the announcement of the change of the commission entrusted to him, as well as his apologies, was well received by the Datary, who probably, on hearing Aleander's advice, sent a reply in all secrecy, praising the prudence he had displayed, and promising that the matter would be left to die out in silence ²⁾). That secrecy, however, was not so closely guarded that Erasmus did not hear of it after some time : a friend even supplied him with copies of the letters of the Datary about Hezius' mission, about the strange way the latter effected it, and about the approval he gained ³⁾). There does not seem to be the least reference in the Humanist's correspondence to Pigge's warning letter ⁴⁾ : considering the special significance it had for him, his silence about it is a certain proof that he did not know it.

C. GIBERTI'S ELUSIVENESS

When in the spring of 1526 Erasmus heard of the Pope's order silencing his Louvain contradictors, which had been unnerved apparently with Rome's approval, he tried to

¹⁾ Cp. Margaret of Austria's letter to Charles V, dated April 12, 1525, relating the deliberation of the Council of State, as well as that of the lawyers, and insisting on their advice not to grant the necessary 'placet' to that appointment over the three other Inquisitors, since it is expected that the Cardinal and his officials 'amplifieroyent grandement sa jurisdiction et en temps avenir pourroient et vouldroient attirer et attribuer à lad. jurisdiction plusieurs choses que en vertu de lad. commission il auroyent faict; et... usurperoyent entièrement vostre <viz., of Charles> haulteur et jurisdiction'. Margaret, moreover, refers to the strange use of jurisdiction by the Bishop of Liège's officials at Maastricht, in Charles's estate, which discloses the spirit of Erard : the bearer of the letter will relate the whole affair : *CorpInq.*, iv, 331-333.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1717, 11-14 : scripsit clanculum Datario, quod mutarit consilium... Datarius clam missis literis probavit factum, probavit prudentiam, et promisit silentium.

³⁾ He announced that ill-fated intervention to Pirckheimer on June 6, 1526, to William Cop, on August 27, and to Mercurino de Gattinara, on September 3, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1717, 7-14, 1735, 26-28, 1747, 33-40.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 268-69.

interest the Datary John Matthew Giberti ¹⁾ in his favour, especially since on a former occasion he had assured him his help for whatever he might require ²⁾. He had obtained the confirmation of the Privilege of the Nominations granted by Adrian VI to the Faculty of Arts, which Erard de la Marck and other collators had tried to prevent ³⁾. On September 2, 1524, he had complained about Egmondanus, whom Adrian VI had ordered to abstain from attacking him ⁴⁾, and he renewed that grievance without naming the *obtrektor*, on October 13, 1524, announcing the sending of his *De Libero Arbitrio* and printing of a *Modus Orandi Deum* ⁵⁾, expressing a hope that Clement VII would protect him ⁶⁾, as he had promised to do on April 3, 1524 ⁷⁾. In compliance with that request Clement VII had entrusted Hezius with a mission to that effect in May 1525 ⁸⁾, which in July was enforced by the

¹⁾ John Matthew Giberti, (September 20, 1495-December 30, 1543), the natural son of a Genoese admiral, who entered the Pope's service, and a Sicilian woman, was educated at Palermo, and afterwards in Rome, where he became Cardinal Julius de' Medici's secretary, and was brought in touch with Leo X and the highest affairs. He was a member of the *Oratorium*, and was promoted Datary at his patron's accession to the Papal See, serving him most faithfully. He was badly treated, and nearly lost his life, during the Sack of Rome. Having been elected, in 1524, to the see of Verona, he insisted in 1528 on being allowed to devote all his attention to his diocese, which he did with great zeal, setting himself the example. With Contarini, Caraffa, Sadoletto, Pole and other great exemplary Churchmen, he was invited to Rome by Paul III to form the commission which was called upon to reform the Church. Cp. the biography by M. A. Tucker, in *EngHistRev.*, xviii, 1903; Allen, v, 1443a, *pr*; *AléaJour.*, 39; Pastor, iv, ii, 609-620, &c.

²⁾ On April 20, 1524, Giberti writes to Erasmus to congratulate him on his publications, and declares : Tu quantum tibi autoritatis inter homines tuis sanctissimis laboribus æternisque scriptorum monumentis adeptus es, tantum in me potestatis habebis, si mea opera aliquando uti voles. Quod ego opto... vehementer ut facias &c : Allen, v, 1443a, 23-26.

³⁾ Erasmus wrote to request that confirmation on September 2, 1524, and Giberti refers to it on October 19, 1524, as having been granted and as having given great satisfaction to Nicolas Wary and a colleague entrusted in Rome by the Faculty with that mission : Allen, v, 1481, 44-56, 1509, 14-40; *Cran.*, 141, *q*, *r*; cp. further, Ch. XI.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1481, 56-66.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1506, 1-2.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1506, 9, *sq.*

⁷⁾ Allen, v, 1438, 15, *sq.*

⁸⁾ Cp. before, *pp* 267, *sq.*

Breve Rigorosum and Pighius' letter ¹⁾), and further by the Datary's insistent message of July 21, to secure peace and tranquillity to Erasmus, 'cuius amorem et benivolentiam in me', he wrote, 'valde cupio, vt debeo' ²⁾). On November 27, 1525, Giberti answered, most encouragingly and benevolently, a letter, now lost, in which Erasmus announced his recovery, his decision to write a defence of the Eucharist against the heretics, and his satisfaction with the help he had received ³⁾) — probably in procuring the Pope's favour to a request made by the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾). After so many and so great proofs of gracious kindness, Erasmus was most surprised when he learned that 'Hi quibus Pontifex imposuerat silentium, — viz., the two Louvain divines, — sic agunt quasi iusserit eos magis insanire quam antea fecerant. Iactitant huiusmodi voces, "Scimus animum Pontificis, quicquid ille scribit". Vnde hæc illis fiducia nescio' ⁵⁾), he wrote to Giberti on May 21, 1526, although he had the copy of his letter approving of Hezius' change of the order entrusted to him ⁶⁾). Availing himself of an expression of thanks for the favour obtained for the *Trilingue* ⁷⁾), and the request for the reversion of his Courtrai pension on Livinus Algoet ⁸⁾), he made a most insistent appeal: he declares that all the trouble is caused by the mixing up of languages and literature with Luther's affair, and by using the pretence of religion to cover private hatred ⁹⁾). He further stated that those men, whose duty it is to teach languages in the Louvain *Trilingue*, live and work so that no Momus

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1589; cp. before, p 268.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1589^a, 7-8.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1650^a, 1-6.

⁴⁾ Cp. Ch. XI, 2, c; *Acc.MarvI*, 106, v; Allen, vi, 1716, 1-4: Agnoscit Trilingue Collegium quantum debeat amplitudini tuæ, cuius fauore consequutum est quod optabat, et largiter et gratis. In huius beneficii consortium me quoque recipit, cuius commendationem existimat non omnino frustraneam fuisse. Ego vero non inuitus tibi et hoc nomine debeo, cui nihil non debeo.

⁵⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 57-60.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 277.

⁷⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 1-4; cp. further, Ch. XI, 2, c.

⁸⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 5-18; cp. before, p 137.

⁹⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 35-39: sunt aliquot... ex gente monachorum ac theologorum, qui hoc miris technis magnaue contentione agunt, vt elegantiores litteras cum Lutheri negotio permisceant, simulque priuatis odiis religionis prætextu seruiant. Nimirum hoc erat huius tragoediæ prooemium; itaque ad caput redit fabula.

could cavil at them. And yet, it is just that which makes them hateful to some, who should prefer that they should Luther-anize, — *Luterissare*, — so as to give them a right to throw the guilt of the men on the studies ¹⁾. ‘Those same cavillers’, he continues, ‘fret at my fighting against Luther; they would prefer me to write in favour of Luther, <— as in fact Hezius had written down in his report to Giberti ²⁾, — > so as to have a weapon to ruin me. No Lutheran reads with more avidity the rabid slander recently thrown on me by Luther’s book, than some who wish to be considered as the Atlantes of the tottering Church; and no buffoon publishes so infamous and furious pamphlets against me, that they do not approve of. Yet I cannot write anything so uprightly that they would not calumniate’ ³⁾.

Erasmus also declares that he has applied to the Emperor for protection; yet his adversaries would rather conclude peace with Luther than with him ⁴⁾. He asserts that he has never proposed any tenet in which he agrees with Luther: all they bring in against him, are suspicions, depravations or manifest calumnies, whereas he is ready to correct what he might have asserted imprudently before: indeed, <præstat> istiusmodi causationes in aliud tempus reicere, et hoc quod nunc est in manibus agere ⁵⁾. He concludes saying that he is afraid that his complaints are disagreeable to the Datary’s ears; yet what is disagreeable to hear, is far more disagreeable to suffer; nor has he communicated one hundredth part of what his adversaries contrive. He hopes that all will get right in the end; still he is afraid that times will come which will show too late, that it were better to prevent that the private conduct and hatred of some should exasperate the public disease they pretend to cure. Whatever may happen, he will continue to preserve a sincere conscience to Christ, his Lord, and to His Bride, the Church ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 47-50.

²⁾ Immo non desunt qui putent minus <Erasmum> nociturum fuisse si aperte pro Luthero stetisset quam utroque pede claudicante... nunc uni nunc alteri parti videri adhærere velle: *BalaRef.*, 557.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 50-56.

⁴⁾ Tergiuersantur, citius redituri in gratiam cum Luthero quam mecum: Allen, vi, 1716, 61-62.

⁵⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 62-67.

⁶⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 74-84.

That letter seems to be the last which passed between the two men : Giberti proved ready to help Erasmus requesting favours for others, but he utterly abandoned him when he entreated justice for himself. No wonder that by 1530, he pretended to have forgotten how to write the Datary's name ¹⁾. By 1528 the latter obtained leave to go and work in the diocese of Verona where he had been appointed Bishop. He there managed to improve the lives and the studies of his priests, and gave himself an admirable example to all bishops, realizing what Erasmus had been advocating throughout his existence; and even, far from attacking the *bonæ literæ*, he established a printing press in his own palace, which was to be used first for an edition of the works in Greek of St. John Chrysostom ²⁾, that favourite author of the Humanists ³⁾ : it forcibly suggests that Giberti had found out too late that he had been taken in by Hezius' prejudice.

6. IMPERIAL INTERFERENCE

A. A SEVERE EDICT

The Pope's injunction was made most of by the friends of *Trilingue* : Martin Lips warningly announced it on November 6, 1525, to the Prior of the Red Monastery, *Rubæa Vallis, in Sylva Sonia*, Stephen van Heetvelde ⁴⁾, who had ordered the

¹⁾ In his letter of September 5, 1530, to Germanus Brixius, Erasmus referring to the virtues of the Bishop of Verona, says that he thinks he is the one who used to be Clement VII's Datary, with whom he agreeably corresponded : Nomen, he adds, ni fallor est Ioannes Mathæus Gibbertus : Allen, ix, 2379, 6-14.

²⁾ Pastor, iv, ii, 609-20. On July 6, 1530, Germanus Brixius, who was active for Erasmus at the translation of some of St. Chrysostom's works, announced Bishop Giberti's editing the Greek text, whereas they were to be issued in Latin at Basle : Allen, viii, 2340, 1-12 ; three volumes had appeared on June 28, 1529, and Erasmus highly praised those fine folios with the Homilies on St. Paul's Epistles (letter to G. Brixius, September 5, 1530) ; unfortunately the work did not go on, as he mentioned to Reginald Pole, August 25, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2379, 6, sq, 2526, 9, sq.

³⁾ The history of those editions is sketched in Allen, vi, 1558, pr.

⁴⁾ He succeeded Prior John Rampaert in 1521, and was in office until 1528 : Gestel, ii, 107.

pamphlet by Godfried Ruisius Taxander to be read out to the monks in his refectory ¹⁾). Unfortunately through Hezius' interference it was made nerveless for those for whom it had been intended. When Erasmus realized that failure, he resolved to appeal to the Emperor's authority, as he had mentioned to the Imperial Secretary John Lallemand on February 24, 1525 ²⁾). Indeed, notwithstanding the prohibition of public attacks imparted and iterated by the Datary, his adversaries continued more vehemently, although with more circumspection, their opposition to good letters and their slander on the Humanist. Instead of adventuring themselves in Louvain, where the latter counted too many decided friends, they went to other towns. Thus Baechem, under pretext of being sent by Nicolas Coppin, Dean of St. Peter's and, since 1524, Inquisitor-General for the Netherlands ³⁾, went to preach at Hertogenbosch, where he burned in public Erasmus' New Testament. When Coppin was expostulated with by some one for that fact, he replied that he had not given any order to that effect ; whereas to another who remonstrated more acerbly with him about it, he vented all his ill humour about Erasmus ⁴⁾). James Latomus was no less virulent ; as before, he continually showed an implacable hatred towards Erasmus and towards the new study of languages and literature, and instigated others to molest the Humanist.

It appears that he had changed completely the mind of Nicolas Coppin, who had been most friendly, certainly up to September 1519, when he had helped to bring about the peace between Erasmus and the theologians, which he solemnized by a feast in the Falcon ⁵⁾). By February 1525, he had become most hostile : 'Decanus Louaniensis ferocit in me', Erasmus wrote to John Vlatten ; he attributed the change to Erard de la Marck : 'non dubito quin fretus animo Cardinalis <Leo-

¹⁾ LipsE, 749-51 : *Iam pontificis Rhomani autoritate iniunctum est silentium iis, qui Louanii in virum illum sine fine debacchari solent.* Cp. Allen, vii, 1804, 203-206 ; *MonHL*, 533.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1554, 30-48, 1582, 45-64, 1608, 40 ; cp. before, pp 264-65.

³⁾ *CorpInq.*, iv, 276-79 : Patent letter of Cardinal Laurent Campeggio, papal Legate, dated from Stuttgart, June 17, 1524 ; also iv, 400, 406, sq, v, 130, &c.

⁴⁾ Letter to Gattinara, September 3, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1747, 43-49.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 403-406 ; Allen, iv, 1162, 108, sq.

diensis>, quem iactat alium nunc esse in me quam solet' ¹). On April 29, 1526, in a letter to Mercurino de Gattinara, James Latomus is made the cause of Coppin's estrangement : <Latomus> instigat Decanum et alios, presertim monachos : quorum immoderatis affectibus nisi monarcharum sapientia frenos iniecerit, recta tendent in exitium linguarum ac politioris litteraturæ, et sub spetioso titulo ledentur innoxii. Ea res, preterquam quod iniquissima est, corroborat etiam parteis

¹) Allen, vi, 1549, 13-15. — Erard de la Marck's position in the strife constantly varied, as it was due less to conviction than to selfishness : at the Diet of Augsburg, 1518, he was frankly anti-Roman (Ranke, i, 230) ; in May 1519, Erasmus made a reference, in a private letter, to the impression the Bishop had given that he favoured Luther's principles, probably without writing out the name, which may have been communicated to the bearer, and was added by Mosellanus when it was printed (Allen, iii, 980, 36-37) : in October 1519, he even deleted that anonymous mention of a patent fact he had seen for himself, at the risk of making it appear as a falsehood, because circumstances had changed (BB, E, 424, 7 ; Allen, iv, 1041, 20-24, 1143, 43-45 ; Enders, ii, 64-69) : in October 1519, the Bishop denied ever having read or seen Luther's book, and encouraged the Louvain divines to censure it : cp. before, I, 427, 433, 435 ; Allen, iv, 1143, 43-50. From a friend to Erasmus (Allen, iv, 1038), Aleander turned him into a foe (BalaRef., xvi ; Allen, iv, 1195, v, 1268, 69, 1482, 6-13, 1496, 17-23 ; EOO, X, 1645, D), which perhaps helped him to the Cardinalship, August, 9, 1521 (Allen, iv, 1166, 55 ; AleaJour., 42). That hostility had become admiration in the spring of 1522, as Vives relates on May 20 of that year (Allen, v, 1281, 73-81), so that, in answer to a complaint about the attacks of Carmelites and Dominicans (Allen, v, 1275, 1276), Guy Morillon advised Erasmus, by the end of May 1522, to apply for those excesses in the pulpit to the *Ordinarius*, Bishop Erard, 'qui de D. V.' he writes, 'tam magnifice loqui consuevit. Nec credo eum instigatum ab Aleandro ; quem pessime odit, vt audio ab his qui hoc compertum habent' (Allen, v, 1287, 42-45). Though remaining indulgent, in a way, to Reform for a long time (Allen, iii, 738, pr ; Heumann, 306), the arrival at Liège of Aleander's brother, and especially of Hezius (cp. before, pp 269, sq), as well as the hope given by the latter on the appointment of Supreme Inquisitor, notwithstanding Margaret of Austria's opposition (BalaRef., 560 ; cp. before, pp 276-77), made him into a protector of Baechem and Dierckx : 'Audio', Erasmus wrote, on July 21, 1524, 'Cardinalem Leodiensem mihi parum esse propitium, et sane a theologis stare : qui ne nomen quidem illorum audire quondam poterat' (Allen, v, 1467, 18-20, 10), and, on July 2, 1525, '<Erardum> parum amanter de me sentire', as was announced by Nicolas Coppin, *theologus* (Allen, vi, 1585, 41-49, 1549, 8-10, 13-15, 1553, 49-52).

Luteri ; et pro Lutero pugnat quisquis nunc impugnat Erasmus ¹⁾).

The only way to preclude all that malevolent and troublesome disturbance would be, as Erasmus suggests in that letter, the intervention of monarchs : they should prevent some factions to bring about their own advantage instead of the welfare of the Church and the good of the community ²⁾. He had written before to that effect to the Imperial Chancellor Mercurino de Gattinara, who replied, on October 28, 1525, that Charles V had readily granted him the protection against his detractors which he requested, and had ordered a diploma to be made out to that effect ³⁾.

That diploma, probably a formal declaration, addressed to nobody in particular, was made up in double to prevent every suspicion of forgery ; it was sent to Maximilian Transylvanus, who forwarded one copy to Erasmus, and the other, in his name, to the students of Louvain through his great friend, the Councillor Giles de Busleyden ⁴⁾. The seemingly preposterous way in which that document was brought to their knowledge, must have prepossessed the minds of the theologians ; as Erasmus related to Gattinara ⁵⁾, they no sooner had knowledge of it than, in all haste, Nicolas Coppin, the University Chancellor, and James Latomus rushed to Mechlin, to declare themselves unwilling to continue their work of inquisitors ⁶⁾, if their authority was thus broken.

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1700, 25-32 ; in another letter to Gattinara, September 3, 1526, Erasmus declares : Nullus... liber in me scribitur tam insulsus aut famosus, etiam fictis titulis, quin Latomus et Decanus conniveant, hoc pacto stolidorum hominum impudentiam ad facinus inuitantes : Allen, vi, 1747, 81-81.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1700, 32-35.

³⁾ Quæ de pensione tua quam contra detractores tuos petebas, ea tibi facillime Cæsar concessit. Cum his habebis litteras quas ob id scribi iussit : Allen, vi, 1613, 15-17 : those letters do not seem to have been preserved ; Erasmus returned thanks to Gattinara and to the Emperor on April 29, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1700, 1-3. He iterated his thanks on September 3, 1526, adding : Verum plus hic valet quorundam improbitas ac vafricies quam Cæsar's autoritas : Allen, vi, 1747, 12-15 : cp. 1690, 119, sq, 1716, 60, 1717, 14, 1747, 65, sq.

⁴⁾ Transylvanus to Erasmus, March 28, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1802, 8-13.

⁵⁾ Letter of September 3, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1747, 24-33.

⁶⁾ Letter to William Cop, August 27, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1735, 28-31 ; letter to Pirckheimer, June 6, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1717, 14-18.

The Archbishop of Palermo, Cardinal John de Carondelet ¹⁾, stood for Erasmus, whereas Josse Lauwereyns, President of the Great Council, a kind and erudite man, but a declared enemy of letters ²⁾, held for the theologians; through him an interpretation was provided which encouraged them in their obloquy rather than frightening them ³⁾. And yet the Edict was so severe and threatened with such heavy penalties that Erasmus hardly dared own that he had prompted it, and tried to spread the suggestion that he would not have had such stern measures taken in his favour ⁴⁾. Instead of silencing criticism, the Edict had made it louder and bitterer, if anything ⁵⁾. To be true, it had prevented Latomus from publishing a fourth *libellus* ⁶⁾; yet, although absent from Louvain, he instigated trouble and difficulties there. He had now been favoured with a canonry in Cambrai Cathedral, and resided there generally: still he kept animating the opposition ⁷⁾, and

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 56, c.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 74, a; Allen, v, 1299, *pr.*

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1747, 24-32; Erasmus wrote to Pirckheimer, June 6, 1526: Venit edictum Cæsaris admodum seuerum: et hoc eluserunt. Impetrarunt ab aula edicti interpretationem, hoc est irritationem. Habe<n>t Iodocum, præsidem Senatus Mechliniensis, hominem plusquam capitaliter infensum bonis litteris: Allen, vi, 1717, 14-18. To Cop he announced, August 27, 1526: Interposuerat seuerissimum ædictum Cæsar. Eo exhibitio accurrerunt Mechliniam, et impetrarunt ab aula ædicti interpretationem quæ prorsus irritabat quod Cæsar scripserat: Allen, vi, 1735, 28-31. Consequently: Cum interpretatione redeunt Louanium, et exasperati magis quam coerciti virulentiora de <Erasmus> spargunt quam antea: Allen, vi, 1747, 41-43.

⁴⁾ When writing to John Faber, about April 16, 1526, he mentions the Edict in these words: Quidam mei parum prudenter studiosi impetrarunt a Cæsare seuerum ac minax interdictum aduersus quosdam rabulas Louanienses. Atqui nulla re poterant magis in me prouocari: Allen, vi, 1690, 118-121. Most likely, his friends at Court had made the tone of the document too stringent. To Giberti he wrote, on May 21, 1526: Misit Cæsar ædictum satis minax ac seuerum, quod amici me in scio impetrauerunt: Allen, vi, 1716, 60-61.

⁵⁾ Referring to the effect of the Edict, Erasmus wrote to Gattinara, on April 29, 1526: nihil eo profectum est, nisi quod iritati crabrones acrius seuiunt: Allen, vi, 1700, 4-5: cp. 1690, 120, 1717, 15-18, 1735, 28-31, 1747, 12-15, 41-43.

⁶⁾ Allen, vi, 1747, 50-51: Apparabat quartum, idem facturum nisi Cæsaris ædictum interuenisset.

⁷⁾ Latomus Gallicæ ditionis nunquam destitit in ea Academia moliri dissidia: letter to Gattinara, September 3, 1526: Allen, vi, 1747, 17-18:

Erasmus complained to the Chancellor John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo, that he and Coppin, instead of helping him, were trying to alienate from him the benevolence of that great statesman, and were treating him more hostilely than Luther did ¹⁾. About that time, Latomus' former pupil Francis Titelmans, the Franciscan, started imitating him in his criticism of Erasmus ²⁾; whereas that animosity was also communicated to the Paris theologians Peter Sutor and Noel Beda, since, after the Edict, it was not safe any longer to come into the open in the Netherlands, as Erasmus wrote to Thomas More some time afterwards ³⁾. Summing up all the enmity and the trouble which Latomus had caused during fourteen years, he concludes that his antagonist never forgot his own material profit : *Venit ad nos famelicus et pannosus*, namely from the poverty stricken Montaigu College in Paris, to become the Father of the *Domus Pauperum Standonck* in Louvain, from 1502 to 1505 ⁴⁾. Yet staying in that same House of Standonck, he had now gathered great riches, and was looking out for miters : *contraxit amplas opes, et sperat mitras* ⁵⁾ !

also 49-52 : *decreuerat libellis suis subinde nouis in me ludere*. On August 6, 1526, Vives announced to Erasmus '*Latomum Cameraci viuere*' : Allen, vi, 1732, 43.

¹⁾ Letter of April 30, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1703, 17-21.

²⁾ On April 29, 1527, Erasmus declares to Gattinara, Allen, vii, 1815, 29, that Baechem was replaced by a Franciscan, viz., Francis Titelmans, a native of Hasselt. He had matriculated in Louvain on June 12, 1518, and studied in the *Domus Pauperum* of John Standonck, where James Latomus had a great influence on him. He promoted the first of the Masters of Arts in 1521, and soon afterwards entered the Franciscan Order of the Observants. He became professor of theology in the Louvain house of his Order by 1526, and attacked Erasmus, who wrote him an admonitory letter on May 18, 1527. A bitter controversy ensued about the *Novum Instrumentum*, which lasted to about 1530. Titelmans entered the Capuchin branch in 1536, and died at Anticoli on September 12, 1537 : Allen, vii, 1823, *pr* ; de Vocht, in *BN* (1932).

³⁾ Erasmus wrote to Thomas More, March 30, 1527, about the trouble caused to him in Louvain : *Harum omnium technarum artifex primarius est claudus ille Latomus... Ille Caesaris edicto vetitus prouinciam tradidit Bedis. Nam ex eodem nido prodiit et hic infaustus pullus* : Allen, vii, 1804, 210-219. He had already before declared to Gattinara that Latomus was Beda's instigator : September 3, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1747, 52-61.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 325.

⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1804, 219-220.

B. GATTINARA'S LETTERS

A few months later, on September 3, 1526, Erasmus, writing in his despair to Mercurino de Gattinara ¹⁾, owns that edicts, however severe, hardly help any more than the interdicts of the Roman Court. He sketches the story of the vain attempts to silence the two Louvain adversaries, who are backed by Latomus and, since some time, also by the dean of St. Peter's Chapter, Nicolas Coppin, both of whom he charges with an *odium inexpressibile* as well in *bonas litteras* as, on their account, of Erasmus, which they cannot hide, much as they try to dissemble ²⁾. He also indicates the reasons of all the trouble : according to his opinion there are three : one is his condemning the sophistic discussions of the theologians, which he would like to replace by the study of the Bible and of the writings of the Fathers ³⁾. Another is his critical judgment about what constitutes the essential part of religion, and what are only immaterial accidents : amongst which he reckons the partiality to the teachings and the

¹⁾ Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara, born in that place in 1465, married Andrietta degli Avogadri, a rich heiress, to help his family and to allow himself to study law. He became a hard-working and upright, equitable and most expert judge, who entered Margaret of Austria's service in 1502, and rose to the presidency of the Parliament of Dole in 1508. He was taken into Maximilian's service ; still although he had bought the Lordship of Chevigny with his jewels and his Piedmont estate, so as to be a real subject, he resigned on account of envy shown to him as foreigner. In July 1518, Charles took that reliable councillor as successor to the Great Chancellor John le Sauvage, and he served his Master with great ability. On August 13, 1529, after his wife's decease, he was created Cardinal ; he died at Innsbruck on June 5, 1530 : cp. Bruchet, 44-46, 59, &c ; *LPH8*, iv, 2986-88 ; Allen, iv, 1150, *pr* ; *MargvOK*, *passim*, with a series of letters from 1507 to 1508 : 337-463 ; *FG*, 357 ; Eug. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti*, II : Florence, 1840 : 55 ; Bergh, I, 104, *sq* ; DantE ; Valdes, 396, &c. — He was greatly praised for his clear-sighted protection of literature and studies and his memory was celebrated by several literators and poets : Eobanus Hessus : *DelPoGer.*, II, 1440, *sq* ; Janus Secundus : *JSecOp.*, 211 ; Nicolas Grudius : *Poemata*, 1609 : 136 ; &c. Even Protestants unanimously commended his uprightness : Seck., II, lvi, 157, b. Cp. the detailed biographies by Le Glay (Lille, 1847), G. Claretta (Turin, 1897), and C. Bornate (Novara, 1899, 1915).

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1747, 15-23.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1747, 90-95.

thoughts of an Aquinas, or a Scotus, of a Hugo or a Lyranus, with the exclusion of all others ¹⁾. Still the chief cause of the difficulties is their aversion from the studies of languages and literature, which they consider they have to ruin, so as to save their own reign and majesty. And yet, if they would kindly welcome those studies as they flourish everywhere, they would themselves gain no end of dignity from them, besides other advantages ; whereas now they incur everywhere a great odiousness on account of their endless struggles against the *politiora studia*. That odiousness they attribute to Erasmus because he has evidently greatly contributed by his works and his untiring efforts to advance them ²⁾.

As all the measures taken to liberate Erasmus from that trouble failed, since they were either too severe or too vague, he suggests that the Emperor should issue some public document or mark by which he should prove that he wants to protect and favour the right studies ; as such are suggested some kindness shown, or some privilege granted, or a token with which he should honour all the professors of languages, as well those of Spain and Tournai as those of Louvain ; further a private letter from some secretary, like John Lallemand, or Cornelius de Schepper, to the Louvain Chancellor Nicolas Coppin, which would be more efficient than any threat : for facility's sake he added even a sketch of such a letter as example ³⁾.

Immediate and full satisfaction was given to Erasmus : on February 10, 1527, Gattinara answered him from Valladolid ⁴⁾, sending him a copy of a letter which he himself wrote to the University on the same date : he advises the '*egregii viri*' for the sake of general peace and tranquillity, and for the honour of religion and of the University, to observe the Emperor's Edict, and to abstain from inveighing against Erasmus, especially since he declares to be ready to correct or explain what might seem wrong ; he reminds them that if love makes blind, hatred makes judgment even blinder ; besides, the help he gives to studies and theology, entitles the Erudite to our grateful esteem. He adds that he writes this

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1747, 96-107.

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1747, 113-144.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1747, 82-89.

⁴⁾ Allen, VI, 1785.

friendly advice, not only out of duty to his Master the Emperor, but also out of sympathy with *bonas litteras rectoraque studia*, and with the welfare of the University ¹⁾. Alonso de Valdes, Gattinara's secretary ²⁾, added to his master's letter an epistle of his own to the Alma Mater of the same purport ³⁾, and dispatched those various missives to Transsylvanus, who forwarded them to the University and to Erasmus on March 28, 1527 ⁴⁾. When they reached the latter, he had heard already of the death of his two great adversaries, Vincent Dierckx and Nicolas Baechem ⁵⁾, which Goclenius had announced, on November 12, 1526, sadly enough, as '*nostratibus studiis aliquantum quietis, sublatiis duobus in/ensissimis literarum hostibus*' ⁶⁾ !

C. THE MEANING OF THE STRUGGLE

Those letters of the Imperial Chancellor caused some consternation amongst the Louvain divines; they were suspected of being counterfeited by Erasmus, since it was easy to recognize in them his opinions and his style ⁷⁾; above all his

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1784a.

²⁾ February 12, 1527 : Valdes, 321.

³⁾ Cp. Ch. XII.

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 1802, 13-17.

⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1815, 1-10.

⁶⁾ Allen, vi, 1765, 26-62 : Dierckx died on August 4, and Baechem on August 23, 1526. Vives had announced their fatal illness in his letter to Erasmus, sent from Bruges on August 6, 1526 : *Curtius venit heri Louanio. Narrat Vincentium tuum et Gotscalcum <Rosemond> agere animam. Ecmondano multa et dira esse anginam comminatum, et comminari atrociora indies : itaque vereor ne non tollat. Tum et Latomum Cameraci viuere. Quanta ruina Academiæ, prostratis tot et talibus columnis !* Allen, vi, 1732, 40-44. On February 10, 1527, Mercurino de Gattinara had heard of the decease of Baechem and Dierckx, and mentioned it to Erasmus, to which the latter replied on April 29, 1527 : Allen, vi, 1785, 27-30, vii, 1815, 4-10. Goclenius relates that the *confratres* suspected Baechem to have been poisoned by the Lutherans of Hertogenbosch; when a *cordatior chirurgus* requested what reason they had to think so, they answered that they had no other except the hatred some bore him. To which the physician replied : Mind that they do not suspect you : for you had every facility to make him take aconite, and '*nullis fuit peræque inuisus quam vobis*' : Allen, vi, 1765, 32-50.

⁷⁾ Gattinara had, indeed, inserted almost verbally the wording suggested by Erasmus in his letter of September 3, 1526 (Allen, vi, 1747, 122-144), into his own of <February 10> 1527 : Allen, vi, 1784a, 24-48.

adversaries asserted that neither Pope, nor Emperor, nor any of his high officials, had ever read the books rightly censured by theologians, who experienced every day what harm they did to young students ¹⁾. Still they durst not oppose the wish of authority, which had been made known to them so emphatically. On October 25, 1527 Transsylvanus wrote to his colleague Alonso de Valdes that the Louvain theologians had started behaving more modestly from the day the letters reached them ; they only talk rarely and soberly about Erasmus, and they have stopped attacking the *bonas literas* publicly as they had done hitherto. We are not, he added, as fortunate as you are, though ; for you have there in Spain many, and most distinguished, friends amongst the divines, whilst here they are Erasmus' enemies without exception ²⁾.

That Erasmus had only enemies amongst the divines, is an assertion which can hardly be materialized : some members of the Faculty are never mentioned in the strife — thus, for the list given on September 30, 1525, after Dorp's decease ³⁾, John Driedo, William of Vianen, Antony Crabbe, Godschalk Rosemondt and Ruard Tapper ⁴⁾ ; moreover there were amongst the graduates staunch friends like Peter de Corte and Gerard Morinck, not to mention John Leonardi of Hasselt ⁵⁾. Nor could the vehement members, like Latomus and Baechem, carry in the Faculty their motion against the employing and reading of Erasmus' books on April 1, 1524 ⁶⁾. That Erasmus had more friends amongst the Spanish theologians, is no doubt owing to the fact that, in their country, the question of Luther's influence had by far not the paramount importance it had in the Netherlands, where the most frequent and

¹⁾ That was announced to Erasmus by Martin Lipsius, June 17, 1527, who complained of the attacks of two of his fellow-friars, Nicolas van Winghe and his supprior Rochus Heyme : Allen, VII, 1837, 15-41 ; *Mon-HL*, 559-561.

²⁾ Valdes, 344. It follows that the divines did not cease their attacks at once, as Goclenius presumed : Allen, VII, 1899, 85-99, but only later, at the favourable turn things were taking for Erasmus' friends in Spain, of which the official sanction was given by Imperial authority only on December 13, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1873, 1920 ; *EraSpain*, 288-298, on account of Charles V's personal interference.

³⁾ May 31, 1525 : cp. before, pp 258, 263.

⁴⁾ Cp. de Jongh, *51, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 218.

⁶⁾ Cp. de Jongh, '49 ; and before, p 257.

various connections with the neighbouring Rhineland exposed the population to the imminent danger of contamination. For Spanish divines Erasmus was the herald of sound study, of the refined culture of languages and literature, and of a spirit of true faith and upright morals ¹⁾, of which the want had been acutely felt in the Church since the days of Peter d'Ailly and John Gerson, of Nicolas de Clamanges and the Cardinal de Cusa ²⁾. No wonder that he was hailed in the Peninsula, where Lutheranism found only very few sporadic adepts in a few towns after 1530 ³⁾. On the contrary, the theologians of the Netherlands considered it their duty to protect the population exposed on all sides to the contagion of the new creed, which, unfortunately, they mixed up with renewal of studies, in so far that they considered languages and literature as inseparably connected with heresy as its necessary cause. To that conclusion they were led by a natural mistrust of what is unknown, of what is different from the old tradition, of what urgently requires the trouble of making the acquaintance of strange things, and sacrificing the ease and the various advantages of routine. That mistrust was not peculiar to Louvain : it had kindled twenty years before, in Cologne, the vehement contest between 'divines' and 'poets' (as humanists were called), from 1506, about Ravenna and, from 1509, about Reuchlin, which, as time went on, intensified and became a general conflagration throughout Western Germany ⁴⁾ : it explains the spite and the hatred which was poured out by Rubeanus, Gerbel, Herman von dem Busche and especially by Hutten, in the virulent pamphlets which branded the Rhine University for ever ⁵⁾. In Oxford the studies of languages, recently inaugurated ⁶⁾, were bitterly criticised, not only by the students who called themselves *Trojans* in their hatred of Greek and of *Grecians*, but by several members of Colleges and Orders : the sermons of Lent 1518, at St. Mary's,

¹⁾ Cp. Altamira, 435, sq.

²⁾ Ailli, 7, 256, sq, 290, sq ; Brom, 1, 53-56 ; Mourret, chs. iv, v ; &c.

³⁾ *SeviVal.*, 9-17, 20, 92-93 ; *EraSpain.*, 123, sq (the controversy with James Lopez Stunica, Zuñiga, began in 1521).

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 418-23.

⁵⁾ Cp. *UniKöln*, 192-93, 195-96 ; *Hutten*, 161-90 ; Merker, 238, sq, 289, sq ; Brecht, 44, sq.

⁶⁾ Viz., in Corpus Christi College, in 1518 ; cp. before, pp 42-43.

became as the official expression of that spirit, which not only styled Greek as a source of heresy, but called even the teachers of that language *diabolos maximos*, and their pupils, *diabolos minutulos*¹⁾. As the Court happened to be on progress at Abingdon, in the near vicinity, the rumour of those excesses reached the King, who caused More to write the remonstrating letter of March 29, 1518, to the academical authorities, vindicating the necessity of studying languages against some theologians²⁾. Several years later, when the 'Collège de France' was started, the same contest between languages and theology broke out : the Faculty of Divinity and some of the most influential members of Paris University³⁾ considered the new school as a danger for the faith, as Clement Marot wrote to its Founder, King Francis :

l'ignorante Sorbonne

Bien ignorante elle est d'estre ennemye
De la trilingue et noble Académie
Qu'as erigée. Il est tout manifeste
Que là dedans, contre ton veuil celeste,
Est défendu qu'on ne voyse allegant
Hebrieu ni Grec, ni Latin elegant,
Disant que c'est language d'heretiques.
O povres gens, de sçavoir tout ethiques,
Bien faictes vray ce proverbe courant :
' Science n'a haineux que l'ignorant ' ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ P. S. Allen, *The Early Corpus Readerships* : Oxford, 1905 : 2 ; William Tyndale described the Trojans : 'the barking curs, Dun's disciples, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin and Hebrew' : *Wolsey*, 145 ; *VivAng.*, 56, *sq* ; *ErasInvl.*, 14 ; cp. the opinions of the early Anglicans about Greek and Greek teaching : Gough, 360.

²⁾ Stapleton, 55-57 ; *ErasJort.*, II, *app.* VIII, XII ; Seeböhm, 458-59 ; *ErasFroud.*, 148-50 ; MoreE, 111-20 ; Allen, III, 948, 185-219. — More had already made a plea for Greek Studies in October 1515, in his letter to Dorp : *MoreLuc.*, 413-17 ; *Cran.*, 213, *c.*

³⁾ On June 29, 1535, the first professor of Latin, Bartholomew Latomus, wrote to Erasmus : Non... credere potes quantum oneris sustineam. Male habet primarios aliquot collegiorum quod Latina professio publice instituta sit. &c. Erasmus replied, August 24, mentioning difficulties caused to the *Trilingue* of Louvain and to the School of Languages of Tournai : Allen, XI, 3029, 29-36, 3048, 25-37.

⁴⁾ Lefranc, 110 : Marot wrote those lines, in 1535, as an exile at Ferrara.

It thus appears that to short-sighted minds novelties in style and study appeared quite as dangerous as novelties in faith and religious practice, and, opposing the latter, they were naturally brought to attack the former. No doubt, the service which the Louvain divines had rendered by starting the struggle against Luther, had made them somewhat overconfident : they were regularly praised by all the orthodox, and the criticism which they received from the hands of their opponents, was not taken as their least honour ¹). Very recently, on March 15, 1525, the Datary J. M. Giberti, Bishop of Verona, acknowledging a letter of thanks from the Rector and the University, declared that the Privilege of the Nominations which had been granted to them, was merely a '*debitum*'... '*non solum famæ et nomini, sed curis et laboribus aduersum impios Lutheranos*'... ²). The divines, consequently, felt entitled to oppose by might and main the great protagonist of the new study of languages and of literature, Erasmus, especially as they suspected him of at least a partiality to Luther. That partiality was in no way an approval of his doctrine, — with, of course, the exception of the correcting of ill uses in the Church, which even Adrian VI owned to in his *Instructio* to Francis Chieregati, whom he sent as Nuncio to the German Diet on November 25, 1522 ³). It was rather an attempt at bringing the Wittenberg Monk back to obedience by kindness and prudent justice, rather than by an exasperating and hurried condemnation, which Erasmus, with his experience and thorough knowledge of things as they were in Germany, foresaw as going to lead unavoidably to the separation of a whole nation from Rome ⁴). He was not the only one who, even a few months after the condemnation, still tried to save

¹) Cp. e. g., *MeleCle.*, 89, 96; *CorpCath.*, III, 17, XIV, 13, 60; Enders, II, 362, 375, 387, sq, 410, III, 10, 98, &c; *EckDed.*, 30-31, 41; &c.

²) Cp. de Jongh, 256-257. Strangely enough, the favour for which the Rector and the University had thanked Giberti, was the granting of the confirmation of the extended Privilege of the Nominations of the Faculty of Arts, which was due to Erasmus' intervention for the Faculty and his friend Nicolas Wary of Marville : cp. pp 64, 137, and Ch. XI.

³) *AdriBurm.*, 375-380; *AdriReus.*, xliii; *AdriHöf.*, 248-49.

⁴) A study about Erasmus' efforts in that direction, 1519-1521, in which he was chiefly hampered by Aleander, is preparing by means of a full supply of documents.

Germany that way from the impending ruin ¹⁾). Unfortunately the most important task of deciding that ominous question was entrusted to a Legate who was only a mere cleric, skilful, to be true, as secretary and as Hellenist, but extraordinarily vain and self-sufficient, besides lacking a sound theological formation, as well as the knowledge of the appalling dangers of the situation, Jerome Aleander ²⁾). He only made bonfires of Luther's books in various places, in reply to which Leo X's bull was burned at Wittenberg. Moreover Aleander, as a diversion for the consciousness of the failure of his legateship, which grew upon him, waged a merciless underhand war with Erasmus, who used to be his friend and protector, and whom he now hated, conscious as he was that the Humanist knew of his accesses of anger, which impaired his health, as well as of the unavowably corrupt life that he had led, and that he was still leading, as results from some of the Greek notes he jotted down in his *Journal*, which rise as ominous accusatory witnesses from the centuries of oblivion ³⁾). No less crushing is the posthumous evidence in the reports of his mission to the Papal Vice-Chancellor, from January 7 to October 27, 1521 ⁴⁾, in which Erasmus is almost as much objected to as the Wittenberg Monk ⁵⁾ : he is continually charged with being worse than Luther, and made into *colluiche ha putrefatto tutta questa Fiandra* ⁶⁾). It went so far that Pope Leo X remonstrated against that perpetual accusing ⁷⁾, and that Erasmus himself on September 2, 1524, vehemently protested against that incessant obloquy, hurling these words at Aleander : *Esto liberum cuique suum de me iudicium, modo me patiantur esse orthodoxum !* ⁸⁾

The Louvain divines were most welcome allies to Aleander in his struggle against Erasmus, and he did not fail encouraging them. That approval from a man who had taught Greek in Paris, made them more vehement in their assault on the

¹⁾ E. g., the Emperor's confessor John Glapion, and John Faber, Prior of the Augsburg Dominican convent and Vicar-General of his Order for Upper Germany ; cp. Ranke, I, 349.

²⁾ A full study of Aleander's life and legateship will be as a material element of the work indicated in note ⁴ of page 293.

³⁾ Cp. *AléaJour.*, 42, 51, 101-2 ; *AleaE*, 131, 176-78 ; *AléaLiège*, 186-87.

⁴⁾ *BalaRef.*, 22-297.

⁵⁾ *BalaRef.*, xv-xx.

⁶⁾ *BalaRef.*, 262.

⁷⁾ *BalaRef.*, 100.

⁸⁾ Allen, v, 1482, 60-61.

study of languages and literature ; as they were, moreover, confirmed in their suspicions about the connection of the Humanist with Luther, which Aleander considered as a certainty, they were not slow in using against the protector of the *Trilingue* the cruel weapon of associating his name in their sermons and their lectures with that of the Wittenberg Monk¹⁾. Even when Clement VII ordered his Datary to silence Dierckx and Baechem, they found in Aleander's friend Hezius a most welcome helper against Erasmus²⁾ : to be true, he meanwhile had attacked Luther by his *De Libero Arbitrio*³⁾ ; yet he was still the object of their animosity as the great protector of literature and languages, and as the author of the growing series of *Colloquia*⁴⁾.

The decease at three weeks' distance of the two chief opponents⁵⁾, which Gattinara considered as a favour from Heaven⁶⁾, inaugurated the period of quiet forbearance if not of general appreciation of the *Trilingue*, which was evidently due to the fact that the *literarum hostes* saw that their attacks and difficulties had been the very cause of the unlooked-for result, the Emperor's decisive protection⁷⁾. That result was certainly helped by the circumstance that even the enemies, except the obstinate and short-sighted ones, realized that the *Trilingue*, which was feared to have been founded for the promoting of a spirit of reform in divinity and in religion⁸⁾, so as to be almost as a perpetual threat for the University and the Church, proved to aim merely at the most beneficent

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 253-54.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 269-77.

³⁾ The *Apologia de Libero Arbitrio* was finished by February 1524, and printed first by J. Froben in Sept. following : Allen, v, 1419, *pr*.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 255, *sq*.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 289.

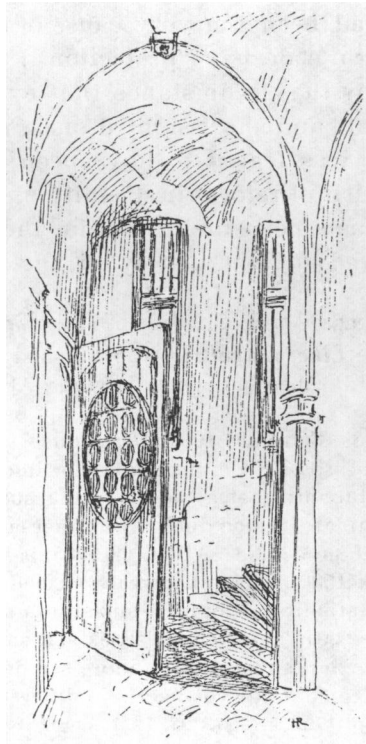
⁶⁾ Letter to Erasmus, February 10, 1527 : gaudeo tibi accidisse quod sæpius iam mihi contigit. Vidi enim quam plurimos qui me pertinacissimis odiis insectabantur, et a Cæsaris aula sublatum cupiebant, ipsos prius e viuis sublato. Quod duobus ex aduersariis tuis contigisse audio. Sic Deus suis fauere solet : Allen, vi, 1785, 26-30.

⁷⁾ On December 10, 1526, Goclenius wrote : Quod nuper diuinabam futurum, fore vt sublatis literarum hostibus studia nostra hic quietius haberent, id hactenus satis nobis successit ex sententia : tametsi haudquaquam arbitror hoc fieri superstitum fauore sed desperatione potius, omni conatu frustra consumpto vel magis in diuersum recidente, &c : Allen, vi, 1768, 1-7 : cp. 1763, 122-124, vii, 1821, 16-20.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, vii.

teaching of useful languages and ennobling literature. President Stercke and his successor Wary, as most universally esteemed *cives academici*, inspired confidence in an Institute that had weathered many terrible storms : so did the professors ; above all the attractive personality of Goclenius had a beneficent influence : during the twenty years of his career, he did not experience even a shadow of trouble from the University, or of any of her members ¹⁾ : he placed himself most readily at her disposal as procurator or dean of the Faculty of Arts, or as member of the Academical Senate ²⁾, and greatly contributed to create about the *Trilingue* the calm and peaceful atmosphere, which was more beneficial to her prosperity than the most peremptory decree.

¹⁾ Evidently wrong is the statement by Altmeyer, I, 324, 326, repeated by Pirenne, III, 309, that Goclenius and Rescius were constantly suffering from the antipathy of their colleagues. ²⁾ Cp. before, p 245.



The
Wendelsteen
(pp 48, sq)

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
Ground-plan of the <i>Trilingue</i>	pp 46
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	50
Ormendael and neighbourhood	58
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	94
Nicolas Cannius	139
Corridor leading to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	224
<i>Wendelsteen</i>	296
Entrance to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	386
Door-way to Lecture Room	515
The Founder's Crest and Device	637

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

On p 85, nn, l 1,	please read	1560	instead of	1540
» 92, n 5, l 1,	» »	ortum	» »	ortium
» 137, l 7,	» »	messages ⁴⁾ .	» »	messages.
» 166, n 4,	add : Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.			
» 166, nn, last l but one,	read	⁵⁾	instead of	⁶⁾
» 269, l 18,	»	1530	» »	1529
» 323, l 12,	»	B	» »	E
» 358, n 6, l 7,	»	<i>PolE</i> Fr	» »	PolE
» 359, n 6, l 1,	»	Wotton	» »	Wotten
» 403, l 1,	»	dus,	» »	dus ⁷⁾ ,
» 517, l 27,	»	Thomas	» »	William
» 636, l 16, & n 6, l 3,	»	Josse	» »	John

CHAPTER XI

WARY'S PRESIDENCY

I. HOME AFFAIRS

1. THE NEW PRESIDENT

A. STERCKE'S DEMISSION

In the midst of the struggle against the three Louvain divines, which was the more painful to Erasmus as his adversaries, disregarding all, tended their energies towards this only object, arranging things so that the least possible fruit of his toilsome work should reach the studious ¹⁾, his old friend John Stercke resigned the presidency of the *Trilingue*. No doubt, the responsibility and the care for the ever growing Institute was telling on the man, who had continued his studies, and still evinced a keen interest in what was going on in the Christian world ²⁾. As he was advancing in

¹⁾ Letter to Thomas More, Antwerp, May 2, 1520 : Verum admiror quorundam dementia, qui posthabitis rebus omnibus vnum illud deuotis animis agunt, vt quam minimum fructus e meis vigiliis ad studiosos perueniat : Allen, iv, 1097, 34-36.

²⁾ It appears that he kept a regular correspondence with his old student of the Falcon, Albert Pigge, Pighius (cp. before, I, 14, sq and p 268), whom Adrian VI had invited to Rome and the *Curia* : *Adri-Burm.*, 138 ; Pastor, iv, ii, 83. In Geldenhouwer's *Collectanea* there is the copy of the rather long postscript to one of the letters which the Papal Secretary sent to his old master, probably in December 1522. That letter, which seems lost, was finished and sealed when he got the text of a report sent to Adrian VI from Prague, on November 23, 1522, by the Nuncio Thomas Nigro, Negro, Bishop of Scardona (Pastor, iv, ii, 109), of a victory recently gained over the Turks by the Vaivod of Transylvania, which he copies, and to which he adds that, on the same day, the Pope heard of a marked advantage obtained by the defenders

years, and as the College had now taken its decisive swing towards prosperity, he, no doubt, preferred to leave the direction of the organization, enlarging day by day, to younger energies. On January 21, 1526, he passed the management into the hands of his friend Nicolas Wary of Marville, who had been appointed by the executors of the Founder's will, probably on his recommendation. He had been living in the College since October 18, 1525, partly at his own expense ¹⁾, in order to get fully acquainted with the particulars of his new work. John Stercke rendered his account for the last year of his presidency, and handed over the balance to his successor, at a meeting with the executors in Brussels on January 23, 1526 ²⁾.

Stercke's resigning was not a leave-taking. He remained the great friend and protector of the College, to whose welfare he had devoted his best energies. He is recorded in several instances as a wise adviser ; against all expectations, he acted as the executor of Nicolas Wary in 1530 ³⁾, and was ready to assist his successor, to whom he even lent some money for the enlarging of the building ⁴⁾. The Institute owed much of its vitality and prosperity to the sagacity, the straightforwardness and the pacific character, to the humble and patient devotion, and to all the virtues of the man who, in his well-earned leisure, still accepted to act as Dean of the Faculty of Arts ⁵⁾ and to attend all the meetings of the trustees of the *Trilingue* until he entered the rest of the Lord, on April 5, 1535 ⁶⁾.

of Rhodes over their assailants. He also announced that, since he came to Rome, subsidies had been dispatched to the King of Hungary and to the Master of Rhodes by Adrian VI, who, unfortunately, had found very little money, but most heavy debts left by Leo X in, what he called, the 'siège plein de misère' : *GeldColl.*, 75-77 ; Pastor, iv, ii, 109, sq.

¹⁾ Nicolas Wary marked in his own first account : Ontvangen voir den montcoste van den voirs. m. claes van Maruille doe der voirs. Collegie naest comende president vanden diel jaers beginnende den xvijte Octobris aº xv C xxv jncluyt ende termineerende den xxjen Januarij daerna... vj Rgs : *AccMarvI*, 2, v.

²⁾ *AccMarvI*, 1, r : the balance amounted to 274 Rg 9 st 8 oorten.

³⁾ *AccHoevI*, 50, v, 51, r.

⁴⁾ *ManHoev.*, 1, r.

⁵⁾ *LibNomI*, 225, v, 237, v.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII ; *SweMon.*, 225-26.

B. NICOLAS WARY OF MARVILLE

His successor Nicolas Wary, or Warry, was a native of Marville, near Longwy ¹⁾, the place from where Jerome de Busleyden's mother was originary, which makes it most probable that the young man, who in after life often officiated as his scribe and private secretary ²⁾, owed to that Prelate the benefit of his training in Louvain ³⁾. He matriculated there as poor student of the Falcon on August 30, 1508 ⁴⁾. On April 1, 1511, he promoted Master of Arts ⁵⁾, being classed the fourth of 148 competitors ⁶⁾. He afterwards started the study of theology, in which science he became Bachelor about 1517, having taught meanwhile Aristotle's logic and physics in his Pedagogy ⁷⁾. He was nominated to vacancies to be collated by several ecclesiastical authorities between 1515 and 1527 ⁸⁾, and filled repeatedly some of the elective offices in the Faculty of Arts (1515-1528) ⁹⁾, of which he was one of

¹⁾ A town in the old duchy of Luxemburg : Guicc., 294 ; Busl., 3, sq, 92 ; and I, 47.

²⁾ Nicolas Wary is mentioned in van Vessem's account for various services rendered to Busleyden, copying documents and writing out his will : Jtem betaelt m̄r claes van meruille voer diuerse diensten den testateur gedaen jn diuerse scriftueren ende oick zyn testament te scrijuen ende anderssins bij gemeinen accordt v phs g vz. vj £ v s : Rek., 35, c.

³⁾ The same favour was apparently granted to another Nicolas of Marville, possibly a nephew, who resided as an inmate in the College — no doubt a bursar — for about ten years : cp. before, p 70 ; OlaE, 188.

⁴⁾ Nycolaus de warrity de maruilla, Treuir. dioc. : *Excerpts*, 95.

⁵⁾ He became Bachelor of Arts on January 26, 1510, Licentiate on January 28, 1511 : *ActArtV*, 286, r, 291, r, 308, r, 311, v, 312, v.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 69.

⁷⁾ *LibNomI*, 135, r, 159, v.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 141, p : Wary was appointed to the first vacancies at the disposal of the following collators : the Abbot of Our Lady's, Namur, April 27, 1515 ; the Provost of St. Peter's, Seclin, November 7, 1517 ; the Abbess of St. Gertrude's, Nivelles, December 3, 1519, and June 28, 1520 ; the Chapter of Our Lady's, Cambrai, March 22, 1526, and the Abbot of St. Amand's in Pabula, August 3, 1527 : *LibNomI*, 74, r, 135, r, 154, r, 159, r, 199, r, v, 204, r.

⁹⁾ He was elected dean on September 30, 1517 and 1525, June 1, 1520 ; receiver on June 23, 1521, and procurator of the 'Natio Gallica' on February 1, 1515, 1518, 1521 and 1526, May 30, 1517 and 1528, September 30, 1518, 1519, and 1527 : *LibNomI*, 69, v, 122, r, 136, r, 140, v, 151, v, 153, v, 158, r, 163, v, 166, r, 197, v, 198, r, 204, v, 206, v.

the most influential members. He was even entrusted by his colleagues at the meeting of June 2, 1522, with the highly important mission to act as their agent in Rome for the confirmation and the extension of the Privilege of Nominations, which had been granted to them on September 19, 1513 by Leo X, but had been contested and disparaged by most of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the country, and even by some of the Faculties in the very University ¹⁾.

Wary was successful in his mission with Adrian VI, whose right by nomination to a vacancy at the collation of the Bishop of Liège ²⁾ had been opposed : he thus knew by proper experience the rightful aspirations, as well as the difficulties and trouble caused by malevolent collators to the poor Louvain scholars. Unfortunately he died before the bull, interpreting and extending Leo X's Privilege, was made up. Under his successor Clement VII, the adversaries of the Faculty, amongst whom were the powerful Cardinal van Enckenvoirt ³⁾ and especially Aleander ⁴⁾, acting, both of them, on behalf of the insatiable Bishop of Liège, first endangered the granting of the bull, and afterwards kept it back ; it was even going to be renounced at the insistent request of Margaret of Austria ⁵⁾, if help had not come from Erasmus, to whom Wary had applied ⁶⁾. In his letter to the Datary, John Matthew Giberti, September 2, 1524, the Humanist pleaded the deserts of the Faculty, and represented the odiousness of revoking what the kindness of the predecessors had granted ; especially since those who opposed it, acted merely on their private dislikings and for their own interests, and were doing a great harm to the name and the prestige of the Pope ⁷⁾. Giberti replied to that letter on October 19, 1524, announcing that the Privilege had been granted in consideration of the fame of

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 141, *a-d*.

²⁾ That nomination had been granted on Aug. 9, 1515 : *LibNomI*, 85, *v*.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 141, *f*, *k-o*.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 141, *e, f* ; *AléaLiège*, 256 : letter of Aleander announcing to de la Marck that he had succeeded in making Clement VII keep back the bull obtained by Wary : April 26, 1524.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 141, *f*.

⁶⁾ Allen, v, 1481, 44.

⁷⁾ Allen, v, 1481, 44-56 ; *Cran.*, 141, *g-q* ; cp. further, pp 304, *sq*, for the letter to Goclenius, wrongly dated Louvain, October 15, 1517, or 1527 (by Allen).

the University and of Erasmus, notwithstanding the number and the quality of the opponents; he regretted that the Louvain *procuratores* had not at once imparted the news of that pleasing result, and of the Pope's and of his own excellent disposition ¹).

C. HIS MISSION IN ROME

To that incident in the struggle of the Faculty of Arts for her *Privilegium Nominationum* apparently refers part of a puzzling letter of Erasmus to Conrad Goclenius, dated 'Louanii, Id. Octobr. Anno c I o I o xxvii', edited for the first time in *Magni D. Erasmi Roterodami Vita*, by P. Scriverius and others, printed in Leyden, 1607 ²). As Erasmus had long left Louvain in 1527, the editor of the Leyden *Opera Omnia*, changed the year-date into 1517 ³). That evident mistake in the place date ⁴) makes it even doubtful whether that of the month and the year is exact: Allen, in his *Opus Epistolarum*, replaces the letter in 1527. To be true, several items correspond with those in Goclenius' letter of November 7, 1527 ⁵), namely the mention of a collated copy of St. Augustine's *de Trinitate* ⁶) which a 'Nicolas' should have brought; of the projected edition of Terentius, which Frobenius contemplated printing ⁷); and of Dilft's stay with Erasmus ⁸). Still those references do not seem to correspond exactly in the two epistles: thus Erasmus writes about Dilft as if it were the first time that he met him; he even discusses Goclenius' judgment about his ability, whereas by his letter of August 18, 1527, which necessarily precedes, Goclenius does not introduce a stranger, but one who had already enjoyed to such extent Erasmus' company that he wanted to come back

¹) Allen, v, 1509, 14-40 (that letter reached Erasmus after November 26, 1524: Allen, v, 1519, 9, 1530, 4-5); *AléaLiège*, 300.

²) *Era Vita*, 196-198; Allen, vii, 1890.

³) EE, 267, E-268, B.

⁴) There was no need for Erasmus to write to Goclenius living with him in the same town; there is no proof even that Erasmus knew him at that time.

⁵) Allen, vii, 1899.

⁶) Allen, vii, 1890, 9-10, 27-28, 1899, 13-26.

⁷) Allen, vii, 1890, 26-27, 1899, 27, sq.

⁸) Allen, vii, 1890, 14-18, 22-25, 1899, 57-66.

at all events, and could not be dissuaded *quin ad te* <Erasmus> *reuerteretur*; one, who had so much profited by his former stays, that his acquaintances, not only appreciated the sedate gravity he had acquired, but hoped that he soon would become *most* erudite, *most* modest and *most* judicious from erudite, moderate and prudent, as he had come back from Basle ¹⁾. That description of the young man in August 1527, sounds strangely different compared with Erasmus' statement that he feels vexed at those who had tried to turn 'tam generosam indolem ad nugas', and, that he would not refrain from giving him good advice especially about his future preceptor : for (on October 15) Dilft is said to contemplate *συνολογῆν τῷ Καρπίνῳ* ²⁾, Louis Carinus, of whose teaching Erasmus quite disapproves ³⁾. Yet, on August 18, Goclenius certifies that the same Dilft is burning with desire to go and live with Erasmus, and enjoy his direction of his studies ⁴⁾; and two months later, on November 7, he mentions that the young man intends starting on a long journey, — namely to Spain, — and has promised to make himself worthy of his master's recommendation by his faith and gratitude to the great Scholar ⁵⁾. Those contradictory statements urgently require a certain amount of time between the letter of October 15, when Dilft is uncertain, wavering, without definite aim, and those of August 18 and November 7, which represent him as a decided admirer of Erasmus, from whom he wants to learn both literature and the way to make his journey to Spain a lasting success ⁶⁾.

The mention of the *Augustini libros de Trinitate apud Dorpium collatos*, as well as Froben's having started printing the *Opera* of the great Bishop of Hippone : '*Iam... feruent quatuor præla, quibus fortassis accedit vnum aut alterum*' ⁷⁾ does not necessarily imply the year 1527, when, in fact, the printing was in full swing; for the publishing of those *Opera* had been started a long time before, although it was perhaps put aside for more pressing matter, now and then. Certain it is that the printing was announced as early as October 15, 1520

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1857, 1-12.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 171-72.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 58-66.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1890, 10-12, VI, 1778, 22.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1890, 17-18, 23-25.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1857, 3-7, 23-26.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 171-72.

to Francesco Chiericati ¹⁾, and the publishing was already expected on March 18, 1523, by Herman Lethmaat ²⁾. By 1524, undoubtedly Froben's men were working at it : on July 26 of that year, Erasmus wants Lips to send his annotations to Basle ³⁾, and on December 27 following, he announces to Vives that the slow sale of his *Civitas Dei* ⁴⁾ compels him to edit the complete *Opera* ⁵⁾. On February 11, 1525, he expresses his surprise to Lips that neither the *Doctrina Christiana*, nor the *Genesis* corrected by him, have been received, and that Dorp does not dispatch the text of *De Trinitate*, which he had compared with that of the Gembloux manuscript in the Humanist's own copy ⁶⁾. Considering those repeated references, it gives little wonder that Vives is surprised on September 20, 1525 at the announcement of the engrossing activity towards that edition ⁷⁾, of which, nearly two years later, John de Fevyn heard from Erasmus' amanuensis Nicolas Canne, that, after having been put aside a long while, it was going to be taken in hand again very soon, as he wrote to Cranevelt, on July 21, 1527 ⁸⁾. Therefore it looks quite consistent that Erasmus, in October 1524, asked Goclenius for the *de Trinitate* collated by Martin van Dorp, — whose mention in the letter : 'libros... apud Dorpium collatos', does not at all appear as a reference to a man who died two years before ⁹⁾. At any rate the copy of *De Trinitate* was still in Dorp's possession on May 31, 1525, the day of his death, and as his theological books had been bequeathed to the Louvain Carthusians, Goclenius, at Erasmus' request, was

¹⁾ Allen, iv, 1144, 71-72 : the letter is dated *Idibus Septembris* ; still as it refers to the publication of the bull *Exsurge, Domine*, on which occasion Baechem joined the name of Erasmus to that of Luther, it has to be dated *after* October 7, when that proclamation took place : de Jongh, 230.

²⁾ Ent., 25 ; Allen, v, 1350, 1-3 ; *LatCont.*, 390 ; the history of that edition is sketched in the preface to Allen, v, 1309 : cp. iii, 844, 255.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1473, 5-7 ; some had reached Erasmus by February 1525, others had not : Allen, vi, 1547, 1, sq ; on January 26, 1525, Lips complained to a friend of the heavy work of correcting St. Augustine : LipsE, 767.

⁴⁾ Published in 1522 : Allen, v, 1309.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1531, 45-46.

⁶⁾ Allen, vi, 1547, 1-14 ; LipsE, 772.

⁷⁾ Allen, vi, 1613, 9-11.

⁸⁾ *Cran.*, 243, 85.

⁹⁾ Allen, vii, 1890, 10.

to secure them at all costs, in which the Regent of the Lily, Peter de Corte, one of the executors, supplied a most welcome help, as results from the letter of November 7, 1527 ¹⁾. Another piece of information supplied is the identification of the Nicolas who should have brought St. Augustine's text, with Nicolas Canne, who then entered Erasmus' service, in which he stayed five years and some months ²⁾.

Still, the by far most important passage in the letter of October 15, is that which refers to a letter which Erasmus sent by 'Froben' to Nicolas Wary of Marville : *Per Frobenium tantum scripsi Maruillano, Præsidi vestræ sodalitatatis, quod propemodum Quirinus decreuerat in miseros suos* ³⁾. In the supposition that the letter belongs to 1527, that sentence is supposed to refer to the dedication of St. John Chrysostom's *De Babyla Martyre*, dated August 14, 1527, which Froben had taken to the September Fair in Frankfurt ⁴⁾, and to which Erasmus did not join any other messages for Louvain, 'since Quirinus <i. e. Talesius, his amanuensis,> almost had decided in favour of his miserable ones', — which should mean that he contemplated returning to his native country ⁵⁾. Instead of that apparently absurd piece of news, or, at the most, a thinly veiled excuse for not writing, and of mentioning an amanuensis who is not named in the correspondence before February 20, 1528, when he was sent with a letter to Richard Pace, in England ⁶⁾, there is, if placing the letter in 1524, a far more important sense. It becomes a most important reference to Nicolas Wary who, in that year, was in Rome to see to the interests of the Faculty of Arts, whose Privilege of Nominations had been denounced to the Pope by several

¹⁾ Allen, vii, 1899, 20-26 : Goclenius mentions that some of the notes were written by Dorp's servant James Rommers, *Rommerus*.

²⁾ Allen, 1890, 9 ; cp. before, p 140.

³⁾ Allen, 1890, 7-8.

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 1856.

⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1890, 8 : Allen, explains *decreuerat*, sc. *redire* ; *in miseros suos*, is according to him, 'a jesting description for Dutchmen', and he refers to iv, 996, 43, n, 1238, 45, n, where, however, only the popular taunt or the customary addictedness to eating is mentioned, against which Erasmus protests in a letter to Botzheim, December 25, 1522 : Allen, v, 1331, 36-37.

⁶⁾ Allen, vii, 1955, 5 ; *LatCont.*, 378.

of the powerful collators of benefices in the country, foremost of them the Bishop of Liège, who had influenced Margaret of Austria in so far that she frightened the Faculties of Law and Medicine into opposing the request of the Arts¹⁾, and made the latter desist from soliciting in Rome the approval of Adrian's favour²⁾).

From some of his friends in the *Curia*, Erasmus had learned how Aleander, with the Cardinal van Enckenvoirt and others, were doing their best to dispose Clement VII against enlarging, or even acknowledging, the Privilege of the University, which they represented as in opposition with the welfare of the country³⁾; of that scheming, he probably warned Wary through his friend the Bishop of Veroli, Ennio Filonardi⁴⁾, — whose name was apparently mistaken in this letter for 'Frobenius'. At any rate, it is a fact that, on September 2, 1524, Erasmus wrote through Bishop Ennio Filonardi, then residing in Switzerland⁵⁾, to his friend John Matthew Giberti, the Datary, to make him aware of the injustice which was going to be done in the Pope's name to the *Academia Louaniensis*: he refers to a letter from Wary mentioning Clement's estrangement from the Brabant University⁶⁾, which is, no doubt, but a means to cover his informant: it is only natural that one or other of his devoted favourers should have advised him of Aleander's intrigue, which was all but successful in April 1524⁷⁾. Fortunately, Erasmus' influence on the Datary

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 141, e, f; *ActArtInd.*, 24.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 141, f; *FUL*, 4691; in September 1524, the Arts sent to Wary in Rome the necessary money to pay all expenses, no doubt intending to close all entreaties by a complete submission to Margaret.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 141, e, f.

⁴⁾ *Allen*, v, 1282, *pr.*

⁵⁾ *Allen*, v, 1481, 1; Filonardi was residing as papal agent at Constance in Switzerland in 1523-24, and was thus in a position to help Erasmus when corresponding with his friends in Rome. As it looked strange for a Bishop to be a conveyer of a letter, the editors of this 'puzzling epistle', considered that his name was a mistake for 'Frobenius', who occasionally carried messages to the Frankfurt Fair.

⁶⁾ *Allen*, v, 1481, 44-56.

⁷⁾ On April 26, 1524, Aleander announced to Erard de la Marck that hearing how the *Lovanienses* were going to get Clement's signature, he at once applied to the Pope, on whom he could prevail to order the Datary to stop the expedition: *AléaLiège*, 256.

was such that the efforts of Erard's agent were foiled, and that the 'Great Roman', *Quirinus*, Clement VII, did not decide on what he *propemodum... decreuerat in miseros suos*, viz., of *Marvillanus*, namely the poor helpless, destitute scholars and subordinate teachers of his University, whose cause he had to defend : for they either had to lead a life of utter indigence, or to leave Louvain as soon as they had reached the degree required for an appointment to some office or prebend, — unless they could secure, by means of the Privilege of Nominations, a prebend or a benefice for when they should have to abandon all University work, besides some welcome help in the mean time ¹). In reply to Erasmus' request in his letter of September 2, 1524 ²), Giberti announced on October 19, that Clement VII had not only confirmed Adrian VI's Privilege, but had extended it, with the personal exception of the rights of the Cardinal of Liège ³), — although Aleander repeatedly assured that the Datary was most favourable to Erard ⁴).

Besides, that piece of information about the Privilege of the Nominations, of which Goclenius soon was to avail himself, and which Nicolas Wary then was defending in Rome as a real *præses*, as the protector *sodalitatis*, namely, of the Faculty of the Arts, sounds far more consistent with Erasmus' letter than the silly home-sickness of one of his amanuenses, wishing to leave his service ! It suggests that the letter belongs to 1524 rather than to 1527 ; and it is made more likely also by the fact that, in what should have been the answer of Goclenius to this letter, if written in 1527, there are several items which are not mentioned at all in that of Erasmus. Goclenius refers on November 7, 1527, to an epitaph which Erasmus had written beforehand on his old friend Thierry Martens ⁵), as well as to a letter to Martin Lips ⁶).

¹) Even Aleander's colleague as agent of the Bishop of Liège in Rome, Gerard Dutry, found that the Louvain University requested 'rem sanctam, piam et omnino concedendam ; ideo dixit patienter ferendum quicquid illis concederetur', — which exasperated Aleander : *AléaLiège*, 256, 258-59.

²) Allen, v, 1481, 44-56.

³) Allen, v, 1509, 14-35.

⁴) *AléaLiège*, 253-54, 257, 265.

⁵) Allen, vii, 1899, 87-84.

⁶) Allen, vii, 1899, 106-108.

Finally, Erasmus' letter of October 15, begins with congratulations about the *fortuna* which *sic affulget undique* to Goclenius : it gives Erasmus great pleasure, not merely for the comfort it brings, but also since it is a due reward to his friend's good teaching and study ¹). In 1527, no special favour is recorded for the Latin professor, and on November 7, Goclenius thanks Erasmus chiefly for praising his good '*militia*' as erudite and teacher, which he gratefully returns to his *laudatissimus optimusque imperator* ²). If Erasmus' letter was written in 1524, the good fortune evidently refers to a brilliant position offered to him by Robert of Croy, Bishop of Cambrai ³), and another by the King of Denmark ⁴), which he had not accepted, as, just then, the executors of Busleyden's will had, on John Robbyns' suggestion, offered him an annual addition to his fees, as results from his letter to Erasmus of June 28, 1524 ⁵). Moreover, for 1524 as date, pleads the coincidence that on October 13, 1524, the great Humanist wrote out a procuration for Goclenius to claim thirteen gold florins from Francis Berckman, the printer ⁶) : no doubt, he intended enclosing that document in the letter just then writing or scheming, which was actually finished and despatched on October 15, 1524.

However that may be, it is quite acceptable to reason that during the years of most intense work, when Erasmus was seeing through the press several books, and contemplating others, some of his letters were only preserved in rough draughts or in summary copies ⁷), without carefully noted dates, which were afterwards connected with the period at which he was engrossed in some publication which is

¹) Allen, VII, 1890, 1-6.

²) Allen, VII, 1899, 1-12.

³) Allen, V, 1457, 4-6.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 244-45.

⁵) FG, 27 ; Allen, V, 1457, 1-13, 1435, 1-6 ; cp. before, pp 242-44.

⁶) Allen, V, 1507, 1-11 ; no doubt, Goclenius had no occasion to claim that debt, which a year later, on October 4, 1525, was entrusted to the care of John Campensis, the professor of Hebrew, who maybe had an opportunity to get the overdue amount cashed by buying books which he just wanted : Allen, V, 1507, 12-23.

⁷) The letters edited in Leyden in 1607 by P. Scriverius from documents gathered by himself, Paul Merula (Gabbema, 652) and Jerome de Backer, may have been copies brought to Holland by some of Erasmus' amanuenses when they left his service.

referred to in them. It is even possible that the letter or copy, preserved and reproduced, was not an homogenous unit ¹⁾, but was put together from two or more fragments, or parts of rough draughts, originally quite different, on account of the mention of one and the same matter ²⁾ : which would explain the contradiction to which the various items in the letter give rise.

2. WARY'S MERITS

A. APPRECIATION OF THE FACULTY

On his return from Rome, the Faculty of Arts, wishing to give to Wary an unequivocal mark of gratitude, elected him to the dignity of Dean on September 30, 1525 ³⁾, and highly appreciated the skill which he had displayed for the benefit of the general welfare. At the very time that all hope on

¹⁾ An example is provided in the Leyden edition of 1607 (p 89), by the two documents about Berckman's debt : Allen, v, 1507, 1-11, 12-23.

²⁾ There is an example of a letter made up of two fragments of different missives, joined on account of common details, which is discussed at length in *MonHL*, 43-58. The solution proposed for that 'puzzling letter' is not accepted by Allen, x, 2777 : the result is that thus are made unavoidable two unrecorded journeys by Vives : one to London in 1532, and one to Oxford, in March 1533, where he had no business at all, every connection with England having been broken in the spring of 1528 ; those visits should just happen at the period that Vives was almost destitute, and continually suffering. It is far more consistent to accept the altering of *Londini* (*Lōdini*) into *Louanii* : a similar mistake is found in the letter of Vives to Antony Barker, which refers to their having met in *Opentæ* (VOO, vii, 220 ; *MonHL*, 11) : it can hardly be anything but *Oxonix*. Moreover, how is it possible to find 'a natural unity' in the letter of 1533, in which Vives, excepting the humid and windy sky and strange food, declares that in Oxford, '*Cætera cedunt prosperrime, Deo gratia. Nam diligunt principes ac fauent, idque re ostendunt*' ? How in that description of the life in Oxford, the *principes* : Henry VIII, and the repudiated Queen Catherine, and Ann Boleyn, can be said to have favoured Vives *ostensibly*, is beyond all comprehension. It is equally absurd for Vives to praise his existence in Oxford by introducing the benevolence of Mary of Hungary and Charles V, who never put a foot in that place, and who, as a matter of fact, never showed him much favour !

³⁾ *LibNomI*, 197, v ; *ActArtInd.*, 24 ; *AléaLiège*, 300-302 ; *Cran.*, 141, g-i.

obtaining the ratification of Adrian VI's favour had been abandoned, he had secured the only possible means to provide first-class qualified and experienced instructors by ensuring to them congruous preferments for the time when circumstances would cause them to leave the University : otherwise they could only look forward to an old age of helplessness and destitution after a life of insufficiently rewarded and self-sacrificing toiling ¹⁾. That necessity of insuring the best professors against the want and trouble attending on the decline of forces, was so evident, that a great Churchman like Adrian VI had been endeavouring to bring it about ever since he had gained some personal influence ²⁾ ; that the intellectual leader of the time, Erasmus, forgetting the merciless hatred by which some *Lovanienses* pursued him, did what he could to neutralize all opposition against the Privilege in the *Curia* ³⁾ ; that even a man who was paid and ordered to obstruct it, Gerard Dutry, the Roman agent of the bitterest adversary, Erard de la Marck, abstained from opposing what he considered as a *res sancta et pia, et omnino concedenda* ⁴⁾. No wonder that the successful mission made

¹⁾ Cp. the motives inducing Leo X and his successors to grant the *Privilegium Nominandi* expressed in the bulls : *ULPrivCon.*, 1, 93, sq, 105, sq, 108, sq ; *VAnd.*, 23 ; *Vern.*, 174, sq, 182, sq ; *FUL*, 299, sq, 308, 4680, sq.

²⁾ After the Faculty of Arts had tried in vain to obtain an extension of the *Privilegium Nominatum* granted to the University by Sixtus IV in 1483, and had bitterly complained of the inefficiency of their agent in Rome, William of Enckenvoirt, they entrusted the matter to Adrian of Utrecht, who with the help of his pupil Charles, of the restive Enckenvoirt and of Egenhardt Witte, of Cologne (Keussen, 384, 4), obtained the bull *Admonet nos*, September 19, 1513 : *totis viribus*, writes of him *ActArtInd.*, 11, *auxilio et assistentia tum per principem, tum per alia media negotium ipsum huc usque perduxit* : *Cran.*, 141, a.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 141, g ; Allen, v, 1481, 44-56, 1509.

⁴⁾ On April 26, 1526, Aleander wrote to Erard de la Marck, Louvain's great opponent, that his resident agent in Rome, Gerard Dutry, had refused to help him in counteracting the request of the University to have the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts confirmed : *respondit mihi, he declares, esse rem sanctam, piam et omnino concedendam ; ideo dixit patienter ferendum quicquid illis concederetur* : no wonder that Aleander called him *mendax, monstrum hominis*, and gave a description of his mind which pours more dishonour on the writer than on his unconscious victim : *AléaLiège*, 256, 258-59.

Wary for some time one of the foremost personages in the Faculty and even in the University ; in Erasmus' letter to Goclenius, of which the date has just been contended to belong to 1524, the allusion to *Quirinus* and *miseros suos*, looks rather like a means to hide the all important information, if ever the letter should have fallen in undue hands, considering the relentless opposition to the Privilege by Margaret of Austria and by all the secular and even ecclesiastical collators, headed by the Bishop of Liège. It would be ridiculous to suppose that when such vital interests are at stake, and the ominous danger is so luckily escaped ¹⁾, Erasmus would waste his time and thoughts with a senseless joke about his amanuensis Quirinus Talesius feeling home-sick ²⁾. At any rate the renown of the weighty Privilege being enlarged and confirmed, clung to Wary, and when, in 1525, the Faculty had to make the account of the expenses which the mission in Rome and the instances at Margaret's Court had entailed, the whole story of the difficulties just overcome was again related in the *Acta*, as results from the circumstanced summary introduced into the '*Index*' ³⁾, —

¹⁾ The danger is indicated in Aleander's letter to Erard de la Marck, of April 26, 1524 : hearing that the Privilege was going to be duly granted and the document dispatched, he at once prevented it : sequenti mane, he writes, summo cum Pontifice in hac causa locutus ita ejus animum induxi, ut jusserit Datario omnino esse supersedendum : *AléaLiège*, 256. — Other difficulties were made by the Faculties of Laws of the University, by Margaret of Austria and the chief collators of preferments : cp. *Cran.*, 141, *h, i*. On September 9, 1524, Charles V, having heard of the confirmation of Adrian's grant, declared to the Duke of Sessa, his ambassador in Rome, that those Privileges were not only prejudicial to his pre-eminence, but to the whole country. He therefore ordered his ambassador to beseech the Holy Father not to confirm and even to revoke them : *AdriE*, 208. It was only in 1525 that Charles V and Margaret of Austria approved of the Privilege since the Faculty promised not to oppose the *Primariæ Preces* : *ActArtInd.*, 25-26.

²⁾ Allen, vii, 1890, 7-8 ; *Cran.*, 141, *q* ; cp. before, pp 304, *sq*. Quirinus Talesius has always shown so much affection for Erasmus and for the work with which he had been entrusted, that it is difficult to associate him with home-sickness. Even then there does not seem any reason to call his people *miseros suos*, and it remains a puzzle what interest Wary had in : quod propemodum... decreuerat...

³⁾ 1525 : *Ex Libro Sexto Actorum Facultatis Artium*, f 305 : Nicolaus Marvillia qui fuit orator romæ super Bulla Adriani VI obtinenda, refert

from which only the mention of the help is wanting which his friend Erasmus had given him in the attainment of his success.

There can be no doubt about the hearty acquaintance between the great Humanist and the faithful secretary of his dear friend Jerome de Busleyden; during his stay in Louvain that acquaintance became even more intimate owing to John Stercke. Moreover, it is natural that the younger man considered Erasmus as an ideal example to imitate and affectionate. When he was entrusted with the mission to Rome, he evidently called on his eminent protector at Basle, where he was most cordially received. Erasmus must have given him recommendations to all his friends in the *Curia*, and imparted to him golden advice, prompted as he was, not only by his sincere wish to help Louvain to obtain the favour, but also by his intimate affection for Wary himself, to whom he wrote on March 30, 1527: *Be persuaded 'te ob castissimos tuos mores mihi sic esse cordi vt v<(ix alius>'*¹⁾. It was therefore that, at the alarm of the opposition encountered in Rome, Erasmus threw into the strife all his eagerness and authority, and saved the Privilege, when Aleander already rejoiced in his and de la Marck's victory.

B. ERASMUS' ESTEEM & ADVICE

When, soon after his return, Wary was chosen as Stercke's successor, and entrusted with the management of his favourite Institute, a new link was added to his friendship with

quod sustinuerit romæ gravem litem nomine facultatis in audientia Clementis VII dicta signaturâ papæ post mortem Adriani VI contra ordinarios collatores sese opposcentes expeditioni bullæ super confirmatione privilegiorum per Adrianum VI concessa et super cassatione clausularum quas cardinalis derthusensis D. Enckevoort in odium facultatis inseri mandaverat, quodque ea occasione multas fecerit expensas scilicet præfatus Decanus nicolaus Marvillanus orator, insuper quod forent apud illustrissimam archiducissam potentes inimici quos pecunia convertere necessum foret, quod ea occasione posset extrahi ex arca summa quæ notabilis adhuc est, sed magis expediret ut aliunde haberi possent pecuniæ, et resolvitur mutuo petendas esse ab iis qui privilegiis usi sunt, et alias levandas &c : *ActArtInd.*, 24 ; *AcArExc.*, 97. Another note in the '*Index*' refers to it : per duos annos lites graves Romæ multum obærat. ¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1806^a, 39-40.

Erasmus. From the few letters that exist, it is clear that the new President asked for advice from the experienced Erudite, so as to make his connection with the life and activity of the *Trilingue* even more intimate. In the first extant letter, Erasmus ¹⁾, who notwithstanding his many avocations finds the time to give to Wary a detailed, extensive and most vivid account of the explosion of the Schniderthurin, at Basle, on September 19, 1526, mentions that he keeps back information, — probably about the sad state of religion in that town, — which it is neither safe for himself to give, nor agreeable for his correspondent to read ²⁾. The damage caused by the accident he narrates ³⁾, leads him to the topic of inventions, which, in olden times, were useful, but have since then, become either destructive and ruinous, or most displeasing and savage, as is even the case with musical instruments, about which he gives his personal impressions at full length ⁴⁾. The intimate tone of that letter attests to the sincere affection of Erasmus for the new President, whose work he appreciates so much that he dedicates to him the edition of the original text of John Chrysostom's *De Babyla Martyre* ⁵⁾, by an epistle, which is announced on the title-page as *Epistola Erasmi de Modestia profitendi Linguas*.

In that letter, Erasmus exposes his final and ripened views on the famous question of classic studies which, since nearly ten years, had caused so much opposition and trouble to the *Trilingue*. Chrysostom's treatise joins deep piety to admirable eloquence, which makes it an ideal book for the formation of youth ; for, Erasmus argues, if it is commendable for professors to study pagan writers to acquire the elegance of their language, young men should be trained rather by those authors whose speech savours as much of Christ as of Demosthenes ⁶⁾. On that account, Wary is to be praised,

¹⁾ September 26, 1526 : Allen, VI, 1756.

²⁾ Allen, VI, 1756, 2-3 : no doubt, Erasmus refers to the difficulties caused by Œcolampadius and his reform at Basle : *Œcolamp.*, I, 340, sq.

³⁾ Erasmus' relation is wrongly explained in Nollac, 16-18.

⁴⁾ Allen, VI, 1756, 93-112 : he happily had no idea of our 'long disks' and broad-casting !

⁵⁾ Basle, J. Froben, August 1527.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1856, 23-24 : *ethnicos autores ob sermonis elegantiam professoribus legendos arbitror potius quam adolescentibus prælegendos*. The treatise is devised to be used in the lectures of the *Trilingue*.

Erasmus declares, since he tries to make the *Trilingue* commendable both to the learned and to the unlearned, by turning out young men who are not only well spoken, but also well living. The professors, too, deserve warm approbation : different from what is done in many lectures in the University, they abstain from all criticism and calumny, teaching righteousness as well as literature, which makes them seem masters of Religion rather than of Languages. And yet the thorough knowledge of the latter is not only highly useful for the sake of conversation, but even more for the exact understanding of most erudite authors, as he quite recently has experienced, though he knew since long. He found that the exact comprehension offered by linguistic aptitude would have prevented the calumnies with which he was overwhelmed lately, and which have evidently to be traced to the misunderstanding, and to the lack of comprehension of some Latin and Greek texts ¹⁾. Finally, as the way of giving counts for a large part in the value and estimation of a gift, so also the kind, easy, patient, pleasing and especially edifying way in which knowledge is imparted, is highly conducive to the success of teaching; whereas in those times instruction often became the occasion to sow the seeds of unbelief and dissolute morals, the unobjectionable way in which most valuable knowledge was communicated, was the cause of the prosperity of the College; it gave honour to the instructors, and would, no doubt, have gladdened the soul of its founder : it was due in a large measure to Wary's advice and to his sagacious direction ²⁾.

That letter of August 14, 1527, offers to Erasmus, in view of the continuous spirit of hostility against the College, a most welcome occasion to encourage the professors and to advise them to be calm and to abstain from whatever could be taken amiss by τοῖς μισογλώττοις : to that end he especially advocates to be quite unobjectionable in life and teaching. He warns them that since all novelty is exposed to envy,

¹⁾ He refers to the disagreeable controversy which had been started by Noel Beda and some of his colleagues on account of wrongly censured translations from St. Chrysostom and St. Athanasius : Allen, VII, 1804, 89, sq, 1856, 45.

²⁾ Cp. Allen, VII, 1856, *pr* ; NèveMém., 99, 309, sq.

generally the studies are made answerable for the way of living ¹⁾, and he consequently requests to order everything so, that parente who entrust their children to the College, should get them back not merely better spoken, *linguaciores*, but also better living and more pious, *magis pios meliusque moratos* ²⁾).

Besides reminding the professors of his College, at every opportunity, of all the requirements of their present duty, he also opens out the future, and shows them how important their work is in the upward struggle of their generation, of their nation and of humanity in general, with all the responsibilities that their work entails. For, as he says, they are doing a great thing, exposed as they are to the eyes of the whole human race, not only of those living then, but of all those to come. When a better and more correct method of studying will flourish generally amongst the theologians and the jurisprudents, amongst the medical men and the philosophers, the mathematicians and the grammarians; when the Courts of Princes will be more adorned by men distinguished by eloquence and doctrine; when Chrysostom, and Athanasius, and Basilus and the whole chorus of that language, will start talking to the Latin world, then their names will be celebrated by the applause of the erudites for having been the beginners, the very creators of that most brilliant achievement ³⁾).

It must have been a beneficent consolation to Erasmus in all his trouble and solicitude that, thanks to Wary's management, his advice produced the most satisfactory result: it allowed him to glorify that the *Trilingue* professors and students did not give the least cause of complaint about immixtion with the religious discussions. They lived, taught and studied, Erasmus said, in such a way, that not even a Momus could find anything to carp at, much to the annoyance of some, who should prefer them to *Luterissare*, since then they could attack the *bonæ literæ* on that account ⁴⁾).

¹⁾ Cp. Allen, vi, 1716, 40-50, vii, 1806a, 17-23.

²⁾ Letter to Nicolas Wary, August 14, 1527: Allen, vii, 1856, 27-35.

³⁾ Letter to Nicolas Wary, March 30, 1527: Allen, vii, 1806a, 22-33.

⁴⁾ Letter to Giberti, May 21, 1526: Louanii sic viuunt ac profitentur linguas ad id destinati, vt nec Momus habeat quod reprehendat. Atque

C. A PAPAL FAVOUR

If by his efforts to secure the confirmation of the Privilege granted by Adrian VI, Wary evinced his zeal for the welfare of his colleagues and of the University, his correspondence with Erasmus gives a magnificent testimony of his lofty opinions about the proper aim of instruction and study, which animated, not only the great Humanist, but also his friend the President, and the professors of the *Trilingue*. Those letters make out that, notwithstanding the repulsive difficulties caused by some divines, who should have been the first to encourage, they wanted to realize the very aim of Humanism by their teaching and their endeavours, namely the humanizing, the perfecting of their pupils and of themselves by a constantly growing approach towards the ethical and the religious ideal. Whereas the teaching of literature was for some masters as an opportunity to demoralize their audience by their instructing (not to mention their bad example), since the gloss and glamour of an Ovid or a Martial too easily became an occasion or an excuse to indulge in lasciviousness, the *Trilingue*, thanks to Erasmus, decidedly patronized Christian or, at any rate, unobjectionable pagan authors for the classes, advocating frankly that instruction has to aim at making the hearers, not only cleverer, but also, and above all, more virtuous and pious. In that respect it actually applied what the great authority on pedagogy, Vives, proclaimed to be the essence of all teaching ¹⁾, including also the power of the example of a virtuous life to be given by the teacher at the same time as his erudite knowledge ²⁾.

Those few letters thus constitute an eminent testimony to the spirit that animated the *Trilingue*, and so does the request which Wary made in Rome for some spiritual advantage ³⁾ :

id ipsum quosdam habet pessime. Mallent illos Luterissare, quo detur occasio culpam hominum in studia conferendi : Allen, VI, 1716, 47-50.

¹⁾ Doctrina cui non respondet vita, res est pernitiōsa et turpis : VOO, VI, 276 ; also 248, 261, 271, 296, 330, 416, I, 11, 12, sq ; Moog, 111, sq.

²⁾ Qui ad magisteria evehantur, censeantur non ex doctrina modo, sed etiam moribus : VOO, VI, 276, 416-437 ; Moog, 115, sq.

³⁾ Acc.MarvI, 106, v : Item een supplicatien te Rome voor den voors. Collegien gheexpedieert ende minuten daer op tsamen betaelt viij Rg.

he asked Erasmus' help, and those two men, who were both moving in the matter-of-fact progress towards a sounder, more scientific conception of intellectual life, applied to John Matthew Giberti, who readily obtained what they desired from Clement VII : no doubt an indulgence, or some spiritual favour for the inmates of the *Trilingue*, for her benefactors and her protectors, including particularly Erasmus, as he declared to the Datary, when, on May 21, 1526, he thanked him effusively for his interference in obtaining that grant ¹⁾.

3. DIFFICULTIES WITH RESCIUS

A. RESCIUS' MARRIAGE

Notwithstanding those excellent dispositions, the professors were not always a meek tool in the hands of the President, as Nicolas Wary found out in the very beginning of his regency. The trouble was caused by Rescius who, in the spring of 1522, had thought of resigning on account of his consciousness of not being a match to Goclenius, and of the discouraging presence of a much abler Hellenist in Louvain ²⁾. Erasmus had offered an employ, probably to get Ceratinus quite out of the way, which Rescius, not understanding the move, was ready to accept himself : yet the great Humanist wanted him to stay in the College ; he therefore enjoined him to be patient and to have confidence in his efforts towards improvement, and, above all, not to let himself be discouraged by those who wanted to profit thereby : ἀπίστει καὶ θάρρει ³⁾.

The golden advice had been earnestly followed, and the diffident professor was successfully correcting his initial deficiency by his zealous work in so far that his lectures gained in interest and in hearers ⁴⁾ : no doubt they also

¹⁾ Agnoscit Trilingue Collegium quantum debeat amplitudini tuæ, cuius fauore consequutum est quod optabat, et largiter, et gratis. In huius beneficii consortium me quoque recipit <Collegium>, cuius commendationem existimat non omnino frustraneum fuisse. Ego vero non inuitus tibi et hoc nomine debeo, cui nihil non debeo : Allen, VI, 1716, 1-4.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 99-101.

³⁾ Scripseram de Ceratino. Saltem ille veniat : Allen, V, 1292, 7-8.

⁴⁾ On October 7, 1527, Erasmus congratulated him on that account : Habes, vt audio, frequens auditorium : Allen, VII, 1882, 18.

gained him the admiration and the tender affection of a young lady, Anna Moons, which were evidently most agreeable to the Hellenist. That connection, which naturally became more intimate as time advanced, can hardly have escaped Goclenius or Stercke; still as they were both great-hearted and wise men, they did not want to precipitate things to a mad decision by a rash opposition, as they were certain that Rescius himself was fully aware of the lie of the case: the young lady does not seem to have been opulent, although she lived in a house of her own, or which was expected to become her own: whereas, on the other hand, Rescius would have to forgo a considerable part of his income in the *Trilingue*. Indeed the professors were partly paid for their work by the board and lodging which the College provided for them, both of which were estimated at 6 Flemish pounds or 36 Rhine florins ¹⁾. That sum represented as much as the two fifths of their salary, even taking into account the recent rise ²⁾. It almost seemed absurd to relinquish such a convenience, which one had either to take or to let go without any claim of, or even hope for, indemnification, considering the limited means of the College and the tight-fistedness of the executors; the latter, moreover, were certain to urge the stipulations in the Founder's Will, and even to remind him that his conversation at the table of the boarders and the presiding in turn that of the bursars, was part of his duty ³⁾.

It is quite natural that, initially, in consideration of the circumstances, full liberty was granted to Rescius, and that Stercke, at his request, allowed him to stay away from some of the meals in the College to share those of the young lady and her family ⁴⁾. Nor could it be expected that in view of the almost unavoidable loss of a considerable part of the wages, a decision should have been taken very quickly: so

¹⁾ *Test.*, 23.

²⁾ Rescius wages had been raised from eight to nine Flemish pounds, besides board and lodging; those of his two colleagues, from six to nine: cp. before, pp 106, 108.

³⁾ *Test.*, 44, 45, 47, 49.

⁴⁾ No doubt the words: 'olim iure optimo immunitates quasdam accipiebat <Rescius>', refer to a permission granted to him already by John Stercke, as Wary wanted to keep more strictly to the prescriptions of the Founder's Will: Allen, VI, 1768, 72-73.

that the connection may have been going on for several months, probably from 1525, and that the absence of Rescius at the table had grown into a custom in the inability to reach a conclusion. A proverb of the Netherlands asserts that a young girl wanting to get married is one of the few cases in which obstacles and delays prove ineffective : it probably was realized in Rescius' case, apparently in the optimistic hope of making up for the loss of part of the salary by taking students into the house and tutoring them. It is quite possible that the family had already one or more boarders, maybe the John Sturm and his companion, who studied in Louvain from 1524 to 1528, and lived, for certain, in the latter years, in the house of Rescius, whose partner he became in the printing business in 1529 ¹). At any rate the marriage was concluded, and the Greek professor removed all his belongings from the large room over the Chapel, which he had occupied from the first, into his wife's house ²). Although not abandoning entirely his meals, he continued the custom he had contracted since some time already, of keeping away from them, and it was on the occasion of those absences that the marriage was referred to in the correspondence with Erasmus.

For the first time Goclenius mentioned it on December 10, 1526, when, availing himself of an opportunity, he sent a confidential message through Peter Gillis' interference. He had written a letter on November 12, announcing the decease of Dierckx and of Baechem in the month of August before, but as the carrier was in great haste, and probably hardly known, the letter was closed with the remark : *De rebus aliis, siquid accadat memoratu dignum, alias scribam prolixius, cum fuero nactus nuncium* ³). A few weeks later, on

¹) Cp. further, Chs. XII, XIII : maybe he was already a boarder in Ann Moons' family, and, by giving occasion to acquaintance with Rescius, played a decisive part in their lives, as afterwards another inmate, John Wames, did : cp. Chs. XXIV, XXV.

²) *MotJuris*, 47 : Rescius... anno xxv ob ductam vxorem cum vniuersa supellectili et substancia sua emigrauit ex cubiculo quod supra sacellum in collegio habebat, ad ædes quas illius vxor inhabitabat, quod quidem cubiculum a Rescio iam plane relictum per collegij presidentes datum et concessum est conuictoribus...

³) Cp. before, pp 289, sq ; he also mentioned that Rosemondts had again received the Last Sacraments : Allen, vi, 1765, 26-50, 61-63, 64-65.

December 10, Goclenius declares that all goes well, 'nisi quod nostri' — no doubt, the executors, — 'ægre ferunt Rutgerum Rescium, collegam nostrum, Collegio abesse' ¹⁾). Those words do not mean that Rescius is dismissed, as he is still Goclenius' *collega* ²⁾), but that he is likely to get into trouble as he only gives his lectures : for he has left his room and he keeps away from the common meals on account of his marriage : it brings the Latin professor to this conclusion : Tum illum non esse præcipitandum certe titulo matrimonii, quod olim iure optimo immunitates quasdam accipiebat, tantum abesse vt ideo multarentur ³⁾). That sentence indicates that, for a good while, Rescius had been in the habit of not partaking of the meals, and maybe even, of not staying regularly in his room, *iure optimo*, no doubt by the permission, duly granted probably by Stercke ; whereas now President Wary, on the order of the executors, wants him to be regularly 'present'. Yet, since his marriage, his absence had become even more plausible than before, and Goclenius concludes that if he was allowed to stay away before, there is no reason to deprive him of that freedom now that he is married, as evidently Wary and the executors wish to on the strength of the Founder's will ⁴⁾).

Goclenius, who in his broad-minded brotherliness seconded his Greek colleague, advised Wary not to decide the question in a hurry, although prompted by the executors, and made him attentive to the fact that the refusal of the liberty to enjoy matrimonial life, as far as it did not interfere with the lecturing, would entail a much greater evil ⁵⁾), that namely of having to find a worthy successor to the professor, who seemed to have become most appreciated by the hearers. It is easier to find another one, than a better one, he argued ; and nobody should be appointed unless he should more clearly

¹⁾ Allen, VI, 1768, 64-65.

²⁾ Allen wrongly concludes that Rescius had been deprived of his office on account of his marriage : Allen, VI, 1768, 65, *n.*

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1768, 71-74.

⁴⁾ Quibus ille <Wary> omnibus <rationibus> opponit testamentum : Allen, VI, 1768, 74.

⁵⁾ Goclenius wrote : Hortatus sum Nicolaum Maruillanum, qui se ait executorum nomine omnia facere, ne præpropere festinet : Allen, VI, 1768, 65-67.

testify to his erudition than our man ¹⁾. And even those who promise greater things may prove worse than expected by estimation, and may disappoint their auditors ²⁾. Goclenius announces all this to Erasmus, and asks him to advise what he judges best if Wary should write ³⁾.

Wary did not write ⁴⁾, but seems to have felt the appropriateness of Goclenius' remarks : after all, it was better not to urge that accessory part of Rescius' duty, which meant a material loss to himself : if he could forgo a large part of his wages, the College could do without the little contribution he might afford to the development of boarders and bursars by a conversation which, it seems, was not very lively ⁵⁾.

Thus for a while things went on in the College, and Rescius continued the life he had started since some time : he was generally absent from the meals, though he now and then came unasked, especially when there was a particular guest, on which occasion either a seat was left open for him, or Goclenius willingly granted him the precedence due to the oldest professor ⁶⁾. Far from being a stranger to the *Trilingue*, he continued his regular friendly visits ; he kept the keys ensuring him the access at any time, and even held the one to his former room, which almost at once after his leave was occupied by two boarders ⁷⁾, and never was empty in the growing prosperity of the Institute, which had more applica-

¹⁾ Citius illi posse contingere alium quam meliorem, et ad hoc munus neminem esse suscipiendum nisi qui apertius specimen eruditionis præbuerit quam noster : Allen, vi, 1768, 67-69.

²⁾ Etiam si sint qui plus de se spondeant, tamen experiundo posse accidere deterius illorum opinione aut etiam auditorum : Allen, vi, 1768, 69-71.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1768, 64-76.

⁴⁾ Erasmus gave his advice unasked, it seems, on March 30, 1527 : Audio vos, he wrote to Wary, agere de nouando Græcæ linguæ professore : Allen, vii, 1806a, 1-2.

⁵⁾ One of the old students, Cornelius Susius, afterwards declared on that head : Ex taciturnitate Rutgerj nemo commensalium aut bursariorum eloquentior euasit : *StudAtt.*, 7.

⁶⁾ Cp. *StudAtt.*, 5, 20, 24, 27, 32.

⁷⁾ Cornelius Susius, Arnold Sasbout, Baltasar Künring, Cornelius van Zegerscapelle, Charles Souastre, and the brothers Sauvage, used that room : *StudAtt.*, 25, 27, 32, 34.

tions for *convictiores* than rooms to accommodate them ¹⁾. Rescius' lectures did not seem to lose in the least by his change of life. In view of that regular working order, and most probably on the advice of Stercke, the executors did not take any decision, and seemed to reserve their judgment, when Erasmus finally gave his advice on the matter.

On March 30, 1527, Erasmus wrote to Wary that he had heard that the authorities of the College thought of taking another Greek professor. Wishing good success to that move, he informs the President that he had received from a Spartan living in Rome, a letter in Greek through his amanuensis John van Hove, Hovius ²⁾, who assured that the man knew Latin. Although that candidate was said to ask only for very modest wages, '*tenui conditione contentus*' ³⁾, it looked most dangerous, Erasmus stated, to send for him, as he was a complete stranger, who might bring with him his own ways and morals, and thus possibly cause the ruin of the whole literary enterprise ⁴⁾. If you have not any one who out-distances Rescius in many respects, he declares, I think it would be wiser to connive at the wife, at least for a time; it is easier to find another one than a better. Moreover, Rutger is known to, and liked by, the students; the *Trilingue* is not very strong yet, whereas any innovation is certain to entail some unexpected disadvantage. Therefore, he concludes, if no more important reason moves you except the wife, I should advise you not to change; should other considerations lead you, I pray that what you do, may be fruitful to studies and

¹⁾ Sollicitant et alii nobiles etiam summi apud nos esse, sed locus non capit, Stercke wrote to Erasmus already on November 24, 1522; consequently when, in October 1525, Erasmus recommended the *Trilingue* to his old pupil Thomas Grey for his youngest son, he expressed the fear that there might not be room in the College: Allen, v, 1322, 11, vi, 1624, 18, also 1641, 3, vii, 1925, *pr.*

²⁾ Allen, iii, 867, 177: he left Erasmus for Rome in 1524, and entered the service of Bishop Felix Trofino of Chieti.

³⁾ Allen, vii, 1806^a, 2-5.

⁴⁾ Erasmus wrote: *verum ignotos accersere periculosum est. Fortassis adferet secum mores, qui litterarum negotium omne subuertere possint*: Allen, vii, 1806^a, 5-6.

to the College ¹⁾. Still, if you should keep Rescius, he should be told to make good by his zeal in teaching, the damage that might be caused by 'Eva', which I am sure he will do ²⁾. — That brings Erasmus to reminding Wary of the great aim of the *Trilingue*, and of the most satisfactory way in which it is being realized by President and Professors; and he finishes his letter by urging that, to the care bestowed on teaching and to the unobjectionable morals, which are as a feature of the College, should also be joined unanimity, without which the greatest things decay and through which the smallest grow. Nor does it matter that various languages should be spoken, provided the spirit be one and the same : the confusion of the tongues ruined the Tower of Babel, whereas the Church was built up by men who spoke various languages with one and the same Spirit ³⁾.

No doubt that letter, which is as the expression of common sense, brought the decision in the nettled question, and led not only the president Wary, but also the executors, to accept in silence the situation in which Rescius then was, as the safest solution.

Thus through that letter of Erasmus, Rescius remained at his post and was not troubled any further ⁴⁾. It was kept as a document of great importance, and when, three or four lustres afterwards, Rescius claimed an indemnity for the board and lodging not taken advantage of, the *provisores* of that time made full use of it in their plea : it was appended to the *Motivum Juris*, which refers to it in these terms ⁵⁾ : 'cum

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1806^a, 1-17.

²⁾ Si non habetis multis partibus antecellentem Rutgero, consultius arbitror vxorculam ad tempus dissimulare. Proclivius est alium inuenire quam meliorem. Rutgerus iuuentuti iam notus et charus est. Et Collegii res adhuc tenuis est. Nouitas frequenter adfert aliquid inexpectati mali. Proinde si vos non mouent gravioribus cause quam vxor, nihil adhuc nouandum censeo. Sin alia sunt que vos ad hoc inuitant consilium, precor vt sit felix studiis et Collegio quod agitis : Allen, VII, 1806^a, 7-15.

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1806^a, 33-39 : he closes with a jest that it would be an advantage for the growth of the College if all the professors were married.

⁴⁾ On October 7, 1527, Erasmus wrote to Rescius : hoc agens ne loco moueretur ; quod quidem a me curatum est : Allen, VII, 1882, 3-4.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 41.

ex his literis manu Erasmi Roterodami ad presidentem collegii scriptis [In fine huius alligatis et litera *B.* signatis] ¹⁾ manifeste constet quod Rescius tantum ob vxorem ductam vix tolerabatur in sua professione et toto collegio per presidentem et executores excludendus erat, nisi Erasmi auxilio et patrocinio vsus et adiutus fuisset'. Joined, with five other documents, to the *Motivum Juris*, the letter was kept amongst the precious deeds of the *Trilingue*, until at the Suppression of the University ²⁾, it found its way into the records of of Brabant Council ³⁾ in the General Archives of the Realm, Brussels.

E. JAMES CERATINUS

Rescius' way was for several years continually crossed by the clever Hellenist James Teyng, of Hoorn, *Ceratinus*, who had learned Greek in Cologne under John Cæsarius and in Paris ⁴⁾. Erasmus had met him in Basle, in 1519, and thought of him as the right professor for the *Trilingue*. The executors decided on Rescius for economy's sake ⁵⁾, and Ceratinus, compelled by circumstances to stay in Louvain ⁶⁾, tutored

¹⁾ The words between square brackets are written in the left hand margin of *MotJuris*, 41.

²⁾ FUL, pp xxiv, sq.

³⁾ For a century the *Motivum* remained in that part of the Archives : FUL, pp xlii, xliii, until at the organizing and the classifying of the Records of Louvain University, 1916-1926, it passed into that collection, of which it constitutes number 1437. Of the six appended documents two had been lost : the first, Erasmus' letter to Aegidius Buslidius, of October 30, 1517, has been found afterwards amongst various documents by Mr. Hubert Nélis, archivist : it still bears the '*A*' which had helped to class it, and is now preserved apart on account of its exceptional value : cp. before, I, xi, 246-50. The second document, which figured as *B*, was of much larger size than the bundle, which explains how throughout the centuries the right hand border became soiled and frayed. It was 'acquired by the Royal Library at The Hague on Sept. 9, 1927 from the collections of the Jesuit Fathers at Maastricht' : Allen, VII, 1806a, pr. The juxtaposition of that document, still marked *B*, and the *Motivum Juris* would show its origin, as the 'foot of the page <which> is also seriously stained', will prove discoloured to the same extent and in the same tint as the documents marked *A*, *C*, *D*, *E* and *F* : cp. pp 103-4, and Ch. XXIV.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 281-82.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 293-94.

⁶⁾ Allen, IV, 1237, 21-25.

him for a time ¹⁾, and conceived a natural wish to take his place at the College. No doubt he made a show of his far superior knowledge, and he thus helped to create in Rescius a feeling of diffidence and discouragement, which led to the decision of abandoning his position in the spring of 1522 ²⁾. The occasion was an offer made by Erasmus of a place for some one acquainted with Greek, which was probably intended as a means to get Ceratinus out of the way : Rescius totally mistook it, and was at once urged by the great Humanist not to break up the staff, but to work patiently and beware of those who might profit by his resigning ³⁾. Rescius stayed and struggled on courageously as best as he could, whilst Ceratinus, who did not answer Erasmus' invitation, accepted to prepare for Froben's press a *Dictionarius Græcus præter omnes superiores accessiones quarum nihil est omis- sum ingenti vocabulorum numero locupletatus*. That enlarged edition of John Craston's Greek Vocabulary was published by John Froben in 1524 with a preface, dated July 1, 1524, by Erasmus, who had added *dictiones... nonnullas* ; it was ascribed to *utriusque literaturæ non vulgariter peritum Ceratinum* ⁴⁾. In Sept. 1523, Erasmus had sent him a sum of money in payment of that work through Goclenius ⁵⁾, whom he had, moreover, instructed, on April 2, 1524, about a legacy to the Greek Scholar by means of the money entrusted to him ⁶⁾ ; most probably he also procured Teyng the appointment as tutor in Giles de Busleyden's family in the spring of 1524 ⁷⁾. Considering all those proofs of benevolent feeling in Erasmus and Goclenius, as well as Ceratinus' constant wish to grasp

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 17, 26.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 99-101.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1292, 3, 5-8, and before, pp 100-101.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1460, *pr*, 27-32 ; FG, 30, 325.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1437, 155. There is a note amongst Erasmus' papers at Basle, by which Goclenius declares, on September 17, 1533, to have paid to Ceratinus 25 gold florins for his Greek Lexicon *nomine et iussu Erasmi* : *BbBasle*, C. vi^a, 71, f 110, v.

⁶⁾ Letter to Goclenius, April 2, 1524 : *si quid mihi contingat humanitus, volo vt... trecenti Renenses cedant Iacobo Ceratino* : Allen, v, 1437, 122-24.

⁷⁾ Erasmus was thanked by Giles for the *præceptorem* : 'de quo, he wrote, et ego supra modum gaudeo ; experior enim ego illum talem qualem scribis, hominem candidum, egregie doctum et boni præceptoris officio fungentem probe : July 1, 1524 : Allen, v, 1461, 3-7.

and secure an appointment at the *Trilingue* ¹⁾, it is a strange fact that, during the disagreement between Rescius and the executors on account of his marriage, no use at all was made of the opportunity to appoint a man who had proved far superior, and dismiss the less clever professor who was upsetting the order prescribed by the Founder. Meanwhile Ceratinus had been recommended by Erasmus as successor to Peter Mosellanus, who died on April 19, 1524 ²⁾, to the protector of Leipzig University, Duke George of Saxony, who, on May 21, 1524, wanted him to send a man worthy to take the place of the deceased, provided he is 'omnino a factione Lutherana... integer' ³⁾. As the Duke's letter was late in reaching Basle, the request was repeated on November 29, 1524 ⁴⁾, and insisted upon after Erasmus had replied on December 12, 1524 ⁵⁾; it caused the Humanist, who evidently thought of Ceratinus, to invite him to come to Basle by Easter, April 16; still, he replied to the Duke that he could not promise anything definitely before the arrival of the candidate ⁶⁾, whom he pronounced to be worth more than three Mosellanus for Greek, without being inferior for Latin eloquence ⁷⁾.

A week before Easter Ceratinus arrived at Basle, and was recommended as an *alter Erasmus* ⁸⁾, as a man able to teach Greek in the very center of Italy ⁹⁾, and by similar praise on

¹⁾ Louanii sollicitabatur ad capessendam Græcæ linguæ professionem in Collegio Trilingui : Allen, vi, 1564, 6-8.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 308; Allen, v, 1448, 57, 1452, 20, 1462, 2.

³⁾ Allen, v, 1448, 65-67.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1520, 42-45 : Quid autem in causa fuerit quod... ne spem quidem feceris surrogandi alicuius Mosellano, nobis non satis constat.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1526, 220-25.

⁶⁾ He announced on March 26, 1525 : Nihil possum certi polliceri prius quam huc venerit; he had heard from the candidate only through 'alter quidam eruditus, et vtrique intime notus — no doubt, Goclenius; — scribit illum non abhorreere a suscipienda prouincia' : Allen, v, 1561, 6-8, 10-11.

⁷⁾ Græcæ literaturæ peritia longe superat vel treis Mosellanos, nec inferior, vt arbitror, Romanæ linguæ facundia : Allen, vi, 1561, 8-10.

⁸⁾ Allen, vi, 1564, 21 : Erasmus paid the expenses of the journey from Louvain to Basle and further to Leipzig : Allen, vi, 1564, 27-31, 1683, 53-55.

⁹⁾ Allen, vi, 1565, 4-5, 1566, 3-4.

April 8, 1525 ¹⁾ to Duke George of Saxony, to his old friend the Dean of the Medical Faculty, Henry Stromer ²⁾, and to the Humanistic theologian Jerome Emser ³⁾, as well as to the

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1564, 5-28, 1565, 2-36, 1566, 2-10.

²⁾ Henry Stromer (1482-1542), of Auerbach, studied medicine in Leipzig and became professor there of pathology, 1516; he had been Rector of the University in 1508. After having been physician to Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mayence, he entered the service of Duke George of Saxony in March 1519. He became Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in Leipzig in 1523, and built there the famous *Auerbach Hof*. He was a great patron of learning: Croke and Mosellanus, Hutten and Christopher Hegensdorff dedicated some of their works to him; he was an intimate friend of Erasmus for nearly twenty years, and even had come to Basle about the time of his death, most probably to attend him: Cp. FG, 426-27; ADB; Allen, II, 578, *pr*; *BeitClem.*, I, 24-28, III, 92, 104; *Hessus*, I, 255; *PirckO*, 246, 402.

³⁾ Jerome Emser (1477-1527), of Swaben, studied in Tübingen and Basle, where he tutored Bruno and Basil Amerbach in 1500. He was secretary of Cardinal Raymond Peraudi, Bishop of Gurk; in 1504 he taught Latin at Erfurt, and by January 1505, he became professor of theology in Leipzig. He was often employed for missions by Duke George, who appointed him Court-Chaplain and provided him with prebends at Dresden and Meissen. When Luther, who had been his pupil at Erfurt, began attacking the authority of Rome and the Church, Emser tried to steady him in more than one interview, which, however, did not all end peacefully: *CorpCath.*, IV, 11-16. He wrote *De Disputatione Lipsicensi*, Aug. 1519, by which he tried to prove that Luther did not follow Huss' errors and, also, that the Roman Primacy was instituted by Christ. Luther considered that book as an attack from the back, and made a most virulent answer, calling his adversary a he-goat, alluding to his coat of arms adorning the *Disputatio*. Emser returned the attack, thus starting the bitter controversy through which he became one of the most decided and effective adversaries of Reform; it may have consumed his strength, and brought him to an untimely end. Throughout his life, he remained on excellent terms with the foremost humanists, and, amongst them, with Erasmus and Pirckheimer; the latter dedicated to him his translation of Lucian's *Rhetor* — which shows that he did not write the *Eccius Dedolatus*, of about the same time, as it maliciously mentions the nickname derived from his coat of arms: Merker, 108, 72-128; *EckDed.*, 17. Only in the last years Catholics have vindicated him successfully against the unmerited reviling by his opponents: FG, 342-43; Allen, II, 553, *pr*; *BeitClem.*, I, 28-30, II, 33, 104, III, 63-5; *PirckO*, 245, *sq*, 296, 297; *Hessus*, I, 119, 322, 328, *sq*; *CorpCat.*, IV; F. X. Thurnhofer, *Willibald Pirckheimer und Hieronymus Emser*, in *BeitSchlecht*, 335-347; *CochlSpahn*, 93-7, 103, 199, *sq*, 236, 260, &c; *CochlHum.*, 120, 137-8, 148, 170; *Melanch.*, 115.

Erfurt physician Martin Hune ¹⁾ and the Augsburg councillor Pirckheimer, whom he was to visit on the way ²⁾).

His appointment in Leipzig University ³⁾ does not seem to have been very agreeable to Ceratinus : he matriculated only in the summer of 1525, and he left on the first of September of that same year : he went to Frankfurt by Erfurt, where there was a namesake, James Dierckx, Theodorici, of Hoorn, Ceratinus ⁴⁾ with whom he has often been mixed up. That sudden departure was a cause of great disappointment for Erasmus : 'metuebam', he wrote on September 20, 1525, to Pirckheimer, 'ne suum commendatorem pudefaceret, oblitus monitorum' ⁵⁾. For a good while he wondered whether the Duke had been displeased about too much, or too less, outspokenness in religious matters, or had been deceived by slander, and his uncertainty was the greater since his friends abstained from mentioning even the leave ⁶⁾, until the Duke's Chancellor, Simon Pistorius ⁷⁾, on April 19, 1526, expressed his sorrow not to have been able to keep Ceratinus in the University, which indicates that he left of his own accord ⁸⁾. That there had been no question whatever of dismissing him, is amply proved by the fact that on February 18, 1528 Erasmus tried once more to have him appointed in Leipzig ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Martin Hune, of Gittelde, Brunswick, studied in Erfurt, where he became Master of Arts in 1518, and, soon after, professor of philosophy. He imitated his friend George Sturz, and started the study of medicine, but was very partial to literature, cultivating the friendship of the poets Eobanus Hessus and Euricius Cordus, and honouring Erasmus with a visit in 1524. He afterwards left the declining University of Erfurt, and, having become doctor of medicine in Padua in 1531, he settled as physician in the catholic town Gratz, where he is recorded, for the last time, in 1533 : Allen, v, 1462, *pr* ; Hessus, i, 241-42, 268, 336, 372-76, 395, 405, *sq*, ii, 29, 106, 167-68.

²⁾ Letters of April 9, 1525 : Allen, vi, 1567, 4, *sq*, 1568, 2-23 ; PirckO, 280.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 405-6 ; Opmeer, i, 457, b, 463, a ; Heumann, 213-14.

⁴⁾ He had been at Deventer with Erasmus, and had gone to Erfurt, where he promoted M. A. in 1504, and doctor in divinity in 1520 ; he was professor of philosophy, dean of that Faculty in 1515, and Rector in 1519 ; he died about 1534 : Allen, iii, 940, *pr* ; Hessus, i, 248, 299, 304 ; ii, 125, 156 ; MutE, 518.

⁵⁾ Allen, vi, 1611, 5-6.

⁶⁾ Allen, vi, 1611, 6-7, 1683, 51-55, 1693, 35-38, 1717, 67-70 ; Krafft, 165 ; *Erasmiana*, i, 432.

⁷⁾ Allen, iv, 1125, 27.

⁸⁾ Allen, vi, 1693, 35-38, 1743, 64-65.

⁹⁾ Allen, vii, 1951, 24-26.

The reason of Ceratinus' premature departure from the Saxon University might perhaps have been a rumour about Rescius' courting Anna Moons, which may have grown on the way so as to become an actual resigning ¹⁾. Still it does not appear that things had gone so quickly, as the first mention in the correspondence with the great Protector of the Institute dates only from December 10, 1526 ²⁾. Ceratinus went, in September 1525, to teach in the Tournai *Collegium Bilingue*, which, however, did not enjoy a long life ³⁾. Already in the summer of 1526, he went to Holland : on December 10 following, Goclenius announces that 'iam aliquot menses abest... in patria : puto (he adds) coactus aliquid nummorum ex hæreditatula' : he also was ordained priest in that year at Utrecht ⁴⁾, soon after the appearance of his translation of St. Chrysostom's two dialogues *De Sacerdotio* ⁵⁾.

The fact that, when dismissal hung like a sword of Damocles over Rescius, — in the last months of 1526, — no notice was taken by Goclenius or by Erasmus of the well equipped Hellenist, shows to all evidence that, in their eyes, he had ceased to be the better man. A few months before, on April 8, 1525, Erasmus wrote about him to Stromer : Vix sperabam hominem amplexurum oblatam conditionem <in Leipzig University> ; nam Louanii sollicitabatur ad capessendam Græcæ linguæ professionem in Collegio Trilingui. Iam vt paria sint salaria, certe Louaniensis Academia celebritate vix vlli cedit... Est aliquid in loco magnifice extructo habere sexcentos auditores, idque continenter, et inter hos magnorum principum filios ⁶⁾ : it thus seems as if the great Humanist himself concluded that Ceratinus was taking his wishes for reality. Most characteristic is, on the contrary, the argument used by Goclenius on December 10, 1526, to keep Rescius in his office notwithstanding his marriage, for fear of not finding as able an erudite, and, if an abler one, perhaps not as good a professor : for it is, no doubt, Ceratinus that he had in mind

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 218, b. ²⁾ Allen, VI, 1768, 69-76. ³⁾ Cp. before, I, 520-25.

⁴⁾ Allen, VI, 1768, 88-89, 1763, 139, VII, 1899, 111. Cp. further, p 329.

⁵⁾ Antwerp. Michael Hillen, 1526 : *Cran.*, 218, b, c, 11, sq ; *HEpU*, 139 ; *NijKron.*, II, 2636 : the translation was dedicated on August 12, 1526 'ex Collegio bonorum' to Peter Cotrel, Tournai Vicar-General and Bruges Archdeacon : cp. before, I, 522.

⁶⁾ Allen, VI, 1564, 6-13.

when he wrote : *Etiamsi sint qui plus de se spondeant, tamen experiundo posse accidere deterius illorum opinione aut etiam auditorum* ¹⁾. Even when highly praising his candidature to his Saxon friends for his great ability in Greek and eloquence, Erasmus could not help adding that he was *immodice modestus, sic verecundus ut pene putidulus sit* ²⁾. That defect may have been of no significance in private lessons, but must have been ruinous for the authority before a larger audience, even with an erudition and an ability, which Erasmus highly praises ³⁾. As a downright pedagogue Goclenius must have found out since long the incompatibility of the teaching by a man like Ceratinus, with a numerous assistance ; and the shortness of the Leipzig experience may have been due to the failure of the 'putidulus' with his highly strung affectation ; it may also be the explanation of the wayward career of the great erudite, who never stayed long at one place ⁴⁾, as if he lacked all courage and constancy, all self-control and confidence in sound advice : for, as he wrote to Pirckheimer, Erasmus had wisely warned him : *metuebam ne suum commendatorem pudefaceret, oblitus monitorum* ⁵⁾. Such a man might have been the ruin of the *Trilingue*, and of the authority of the staff on the students : most typical is the fact that when, in the latter months of 1526, he went to Utrecht to become a priest, and, being tested, was refused for ignoring a rule of Latin grammar wrongly supposed to exist by his examiners, the translator of St. Chrysostom's *De Sacerdotio*, the late Leipzig University professor, returned meekly or confusedly to Louvain, where he found a professor of the *Alma Mater*, — probably Goclenius, — who showed to those who had conducted the test their injudiciousness and even

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1768, 67-71.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1565, 31-32 ; also 1568, 5-7 ; in his Preface to the *Dictionarius Græcus*, Erasmus also refers to his '*incredibilis modestia*' : Allen, v, 1460, 19-20.

³⁾ Cp. Allen, vi, 1564, 14-26, 1565, 4-16, 1566, 2-6, 1567, 4-8, 1568, 2-17.

⁴⁾ Ceratinus passed only short periods of teaching at Tournai ; nor was his preceptorship at Giles de Busleyden's very long ; the Leipzig professorship was the worst of all : Allen, iii, 622, 31, v, 1461, 3-7, vi, 1763, 139, &c ; FG, 30, 4-7 ; Heumann, 213-14 ; Hessus, i, 248.

⁵⁾ Allen, vi, 1611, 5-6.

their ignorance, which the modest *putidulus* candidate had not had the heart to take exception to ! ¹⁾

C. THE PARIS OFFER

The solution of Rescius' case, suggested by Erasmus, which was tacitly accepted by President Wary and the executors, may have been a relief to the professor who probably had been dreading dismissal : still it can hardly have provided a lasting satisfaction, as it implied the loss of a considerable part of his earnings, which was certain to be felt acutely when the enthusiasm of the new situation was wearing off. Even before six months had passed the discontent was blurted out unexpectedly. An offer was made to Rescius in the summer of 1527 for the Greek professorship in the school which Francis I contemplated founding in Paris, and the conditions seem to have been most advantageous ²⁾. To Erasmus, whose health was then as brittle as glass ³⁾, and whose fortune was comparatively large ⁴⁾, such proposal was not very tempting ; but it must have been most alluring to a hardworking and poorly paid professor of the *Trilingue*, especially as he had, since a few months, been deprived of the enjoyment of a large part of his wages in the shape of the free board and lodging with the concomitant attendance, in consequence of having taken on his shoulders the burden of a wife and a family. Most likely Anna Moons, who possessed, or at the least expected, a house in Louvain ⁵⁾, and who apparently kept boarders ⁶⁾, did not fancy leaving her native town with all the advantages and enjoyments it offered, especially since

¹⁾ Proper apologies were afterwards offered to Ceratinus : *Cran.*, 218, c ; Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia* : Leyden, 1588 : 235.

²⁾ Allen, vii, 1882, 20, *sq.*, 26, *sq.*

³⁾ On September 2, 1524, Erasmus wrote to Francis Molinius : *Nunc totus sum vitreus, aut si quid vitro fragilius* : Allen, v, 1484, 3 : cp. vi, 1697, 95, &c.

⁴⁾ Letter of September 16, 1523, prob. to Sadolet : *De fortuna non sum anxie sollicitus* : Allen, v, 1386, 49.

⁵⁾ *MolJuris*, 47 : Rescius... anno xxv ob ductam vxorem cum vniversa supellectili et substancia sua emigrauit ex cubiculo quod supra sacellum in collegio habebat, ad ædes quas illius vxor habitabat...

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 318.

her husband was changing her home into a private Pedagogy. It seems even that Rescius himself was not keen on removing to Paris, although the position offered gave him confidence and assurance, whereas up to then he had been constantly in dread of being discharged : the executors had not taken any measures against him for deserting his room and the common life in the *Trilingue*, and far from encouraging the expectations of his competitor Ceratinus, they had let him go his own way ¹⁾. He considered the Paris offer as an excellent occasion to recuperate at least part of what he himself had sacrificed, and, as often happens, the shy man, conscious of an unexpected advantage, turned insolent. He applied most aggressively to the executors and threatened them with a lawsuit ²⁾, wishing no doubt to awe them into paying him in money for what they offered as part of the salary in board and lodging. Nicolas Wary, who had been the intermediary between them and the Greek professor, was attacked as well, and made responsible for all the disagreements and the disappointments of the past months : his unmistakable surprise at that sudden onset, emboldened the scheming assaulter to try and master the last defence.

Knowing the intimate interest which Erasmus took in the *Trilingue* and the weight which his advice had in the management, Rescius wrote to him a quibbling and quarrelling letter : ἐριστικὸν καὶ διαχνικὸν ³⁾. He received a tit-for-tat reply. On October 7, 1527, the great Humanist wrote to him ⁴⁾ that there had been no need to apply to the executors, and that Wary, who is not named, but against whom Rescius evidently was incensed, had only warned him, so as not to have him dismissed, of which he, Erasmus, himself had taken care ⁵⁾. Yet that does not mean that the affair is so slight as Rescius wants to make it appear. Though 'wife' is only a short word, it means many things : not to mention the uxorious affection, the solicitude for the children, the wish

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 328-29.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1882, 35, sq.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1882, 35 : Epistola tua sapiebat nescio quid ἐριστικὸν καὶ διαχνικὸν.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1882.

⁵⁾ Ab illis <viz., exequutoribus> nihil erat perscriptum, et bene volebat qui significarat <viz., Wary>, nimirum hoc agens, ne loco moueris ; quod quidem a me curatum est : Allen, VII, 1882, 14.

to augment the family goods and many more things, which, if they do not extinguish, at least slacken and cool the zeal in teaching; for certain, the wife separates him from the *contubernium*, the community life of the College. If the other professors, also allured by that love of pelf, tempting man, should follow his example, the *Collegium* should not be any longer a *Collegium*, but some sordid school, — evidently missing the advantage offered to the boys to be taught by the continuous contact with their professors, even for the functions of material life, according to Busleyden's will ¹).

As to the question why they had not dismissed him when he married? They had then no successor; nor does a wise man change easily what is bearable. 'That very humaneness and gentleness shown to you', Erasmus tells Rescius, 'should rather stimulate you to be worthy of the profession you accepted, as well as of the esteem and the expectation of those men. I learn that you have a numerous audience, *frequens auditorium*, and I congratulate you on that account; yet I hope and expect that through your zeal, you acquire a much more numerous one. An advantageous and magnificent offer is now made to you from elsewhere. Do you not owe it both to the executors and to the profession, with which you were adorned by them? which gave you the opportunity to make your name great and famous? and which even procured you perhaps your wife? You understand that it is not merely a question of gaining money, but, far more, one of a well deserved renown, which provides many good things, although they are not specially intended. As to that magnificent Paris offer — about which I remind you of the current proverb 'French promises' ²), and of Aesop's dog ³), — is it not due in a large measure to the College? Therefore make glorious the *litterae* which make you glorious, through the zeal and

¹) *Test.*, 44-47; Allen, VII, 1882, 4-11. Cp. before, pp 317, sq.

²) The proverb was an allusion to Francis I's breaking of the promise he made at the signing of the Treaty of Madrid: *Cran.*, 211, 15-18 (showing that 'La foy du gentilhomme' was of no value), 243, 25.

³) *Viz.*, the fable *De Cane & Vmbra*, by which 'modestiae monemur & prudentiae, ut & cupiditati sit modus, ne certa pro incertis amittamus. Astute certo Terentianus ille Sannio: Ego inquit spem precio non emo: Aesopi *Fabulae*; *Adelphoe*, 219.

the quality of your teaching. Vie with Goclenius, vie with yourself. In the end it will do even more good to yourself than to the studies, whether you continue in Louvain, or whether the breath of Fortune should call you elsewhere ¹⁾).

He concluded his advice by strongly dissuading Rescius from starting a lawsuit against the executors who are most humane, and against whom nobody could begin an action without gaining the name of a quarrelsome and unjust man. He assured that they would never think of dismissing him, especially if he honours the Institute as well by the integrity of his life as by his zeal of teaching. Nor would it, on his side, be probity to abandon them inconsiderately. If there were a real reason to part, it will be done without any harm to their common friendship and to Rescius' fame. But that, Erasmus hopes, will never be : he is certain that through mutual concord, diligence in teaching, and gentleness of manners, all difficulties will be easily and happily overcome ²⁾). The letter closes with the assurance of deep friendship and with the best greetings to his wife and to his students ³⁾).

Once again Erasmus' advice prevailed, and Rescius does not seem to have given further signs of discontent, at least not to the President and the executors, for as far as the documents which have survived can give information. Although not quite pleased with the solution which Erasmus thus had gently forced upon him, he made the best he could of the circumstances. To be sure, the invitation to join the staff of Royal professors of France was an eminent proof of the appreciation of his lectures : it encouraged him in his work, and consoled him for all loss, at least for the time being, for it appears that it kindled in him a greed for money, which in after years seems to have become his master passion ⁴⁾). By

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1882, 1-34.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1882, 35-45.

³⁾ *Hæc vt ab amantissimo tui profecta, tu simili accipies animo. Dulcissimam coniugem tuam resalutabis ex me diligenter, ac pubem honestissimorum studiorum alumnam : — evidently meaning the studious youth of the *Trilingue*, and not at all the daughter or the sons of Rescius, as Allen seems to understand, for after 2 years of marriage life, they could not think even of studies : Allen, VII, 1882, 46-48.*

⁴⁾ The last sentence in Erasmus' correspondence is a complaint about the greed in Rescius : *Sed ille totus ad quæstum spectat, et grauitèr perdit istud Collegium* : June 28, 1536 : Allen, XI, 3130, 37.

1529, it made him start a venture in the printing business ¹⁾, which failed to realize his expectations ; and although from May 1534 the *Trilingue* paid him for the board and lodging ²⁾, he dishonoured his last years by claiming the part of his wages which, for seven or eight years, he had abandoned, proving the truth of the prophecy : *vxorcula... multa secum trahit* ³⁾ ! Yet Erasmus, at the time, did not realize the evil which the wife caused to the character and to the profession of his old *protégé*, in whom, already by 1532, he had lost all faith, regretting bitterly to have helped him to stay in the *Trilingue* : ‘*in admittendo Rescio cum vxore*, he confided to Goclenius, *dormitatum est. Principiis obstandum erat*’ ! ⁴⁾

4. OPPOSITION

A. GREEK REVIVAL

It thus appears that Erasmus continually protected the *Trilingue* against all dangers from within, whilst defending it undauntedly against all enemies who attacked it from without, since most of them were also his own irreducible adversaries. Goclenius expresses his deep concern for the struggling man : ‘My mind’, he wrote on November 12, 1526, ‘is deeply affected by reading about the plots of the vicious, assaulting your innocence most treacherously. Still considering how courageously and successfully you have stood for truth against falsehood, there is every hope that the wickedness of your foes will illustrate your righteousness, and that you may acquire so much the more true honour as they endeavour the more vehemently to darken Erasmus’ name’ ⁵⁾. The strife was most disheartening, as the adversaries of truth and of the study of languages and literature were blind and deaf to reason, and even to the right authority, — as was the case with Nicolas Bæchem, who, silenced by Adrian VI in

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIII, 5.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XV.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1882, 5-6.

⁴⁾ Letter of May 3, 1532 : Allen, x, 2641, 26-27 ; cp. Ch. XV.

⁵⁾ Allen, VI, 1765, 15-21.

the summer of 1523 ¹⁾, roused up as adversary in his place Florent Oom van Wyngaerden ²⁾, who was made to bear his character as jurisprudent ³⁾, his intimate connection with the Pope ⁴⁾, his personal interest in linguistic studies ⁵⁾, and even the share he had presumably taken in the founding of the *Trilingue* ⁶⁾, in his attack on Erasmus and on the *bonæ literæ* ⁷⁾.

The death of Baechem and of Dierckx, in August 1526, brought in, as mentioned repeatedly before ⁸⁾, a period of calm for the Institute; the severe Imperial decree, as well as the personal interference of Gattinara had also a salutary result for the studies ⁹⁾, especially since news was coming from Spain announcing how the opposition against Erasmus' principles and all the difficulties made against right studies, had been quelled by the authority of Charles V and Gattinara ¹⁰⁾. The hatred, which the enemies wanted to heap on languages and literature, seemed to be accumulating on themselves, and in their despair of having all their efforts set at nought if they openly waged war in the University

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 253-55; Allen, v, 1467, 8-12, 1469, 20, sq, 175, sq, 201, sq, 216.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 7-8; *MonHL*, 689.

³⁾ Cp. VAnd., 178; *CorpInq.*, iv, 114, 122, &c, v, 264; Krafft, 43; *Geld-Coll.*, 47.

⁴⁾ Cp. *AdriBurm.*, 398-99, 448-49; Allen, vi, 1668, 20-30.

⁵⁾ His son informed Erasmus that his father had started studying Greek at 55, and that he had his younger son trained by the Rotterdam master John de Beer, *Ursus*: Allen, vi, 1668, 12-20.

⁶⁾ Cp. Allen, vi, 1668, 12-14.

⁷⁾ Oom wrote a pamphlet in Dutch which he sent, on September 12, 1523, to Erasmus without mentioning his name; the latter replied in a letter addressed to Nicolas Everardi, President of Holland Council, on July 26, 1524; that reply, answering the charges briefly, was considerably enlarged when edited in the *Opus Epistolarum* (Basle, J. Froben, J. Herwagen, and N. Episcopius, 1529) p 809, with May 15, 1524 as date: Allen, v, 1469, 253, vi, 1668, 1-2.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 289, sq; Allen, vi, 1765, 26-63, 1768, 2, 1732, 40-42; *Cran.*, 148, a, b, 213, 36; *KaGNie.*, i, 61-3, 75-7.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 281, sq, 287, sq.

¹⁰⁾ On December 10, 1526, Goclenius sends to Erasmus letters from Charles V, as well as from some men in authority, as John Maldonatus, which had just come from Spain; he caused some of them to be translated into Latin by Honoratus Joannius (cp. Ch. XII): Allen, vi, 1768, 1, sq, 18-34, 1731, 1778, 17, 1788, 1, sq. Cp. before, pp 290-91.

town against Erasmus and his Institution, they looked for a change in their tactics. They abandoned criticizing directly the great Humanist and the *Trilingue*, but they attacked some particular point, which although intimately connected with that School and its chief Protector, was not represented otherwise than as a wholly independent moral or religious evil, against which the members of some orders inveighed throughout the country.

Those disguised attacks of the adversaries seem to have been directed more especially against the study and teaching of Greek, which was believed to be an unavoidable cause of heretical influence ¹⁾. Probably on account of the complete strangeness of that language and of its connection with the Schism of Photius, a great number of blind servants of the Church associated it with the kingdom of darkness and of evil. Whereas Latin was known, in a way, and practised even with an excellence of its own throughout the Middle Ages, as clearly results from poetic gems ranging from the Church hymns to the *Carmina Burana*, hardly anything was known of Greek before the Renaissance. At the end of the xvth century, the monstrosities of Ebrardus and of John de Garlandia were still taught at schools like that of Deventer ²⁾, and in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the most eminent scholars in the Universities did hardly impart anything else to their audience except the rudiments from elementary handbooks, like those by Gaza and Chrysoloras. The fact of having translated a treatise by St. Basil or by St. John Chrysostom into Latin, — which now would be expected to be part of the accomplishments of an average undergraduate, — was still considered in the thirties of that century as a title of glory for a member of Mechlin Great Council, Francis de Cranevelt ³⁾, and, as late as 1525, for the foremost of Humanists, Erasmus ⁴⁾. About Greek literature

¹⁾ *ErAge*, 118, sq ; *ErAllen*, 85, 138, 152-53. ²⁾ *ErAge*, 36, 38, sq.

³⁾ Cranevelt translated *Homiliæ Tres* which were published in Louvain, R. Rescius, 1534, and *Contra Ebriosos Homilia* : Louvain, R. Rescius, July 1535 : *Gran.*, lxxi, 272, 275 ; *Nijkron.*, I, 254, II, 2382.

⁴⁾ *Divi Ioannis Chrysostomi de Orando Deum Libri Duo Erasmo Interprete* : the letter dedicating it to Maximilian of Burgundy is dated March 30, 1525 : *Allen*, VI, 1563, and the book was printed by J. Froben, Basle, April 1525. Cp. *Nijkron*, I, 562, 563, II, 2635.

little more was known to some than that it contained many licentious works, such as Sappho's poems, condemned to the fire by the Church of Constantinople in 1073, and that in the Apostolic times many pertinacious heresies had given much trouble to the rising Church.

The renewal of the study of that language by some adepts of Humanism, gave a new impulse to the secular opposition ; for although the Council of Vienne, in 1311, had recommended the teaching of Greek in all the Universities in a spirit of proselytism, there had remained a decided hostility throughout the latter half of the Middle Ages ¹). The suspicion of heresy clung most naturally to it, in so far that bishops gave up the traditional custom of signing their names in that language, and that only the Dominicans, entrusted with the control of the Inquisition, could learn it at pleasure with impunity ²). Yet the flourishing Greek studies in the Italy of the *quattrocento* had revealed that the philosophy ascribed by tradition to Aristotle and Plato was widely different at many places from what their texts carried in the original tongue ; also that mathematics and history, astronomy and medicine were largely, if not exclusively, based on the erudition of Hellas, which was cruelly transfigured in many translations ³). On that account humanists claimed for Greek a place by the side of Latin in the process of intellectual development ; its necessity for study in general, and for religious and scripturistic knowledge in particular, was pointed out as late as 1515 by Thomas More to Martin van Dorp ⁴), whereas it was authoritatively recommended by Henry VIII as well to Oxford University as to one of his Court preachers⁵).

¹) Sandys, I, 607 ; some attempts were made in the XIIIth and the XIVth century : by Raymond Lullius in Paris, and Richard of Bury in Oxford : Sandys, I, 598, 602. George Hermonymus, of Sparta, who came to England with Bishop George Neville, of Exeter, was kept in prison as a spy until 1476, when he started a long career as Greek teacher in Paris : Allen, *Shirwood and his Library* : *EngHistRev.*, 1910 : 449 ; Renaudet, 117, &c. ²) Sandys, I, 607 ³) Paulsen, 70-71.

⁴) More wrote the *Apologia pro Moria Erasmi*, qua etiam docetur quam necessaria sit linguæ Græcæ cognitio, to Dorp, October 21, 1515 : *MoreLuc.*, 365, 405-18 ; *MonHL*, 156-57 ; *Cran.*, 213, c.

⁵) Cp. before, pp 291-92 ; Allen, III, 948, 199-219.

Men like Richard Croke ¹⁾, William Budé ²⁾, and, later on, Nicolas Clenard ³⁾ proclaimed its excellence, and Erasmus was happy to point out the growing progress in Hellenic studies in his preface to the *Dictionarius Græcus* by John Craston, completed and edited by James Ceratinus in July 1524 ⁴⁾, which was often reprinted, meeting the growing request for help on account of an increasing number of editions of Greek texts.

Still for the generality of cultivated men ⁵⁾, not to mention the people, the old adage 'Græce scire hæresis est' held all its value ⁶⁾, in so far that : Quicquid erit... Græcitate conditum, suspectum appellabitur ⁷⁾. As late as January 5, 1523, Erasmus complained to John de Carondelet about some 'cameli verius quam homines', — no doubt Bæchem and his *confratres*, — 'qui blaterant ex Græcis literis nihil aliud oriri quam hæreses. Et quum hæc vociferentur in publicis concionibus, mirantur si quibus videntur elleboro egere' ⁸⁾. That bugbear seemed, a few years later, the most fitting objection against languages after the Imperial decree had been promulgated, as well as the handiest means to harm the *Trilingue* without mentioning it, by just frightening the simple-minded from any contact with learning on account of the unavoidable danger of moral and religious perdition. One of Bæchem's great friends, Paschasius, a popular preacher of the

¹⁾ In 1519, he delivered in Cambridge an inaugural *oratio*... a cura qua utilitatem laudemque Græcæ linguæ tractat (Paris, Sim. de Colines, 1520) : cp. before, I, 274-77 ; Cooper, I, 179 ; Cheke, 24 ; BudERép., 86-87.

²⁾ Budé bitterly criticizes the monks who, in the twenties of that century, were creating difficulties to those who wanted to study or to teach Greek : BudERép., 199, sq, 231, sq, &c. He wrote a vindication of his own opinion on the subject in *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* : Paris, 1535.

³⁾ In 1530 Clenard wished that : 'tandem cogantur Græcari vel nostri hostes' : ClenE, 55.

⁴⁾ Allen, v, 1460, *pr*, 3, sq ; cp. before, p 324.

⁵⁾ Cp. P. de Nolhac, *Le Grec à Paris sous Louis XII* (*Revue des Études Grecques*) : Paris, 1888 : I, 61-67 ; Cran., 213, c ; ErAge, 118, sq ; Wolsey, 145 ; ErasFroud., 25, sq, 146-48 ; Sandys, II, 19, 128 ; Taylor, 44, 361 ; &c.

⁶⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, October 19, 1519 : Allen, IV, 1033, 239. — Cp. Gough, 360.

⁷⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Wolsey, April 25, 1526 : Allen, VI, 1697, 59 61, 118-119.

⁸⁾ Allen, v, 1334, 834, sq.

Mechlin Carmelite convent, was, by the end of 1526, one of the wildest adversaries of Greek studies : with a boisterous ranting and a blind animosity, which he seems to have inherited from his deceased 'confrater', he savagely inveighed against them in every pulpit ¹⁾, and even in that of St. Peter's, at a bowshot from the *Trilingue*.

B. JOHN PASCHASIUS

That John van Paesschen, *de Pasca*, *Paschasius*, a native of Brussels, had been educated at the house of his uncle John Picquot, or Pycquot, a canon of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin ²⁾. He entered there the Carmelite Order, and was sent to study in Louvain, where he promoted Doctor of Divinity on February 6, 1504 ³⁾, Adrian of Utrecht pronouncing on that occasion an oration about Elias and Henoch ⁴⁾. After having been for a time *regens* or *terminarius* in the Louvain house of his Order, he became Prior of the convent of Mechlin ⁵⁾, where, in 1506, he accepted as novice Nicolas Baechem, who in later time had an evident influence on his opinions ⁶⁾, and, no doubt, caused him to mix up heresy and heterodox reform with languages and studies of literature. He was a famous preacher, and after the death of Baechem, he seems to have aimed at taking his place in the strife. He became a declared

¹⁾ On Febr. 28, 1527, Goclenius announced to Erasmus : *Loco Egmondani cepit vociferari quidam Paschasius M. N.* : Allen, vi, 1788, 28-29.

²⁾ He died on July 15, 1524, having instituted as the executor of his will Dean John Robbyns : FUL, 5614 : cp. *Cran.*, xlv, 213, a ; FUL, 1998 : receipt mentioning that John Picquot paid out to the Carmelite Community on June 24, 1511, the capital of a rent bequeathed by Catherine Picquot to her nephew, which his father Arnold van Paesschen was to enjoy during his lifetime.

³⁾ VAnd., 98.

⁴⁾ *AdriReus.*, 199-202.

⁵⁾ *ULDoc.*, v, 357.

⁶⁾ Probably through Baechem, and on account of his own renown as preacher, he was requested to take part in the proceedings against heretics, especially against the Antwerp Augustines Henry Vos and John van den Esschen, in July 1523, in so far that his name is linked to the story of their execution, of which he wrote a record : *Cran.*, 65, e, 66, pr ; Paquot, v, 21-22 ; PF, 55 ; *AntwDiercx.*, iv, 1-5 ; Paschasius' report is in a way contradicted by Enders, iv, 184-86 ; cp. *Corplnq.*, iv, 204-214, v, 416 ; *BibRefNe.*, viii, 1-114 ; SchelAL, iv, 142 ; *BeitClem.*, i, 40-52 ; Allen, v, 1384, 2 ; KaGNie., ii, 79-81, 106-108 ; *Præp.*, 106-8, &c.

opponent of the *Trilingue* on account of its teaching of Hebrew, and especially of Greek ¹⁾. Succeeding, at least for a time, to his friend as preacher in St. Peter's ²⁾, he exposed his opinions with such a virulence that Francis de Cranevelt was told about it in Mechlin, and applied on that account to Peter de Corte. Although a proficient student of theology, the latter, as staunch humanist, replied and testified to what now sounds as perfect aberration : Quod de Paschasio audieras, he wrote, plane verum est ; neque opinor famam equare rem ipsam ³⁾. Nam sic debacchatus est in literas grecas, vt nemo fuerit crediturus tam parum esse in homine mentis, tamque parum eruditionis, nj ipse se traduxisset. Aiebat enim solita illa sua maiestate : Scitis, inquit, quid agitis quando liberos vestros curatis grece instituendos ? Hereticos inquit, alitis ! Atque vt intelligatis quod dico, ait : Greci populus sunt in quo duo imperatores et nouem regnant reges, qui omnes hereticj sunt et schismaticj, perpetuisque tumultibus viuunt, propterea quod loquuntur omnes grece ! Videte, inquit, quid sit grecas perdiscere literas & quantum periculj ! — Talia et quedam alia his non saniora, euomuit verius quam dixit in concione ⁴⁾.

Such grotesque charge could not but harm the very critics of real study, and open the eyes of many, thus foiling and baffling their own bad designs, as Goclenius remarked in a letter of December 10, 1526 ⁵⁾. Yet as it could not but hamper the upsoaring aspiration towards learning and the encouraging of all good efforts amongst students, as well as the confidence of well-to-do parents in the New Institute, that opposition from a popular preacher sounded ominous. No doubt the attack was finally aimed at the *Trilingue*, and as Erasmus received intelligence about it from various quarters, he wrote, on March 30, 1527, to John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo and President of the Privy Council ⁶⁾, and complained about the *quidam Paschasius*, who 'publi-

¹⁾ *Cran.*, 213, c.

²⁾ The *Regens* of the Carmelite house in Louvain had in his attributions the right or the duty to deliver sermons at stated days, *stationes*, in St. Peter's, and to act as *terminarius* : cp. I, 588, 598 ; de Jongh, 154.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 213, 9, sq.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 213, 9-21.

⁵⁾ Allen, vi, 1768, 1-7.

⁶⁾ Allen, vii, 1806.

citius e suggesto debacchatur in linguas ac bonas litteras, et nominatim in Collegium trilingue, quod instituit Louanij vir omnium sæculorum memoria dignus Hieronymus'. Let them fight heresies, he argues, and not the languages, without which all erudition is dumb, and lame, and blind. Nor is it right, he continues, to object that some, like Melanchthon, who study them, favour Luther : for it is not the fault of the study, but of the men ; far more numerous are those who ignore languages and favour Luther. By far the larger part of those who are instructed in them, fight Luther, and certainly in Louvain there is none amongst them who is not most averse to his doctrine. In fact, if the teaching of the *bonæ litteræ* were to be suppressed because some of those instructed in them, turn to the sects, it would be far more necessary to abolish the teaching of divinity, and even monachism itself, as an endless number of divines and of monks stand on, or turn to, Luther's side ¹⁾. He closes with the remark that it would be best and easiest to check those impetuous attacks in the beginning, as well as with the assurance of the hearty gratitude of all those who are interested in studies ²⁾.

Unfortunately Erasmus' complaint brought no immediate result, in so far that, on October 1, 1528, Erasmus stated to Archbishop John de Carondelet that he heard that, notwithstanding the Imperial decree, there was still one at Mechlin 'qui scurrili impudentia publice debacchetur in nomen meum' ³⁾. He repeated that statement on the same day in his letter to Erard de la Marck, Bishop of Liège, adding that the Court seems to approve of what he represents as a strange kind of gratitude for all his endeavours to promote '*bonas literas et rem Christianam*' ⁴⁾. Fortunately Paschasius soon became engrossed by other avocations : he left a chronicle of his Mechlin Convent, with much information about his work as inquisitor ⁵⁾ ; also a devotional treatise, represented as a

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1806, 3-27.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1806, 27-29.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 2055, 2-11.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 2054, 19-26.

⁵⁾ It was still in existence at the Convent by the end of the XVIIIth century, when it was seen and recorded by Paquot, v, 21-22, 25 : *Liber Memorabilium, quæ contigerunt in conventu Mechliniensi ab anno 1508 ad annum 1530* : MS. in fol.

pilgrimage from Tirlemont to Palestine, giving for every day a few words about the journey there and back, taking a whole year, and indicating for each a pious exercise about Our Lord's Passion ¹). It became most popular though only known as manuscript; it was published in 1563 ²), and greatly contributed to the exercise of the Stations of the Cross ³). He is mentioned for the last time in 1532, when he resigned to his *confrater* Martin Cuypers, the priorship of Mechlin Carmelite Convent ⁴).

C. PATIENTIA VICTRIX

On February 28, 1527, Goclenius announced to Erasmus the decease ⁵) of James van Hoogstraeten, 'vetus literarum hostis, et totius mali quo laborat Germania seminarium... magno dolore eorum quibus in illius improbitate magnum erat præsidium' ⁶). In the same breath he added dejectedly the information that, in the place of Egmondanus, Paschasius had started vociferating ⁷) : it must, indeed, have been most discouraging for a hearty champion of intellectual development and humanizing culture to experience, instead of benevolent interest and kind toleration, the most hostile opposition from those who succeed one another in the pulpit from where only God's truth and His Gospel should be proposed. Many of them made a most unrighteous use of their being invested with the sacred authority of the Church to press their preju-

¹) Paquot, v, 23-24.

²) It was edited in 1563, as *Een devote maniere om gheestelyck pelgrimage te trecken tot den heylighen lande*, by Peter Calentyn, chaplain of the *Grand Béguinage* of Louvain, and printed in that town by Jer. Welle : Paquot, v, 23-25.

³) H. Thurston, in his *Étude Historique sur le Chemin de la Croix* (translated by A. Boudinhon : Paris, 1907), 139, concludes that the present-day Stations of the Cross do not come from Jerusalem, but from Louvain : de Jongh, 101.

⁴) Paquot, v, 20-26 ; *Bib Belg.*, 548 ; BaxH, II, 177 ; *Cran.*, 213, a-b ; this John Paschasius is quite different from the personage implicated in the *tragoedia Alardica et Pascasiana*, Paschasius Berselius : Allen, v, 1437, 29, 207 ; cp. before, I, 494-500.

⁵) Cologne, January 21, 1527 : cp. before, I, 418-27, 437-39.

⁶) Allen, VI, 1788, 30-33.

⁷) Allen, VI, 1788, 28.

dice and antipathy on hearers who, lacking knowledge and insight, and even all independence of judgment, blindly confided in their spiritual leaders. And yet, the latter's argument was so utterly devoid of common sense, so totally deficient in proofs and consistency, that with intelligent people they ruined their own reputation rather than causing any real harm to good studies. Goclenius consoled himself by that aspect of the question ¹⁾, whereas Erasmus had pity on the '*turba*', and applied for repression to Archbishop John de Carondelet. He advises him not to pay any attention to the impudent blabbing of some men, and reminds him that, throughout the world, the *bonæ litteræ* are coming into great esteem on account of their advantages, which nobody can remain insensible of, and which secure them most powerful protectors : as proof of that high opinion of both civil and ecclesiastic supreme authorities ²⁾, he submits to him copies of letters from the Emperor ³⁾, from the Great-Chancellor Mercurini ⁴⁾, as well as from Cardinal Campeggio ⁵⁾.

Erasmus' appeal to Carondelet does not seem to have produced any result : no measures were taken to prevent that the lectures of the *Trilingue* should be further abused, and the great Humanist remarked disconsolately, on October 1, 1528, that the Mechlin Carmelite was still raving, and that the Court even connived at his obloquy ⁶⁾. No doubt that disappointment weighed heavily on the lonely man, just as some while ago he had been disheartened at the change in Giberti's disposition ⁷⁾, who, after having ensured him of his utter devotion on account of his admiration ⁸⁾, had backed

¹⁾ Letter to Erasmus, December 10, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1768, 1-7 ; cp. p 340.

²⁾ Letter of March 30, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1806, 3-36.

³⁾ Letter of Charles V to Erasmus, August 4, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1731.

⁴⁾ Letter of Gattinara to Erasmus, October 1, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1757 : cp. 1785 : February 10, 1527.

⁵⁾ That letter does not seem to have survived.

⁶⁾ Allen, vii, 2054, 19-21, 2055, 1-5 ; cp. before, pp 340-41.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 277-80.

⁸⁾ Cp. his letter of April 20, 1524, in which the newly appointed Datary offers his help for himself and his friends, declaring that Clement VII highly esteems him, quanquam, he adds, amari abs te me valde cupere non dissimulauerim : Allen, v, 1443^a, 14, 26, 89.

his adversaries ¹⁾, and, although obtaining the grants and favours which he had asked for others ²⁾, had failed to assist him when he urgently requested help for his own peace and security ³⁾. He had declared his bitter disillusion to the Datary, stating that his enemies, who wrongly 'elegantiores litteras cum Lutheri negocio permisc<e>nt' ⁴⁾, had been made more vehement in their animosity : *Hi quibus Pontifex imposuerat silentium, sic agunt quasi iusserit eos magis insanire quam antea fecerant* ⁵⁾.

In the same letter to the Datary, Erasmus bitterly blamed those who serve their own private grudges under the pretext of religion. He contended that there were enough adepts of the new doctrine than that it should be necessary falsely to accuse, or even suspect, innocents ⁶⁾. And it is not himself only, he states, whom he is pleading for : the vexation is evidently caused by an aversion from erudition and right studies, as it had started long before Luther became known, and it is aimed, much to Erasmus' grief, at all those who devote themselves to the study of languages and fine litera-

¹⁾ When, in 1526, Hezius, sent to silence Baechem and Dierckx in Louvain, was induced by them and Latomus not to urge that defence, and not to tell Erasmus as he was ordered, he wrote to Giberti, who approved of that disobedience, and promised secrecy ; from some of his officials Erasmus got the copies of those letters, and even of a comment which the Datary had added to a missive of his secretary, so that it was to be known only to the four persons directly interested : cp. before, pp 267-280 ; Allen, vi, 1717, 10-14, 1735, 26-28, 1747, 33-40.

²⁾ Giberti had given help on Erasmus' request to James Lefèvre of Étapes, when a fugitive at Strassburg : Allen, vi, 1650^a, 14-18, 1571, *pr* ; Herminjard, i, 401-2 ; he had obtained a favour for the *Trilingue* : cp. bef., pp 279, 315-16 ; Allen, vi, 1650^a, 1, *sq*. Moreover he had secured for his friend Wary and the Faculty of Arts the confirmation of Adrian VI's extension of the *Privilegium Nominationum* : cp. before, pp 278, 300, *sq*, 304, *sq*, 309-11.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 278-80.

⁴⁾ Letter to Giberti, May 21, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1716, 34, *sq*, 36-37.

⁵⁾ In the same letter to Giberti ; Erasmus then adds : *lactitant <Baechem, Dierckx, Latomus & Hezius> huiusmodi voces, 'Scimus animum Pontificis, quidquid ille scribit', and he sarcastically inquires : 'Vnde hæc illis fiducia nescio'* : Allen, vi, 1716, 57-60.

⁶⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 40, *sq* : *Abunde est eorum qui factiosa dogmata palam et ingenue profitentur, vt nihil opus sit falsis delationibus innoxiorum ac suspitionis insimulationibus.*

ture, especially at the staff of Busleyden College and at the Institute himself ¹⁾. All that is mentioned for the benefit of Giberti who called himself a '*literarum amator*', and declared himself bound by veneration and admiration to the author famous '*inter homines... sanctissimis laboribus, æternisque scriptorum monumentis*' ²⁾.

Taught by Erasmus' experience, Goclenius seems to have had little confidence in the interference of authority : he had learned that the Emperor's severe decree ³⁾, and the silencing of contradictors by Adrian VI ⁴⁾, and by Clement VII ⁵⁾, had hardly produced any result, as those to whom the prohibition applied found schemes and devices to elude it '*ac sibi videntur cati*' ⁶⁾. Moreover, instead of calming the spirits of the opponents, it made them more vehement and revengeful. In fact there seem to have been very few adversaries like Florent Oom van Wyngaerden ⁷⁾, who, after criticizing Erasmus, started studying Greek himself ⁸⁾, sent one son, John, to avail himself of the lectures of the *Trilingue* ⁹⁾, and entrusted

¹⁾ Allen, vi, 1716, 47, sq.

²⁾ Letter of Giberti to Erasmus, April 20, 1524 : Allen, v, 1443a, 20, sq : he also declares : *literarum... amator sum, in tantum vt meas cogitationes felices arbitrer, cum in doctissimorum virorum vel memoria vel mentione versantur* (*ibid.*, 21-23). On October 13, 1524, Erasmus answered Giberti's offer of services, and refers to his *De Libero Arbitrio*, just sent to Rome, as well as to other writings which he is preparing ; he also expresses his intention to work for the welfare of the Church in the difficult circumstances : Allen, v, 1506, 9, sq. Cp. before, pp 278-80.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 281, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 525 ; pp 254-55.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 266-77.

⁶⁾ Letter to Gattinara, Septemb. 3, 1526 : *His artibus eludunt ædicta... Pontificis, ac sibi videntur cati* : Allen, vi, 1747, 65-66.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 7-8, and pp 259-60.

⁸⁾ Allen, vi, 1668, 12-13, 15-16.

⁹⁾ John wrote to Erasmus, requesting an answer to his father, on February 28, 1526, announcing that he is studying in Louvain, boarding at the house of John Vullinck, head of the school of St. Peter's, and secretary to the University (cp. before, I, 8, 368). He was on excellent terms with Adrian Barlandus and Josse Vroeye, of Gavere (cp. before, I, 217-18, &c, 222-26), as well as with Goclenius, which suggests that he attended some lectures at the *Trilingue* : Allen, vi, 1668, 33, sq, 40, sq, and the reply, 1699, 9-13. Adrian VI had favoured him with a nomination *motu proprio* to a canonry in St. Lambert's, at Liège. He went to fulfill the duties of that prebend in 1527, and, although he was only ordained in 1544 at Herckenrode by the suffragant Gedeon van der

another, probably Cornelius ¹⁾, to the care of John de Beer to be trained in Latin and Greek ²⁾).

Rather than putting his trust in the protection of civil or ecclesiastical authorities, Goclenius relied on the righteousness of his cause, and found an encouragement in the fact that the adversaries, by their lack of common sense and consistent proofs, ruined their own cause, and thus contributed in the end to the welfare of good studies ³⁾. He and his colleagues hoped that God would grant them the help of authority towards victory, but they were ready to accept and fight the struggle against the barbarous and godless enemies ⁴⁾, not, however, by the arms of quarrel or discussion, but by the calm and punctual performance of their task, as Erasmus had counselled them in his letter to Wary of March 30, 1527 ⁵⁾. Their weapons were unexceptionable teaching and study, joined to an unobjectionable life, and, as Goclenius declared, they were strengthened by a patience which made them sure of success : *Hostes nostros patientia vincimus... nos nostros corymbos nectimus, et nectemus, donec delassentur vel rumpantur ilia Codris* ⁶⁾.

In his letter of November 7, 1527, Goclenius is pleased to announce to Erasmus that 'quod ad tranquillitatem studiorum pertinet, omnia sunt pacatissima', thanks no doubt to the influence of Spain, where all opposition to studies and to Erasmus had been quelled ⁷⁾. It did not mean that all hostility

Gracht, he was already entrusted with juridical missions in the proceedings against heretics in 1539. In 1545, he acted as assessor to the Official, which implies that he had studied Law in Louvain : *Bergh-Autr.*, 141, 152, 197, 270 ; cp. before, I, 7-8, 271.

¹⁾ Cp. bef., I, 7 ; Allen, vi, 1668, 16-20. 'Gysbertus oem de wygaerden' matriculated as *dives porcensis*, August 31, 1527 : *LibIntIII*, 344, v.

²⁾ John de Beer was a friend of Cornelius Gerard, who offered to him Cornelius Crocus' *Farrago Sordidorum Verborum*, edited in Erasmus' *Paraphrasis* on Valla's *Elegantiae*, Cologne, 1529 ; Alard of Amsterdam inserted some verses *Joannis Beri Amstelredami* in Erasmus' *Carmen Bucolicum* : Leyden, 1538 : Allen, vi, 1668, 19 ; *EraBib.*, I, 24 ; cp. before, pp 202, sq.

³⁾ Letter to Erasmus, December 10, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1768, 5-7.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1768, 7-13. ⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1806^a, 17-33 ; cp. bef., pp 313-14.

⁶⁾ Letter of Goclenius, February 28, 1527 : Allen, vi, 1788, 27-30.

⁷⁾ Allen, vii, 1899, 85-88, 97-99 ; cp. before, pp 290-91.

against the *Trilingue* had ceased : one member in one of the councils of the Imperial Court complained about what he called the *interitus*, the utter decay of Louvain University, and threw all the responsibility of that ruin on Busleyden College, with the hope of having it proscribed and abolished. Whereas the other members quite disregarded that accusation, it seemed to the President, John de Carondelet, τῷ Πανοργμίτῃ ¹⁾, that the crime was not to be slighted : indeed, as Goclenius declared, if the members would let him, he would even shut all the printing offices, as he considered it the safest way to cure the cancer spread over the whole of the world, as corruption rose from them as from its sources ²⁾. What the councillor called the ruin of the University, was merely his and some others' loss of profit ³⁾ : it made Goclenius boldly assert that never, at any time, the Brabant *Studium Generale* had been so prosperous and so well attended as since Busleyden's School had been at work : cum reuera nunquam æque floruerit aut fuerit frequentior ⁴⁾. Whereas in Germany the Universities were depopulating most alarmingly ⁵⁾, the number of students grew in Louvain and in the *Trilingue*, in so far that even the enlarged lecture-room became too small, and prompted Goclenius to double his Latin lecture : 'prælectionem meam geminaui', as he announced to his great Friend on May 10, 1528 ⁶⁾.

It further appears that the latest addition to the elements constituting the Academic Commonwealth had brought, not only a material extension, but also a formal revival of spirit and of life to the then secular institution. Far from declining,

¹⁾ Allen, III, 803, 12 ; *Gran.*, 56, c ; *Busl.*, 40, 284.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 85-97.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 89-91.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 90-91.

⁵⁾ That decrease in the number of students in the German Universities, which started in the twenties, was attributed to the religious innovations, or, as Erasmus said, *Ubi Lutherus regnat, bonæ literæ pereunt* ; it is, e. g., recorded for Erfurt (cp. before, p 39), Cologne (*Rhetius*, 5 ; *UniKöln.*, 113, 370-71), Basle (*Oecolamp.*, I, 366), &c. Some Universities, in order to remedy the evil, tried to enlist the help of Erasmus, and announced even his cooperation, as happened for Leipzig and Heidelberg (Enders, II, 406 ; Allen, IV, 1102, 10, 1223, *pr*). Cp. bef., pp 6, 39, 40, 43.

⁶⁾ Letter to Erasmus : Allen, VII, 1994^a, 26-27.

the intellectual energy was fully renovated : whereas ill-willers presume that, about 1530, the Louvain theologians, neglecting all study of the *literæ humaniores*, devoted themselves entirely to the interpretation of Thomas or of Scot, and quote as authorities *varii Erasmi aliorumque loci* ¹⁾ : yet from the notes of Gerard Geldenhouwer, who, by 1529, was certainly not in favour of Louvain ²⁾, can be gathered the suggestive testimony that there the 'juniores theologi sapere incipiunt, suntque inter eos multi qui discunt Græce et Hebraice' ³⁾. Quite as conclusive a testimony is given by the nicest of judges, Erasmus himself, who, on March 30, 1527, writes to Wary that he would encourage him to continue with his staff to provide, by an exemplary life and by the diligence in teaching, the best possible reply to all Zoili who prefer envying to emulating, if he did not see for himself that they are realizing it with care and success ⁴⁾. He reminds the professors that they are doing a grand work, of which the results will live through centuries, and for which the merits will only be fully gauged in after times ⁵⁾ ; he finishes by recommending them to join to the zeal in the teaching and to the virtuous living, the concord and unanimity without which great things decay and with which even small ones develop : if various languages broke up Babel, they built up the Church, as there was only one and the same spirit ⁶⁾. The letter containing those passages was

¹⁾ Thus Caspar Burman, in his introduction to *Hadrianus VI*, referring to Gerard Morinck's time, 1524-56 (*MonHL*, 485), writes : Lovanienses... Theologi, eo tempore, neglectis omnibus humaniorum literarum studiis, *Thoma, Schoto*, aliisque ejus farinæ scholasticis Doctoribus interpretandis et explicandis se totos dabant ; et eos, qui literarum cognitionem, sine qua nemo unquam felix Theologus evasit, necessariam existimabant, in hæreticorum... castra transiisse clamabant, ut ex variis Erasmi, aliorumque locis probare possemus : *AdriBurm.*, f ***2, v : as no passage is quoted to substantiate that assertion, it rather seems to be the repetition of a general remark lacking all probative force.

²⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 240, f-h.

³⁾ The words are quoted from a passage 'Ex epistola amici' : *Geld-Coll.*, 87.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1806^a, 17-22 : ...nisi perspicerem hoc a vobis hactenus diligenter ac feliciter esse factum.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1806^a, 22-33 : that passage has been quoted before, p 314.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1806^a, 33-39.

religiously kept in the *Trilingue* for more than two centuries and a half as the will of the second Founder ¹⁾, not because it was the revelation of an aim up to then unsuspected, but rather as a tactful appreciation of the work carried on zealously and successfully unto that day, as well as a hearty encouragement to continue it with vigorous perseverance.

5. THE 'TRILINGUE' IMITATED

A. SCHOOLS IN CHARLES V'S ESTATES

Although continually exposed to the difficulties and annoyances resulting from the offensive mixing up of the study of languages with suspicious doctrines and heresy, the staff of the *Trilingue* continued its beneficent work with steady zeal and indomitable energy. They were abundantly encouraged by the growing number of attentive hearers and by the unmistakable dawn of prosperity ; also by the praiseworthy envy in all those who appreciated the work that was being done and who continued it, in their turn, in the Grammar Schools all over the country. It gave a new impetus to the grand plan of a Bilingual College, which Robert de Keysere ²⁾ had started in 1517 at Tournai ³⁾, but which could hardly live through the years that the town was harassed continually by disputes and wars between France and England. On its restitution to the Netherlands, in 1523, de Keysere's School for languages was realized again, thanks to the help of the Bishop's Vicar-General, Peter Cotrel ⁴⁾, who secured the services of James Teyng Ceratinus ⁵⁾, of Nicolas van Broeck-

¹⁾ It was inserted as the second probative document into *MotJuris*, 58/59 : cp. before, pp 322-23, and further, Ch. XXIV.

²⁾ Cp. Allen, I, 175, *pr*, II, 525, *pr*.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 280, 450, 520-25 : — the threat of transferring Busleyden's Foundation either to Tournai or Bruges, broke down Louvain's opposition to accept it, — also pp 288, 292.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 522 ; *Cran.*, 42, 12.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 281-82, 522 ; pp 98-101, 316 ; Allen, III, 622, 31, IV, 1237, 21-25, VI, 1768, 88.

hoven ¹⁾ and of Melchior of Vianden, *Viandulus* ²⁾). It enjoyed much sympathy : Erasmus heartily encouraged it, and by

¹⁾ Nicholas van Broeckhoven, born in 1478 at Hertogenbosch, *Buscoducensis*, probably had made Erasmus' acquaintance at the school of that town : LipsE, 760. He studied in the Lily, Louvain, where he became B. A. in 1503, and probably in 1504 Master of Arts. He was active for several years as master of Middelburg school. By 1510, he returned to Louvain, and made there a living as a tutor ; when Thierry Martens settled in the University town, he became a corrector in his office : Iseghem, 90, 141, 233, 237, 242. He taught Martin Lips for some time : LipsE, 787, and he made friends with all the humanists then at work in the Netherlands, from John de Spouter and Martin van Dorp (*MonHL*, 364, 365 ; *BB*, D, 267, 1, 294, 4, B, 290, 10, A, 154, 4 ; cp. before, I, 97, 205-23), to Gerard Geldenhouwer and Cornelius Grapheus : *Geldenh.*, 23, 24, 55 ; *BibRefNe.*, VI, 273, sq, 345, 385. In September 1519, he went to Basle and took Dorp's *Oratio de Laudibus Pauli* (March 1520) to Froben : RhénE, 176 ; in August 1520, he was head of the Antwerp Grammar School, but had some trouble on account of his religious opinions. He was imprisoned in 1521-22, and was only liberated after a public abjuration of his errors : *GeldColl.*, 46, sq ; *LatCont.*, 382-84 ; before, I, 425, 438. He went to Basle (Allen, V, 1431, 5) ; and then taught for a time at Tournai, before he returned to Antwerp. He left it in August 1528 to join the Reformers, with whom he had been long in sympathy, much to Martin Lips' displeasure : LipsE, 759-760, 727. He settled at Bremen, and married there, although being a priest ; he taught at Wesel from 1540, becoming head of the school, and, in 1543, Superintendent of Wesel ; he resigned the latter office in 1548 in consequence of the *Interim*, and tried to secure that of Emden during a temporary absence in London of John a Lasco, in 1549 : *Lasco*, 312, 455 ; he died before 1556 as minister of Blankenburg, Harz : *Goch*, 276-282 ; *LatCont.*, 382-84 ; P. Kalkoff, *Der Inquisitionsprozess des Antwerpener Humanisten Nik. von Herzogenbusch*, in *ZKG*, XXIV, 417-429 ; *KaG.Nie.*, I, 57, 62, II, 70, sq, 102 ; Allen, III, 616, 14, 637, 4 ; *Cran.*, XLV, 24, b, &c ; *MonHL*, 135-36, &c, 365, &c ; *BibRefNe.*, VI, 273, sq, 345-7, 385 ; *Præp.*, 237-38 ; *AntvDiercx.*, III, 342, sq ; *Heresbach*, 121 ; *CorpRef.*, III-X ; cp. before, I, 523, 576, sq (showing that he had no hand in the *Vita S. Nicolai*, nor in the *Epistola*) ; also p 259.

²⁾ Melchior Matthæi, of Vianden, — capital of an old county, now a small town between Diekirch and Echternach, renowned for the ruins of its famous castle, — *Viandulus*, studied in Louvain, where on February 29, 1508, he matriculated as poor student of the Castle : 'Melchior mathej de viēna, trevirensis dioc.' : *LibIntIII*, 142, v ; and promoted the second of 148 candidates as Master of Arts in 1510 : *UL-PromRs.*, 69. He then started studying theology and was elected, on September 30, 1518 and September 28, 1520, procurator for the Holland nation in the Faculty of Arts : Melchior de Vyenna : *LibNomI*, 160, sq. Meanwhile he was teaching languages in his Pedagogy so successfully

his will of January 22, 1527, he even bequeathed to it a set of his complete works, which were to be published at his death ¹⁾; far from considering it as a danger for Busleyden's Institute, he recommended it to the Emperor's protection in his letter to Gattinara, when pleading for the Louvain *Trilingue*, September 3, 1526 ²⁾).

Still that school was not to live long as the Louvain University considered it as a breach of the privilege of her monopoly granted by the Prince in all his dominions ³⁾, especially since, about 1525, at the projected solemn entrance of the new Bishop, Charles of Croy, the town authorities of Tournai contemplated creating the Faculties of Theology and Laws, so as to offer to students talking French the means of developing their formation, and prevent them from going to

that, on September 24, 1521, Erasmus places him amongst the leading Louvain instructors: Est Melchior Trevir in collegio Castrensi, moribus inculpatissimis, in philosophia pene detritus, theologiæ vetus iam cultor: sed his dotibus adiunxit vtriusque literaturæ non vulgarem peritiam: Allen, iv, 1237, 40-43. Early in 1522, a situation was offered to him which Erasmus urged him to accept: let him go on to success, and not draw back, he wrote to Goclenius on February 6, provided he does not become a tool in the hands of bad men: Allen, v, 1257, 1-4. He possibly already then went to Tournai where, for certain, he taught from June 20 to October 20, 1525. At the breaking up of the school, he had settled in that town where he married twice and had several children; he died there of the pest, as Erasmus learned from Goclenius' letter of February 25, 1535, and as he related to Bartholomew Latomus on August 24, 1535: Allen, xi, 2998, 52, 3048, 72. Erasmus heartily liked Vianden, for, on February 25, 1524, he dedicated to him his *Paraphrasis in Tertium Psalmum* (Basle, J. Froben, 1524) and on April 2 of the same year, he wished that, at his death, he should be given 130 *philippici*: Allen, v, 1427, 1437, 124-125, 220. In Louvain, Vianden was most intimate with Martin Lips, who, about 1525, even confided to him the trouble which he suffered from Nicolas van Winghe, his 'confrater' and Melchior's old student of the Castle: LipsE, 751-52; cp. before, p 290. Vianden is certainly not meant by the professor '*non sacerdos*' of the letter of June 16, 1522, to Goclenius, as is suggested in Allen, v, 1292, 2. Cp. before, p 100; Allen, iv, 1237, 41, vi, 1768, 87; *MonHL*, 497, 533, 559.

¹⁾ Allen, vi, p 505.

²⁾ Allen, vi, 1747, 116.

³⁾ Documents referring to the opposition of Louvain against the plan of starting a new University, 1532-33: de Jongh, *63-*64; protestations and lawsuits against various bodies to protect her monopoly of higher instruction: *FUL*, 108 (against Tournai, first half of xviiith century), 109, 110; *ULPrivCon.*, 610-624.

France ¹⁾. There was no mistaking the reasonableness of that aim : indeed, even the wish to learn that language made Tournai and some of the neighbouring towns, like Arras, for half a century the resort of the youth of the Low Countries, since by the continual wars they were prevented from following the beaten tracks to Paris and Montpellier ²⁾. That want was felt to such an extent that Joachim Hopper proposed the creation of a professorship of French in the *Trilingue*, in his letter, of November 28, 1557, to President Viglius ³⁾, which, no doubt, led to the appointment of Claud Puteanus as 'professor in de Walsche of Franchoisier tale' in 1562-63 ⁴⁾. Yet in 1525 the ideas had not developed to that extent : the University, backed by the Louvain Town Council, applied to Margaret of Austria so as to prevent that in the school patronized by Peter Cotrel, Vicar-general of Tournai and Archdeacon of Bruges ⁵⁾, some matters should be taught of which she had the monopoly ⁶⁾. All efforts to come to an understanding were obstinately ignored by Louvain ⁷⁾, to whose *Studium Generale* the Great Council of Mechlin attributed peremptorily in 1530, the exclusive privilege of the public teaching of matters of higher instruction ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ VAnd., 358-59; de Jongh, *50; J. van den Gheyn & V. van der Haeghen, *L'Humaniste Imprimeur Rob. de Keyser* (in *Ann. Soc. d'Hist. et d'Arch. Gand*, viii) : Ghent, 1908 : 89, sq, 325, sq. Cp. before, I, 522-24.

²⁾ Cp. e. g., ValE, 13 : Cornelius Valerius van Auwater writes in 1547 to Jerome de 't Serooskercke, that he is waiting for the political sky to clear up to remove with his son to Paris; in November 1531, Goclenius had sent John Erasmus Froben to Lille to learn French after having tried Latin in Louvain : Allen, ix, 2573, 78-80.

³⁾ ViglEL, 21 : ...quid videretur, si tribus professoribus linguarum quartus, qui gallice doceret, adderetur. Est enim hujus linguæ summus hodie usus, et retineret ea res fortasse multos, quominus in Galliam proficiscerentur. Quamquam ex altera parte satis indignum videtur linguam barbaram, et quæ hosti propria sit, in tantum habere honorem.

⁴⁾ *Anal.*, xi, 108.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 522.

⁶⁾ *LibActV*, 42, v, 45, r, 46, r, 47, r, 65, r, 75, v, 77, v.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 522-25, with sources quoted.

⁸⁾ Cp. A. Hoquet, *Tournai et le Tournaisis au XVI^e Siècle* : Tournai, 1906 : 284; VAnd., 358-360. During Charles V's reign, Douai and Lille repeatedly, but vainly, attempted to move the Emperor to granting them the right to open schools preventing students from emigrating into France. Under Philip II, the danger of being infected by Genevan Calvinism caused the founding of Douai University in 1572.

If Louvain University prevented new schools to be erected within the limits of the Low Countries, the *Trilingue*, which was the chief cause of her prosperity and her renown, must have rejoiced in the imitation which as a tribute of admiration was paid to her excellence in the chief intellectual centers of Charles V's realm. Thus the School of Alcalá, founded by the eminent Ximenes ¹⁾, was organized in a way after the fashion of Louvain; for the great Cardinal bequeathed to the Chapter of St. Justus and St. Pastor the necessary funds to improve the existing prebends and, besides, to create a large number of new ones, on condition that they were enjoyed by Doctors of Divinity and Masters of Arts of the University — as was the case, for a smaller number of canonries, in St. Peter's, in Louvain, with the result that the Chapter Church of Alcalá gained the title of *Ecclesia Magistralis* ²⁾. Moreover the very organization of the School for Languages was copied on that of the prosperous *Trilingue*, no doubt thanks to the presence in Spain of young humanists having studied for several years in Louvain, such as Diego Gracian de Alderete, who had become the secretary of the Bishop of Zamora, Don Francisco de Mendoza, President of the Empress's Council ³⁾. It was placed under the protection of St. Jerome, Busleyden's venerated patron saint, and comprised twelve scholarships for rhetoric, twelve for Greek and six for Hebrew, and, like in Louvain, the teaching naturally aimed at renewing the spirit of the studies of divinity ⁴⁾.

Meanwhile the example of Louvain was most beneficent for Cologne ⁵⁾: the friends of learning were at work there: Mayor John von Rheidt ⁶⁾ and the three Kings, as an admirer called them ⁷⁾, namely Count Herman of Neuenahr ⁸⁾, the great erudite John Cæsarius ⁹⁾, and the humanistic professor James Sobbe, Sobius ¹⁰⁾, did what they could to bring about an

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 41, sq.

²⁾ *EraSpain*, 14-15.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XII.

⁴⁾ *EraSpain*, 371-72.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 40; *Rhetius*, 5.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 193; *Rhetius*, 8, sq; *Weinsberg*, I, 47.

⁷⁾ *UniKöln.*, 197. ⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 436-47, &c. ⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 281, &c.

¹⁰⁾ James Sobbe, Sobius, a native of Cologne, matriculated there on June 10, 1508, promoting B. A. in the *bursa Cornelianiana* in 1510. He travelled and visited Mutianus at Gotha: *MutE*, 434, sq, 596, sq, and

organization of lectures like those of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾. Their necessity was felt more and more, and had even been expressed by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, John Vulsken, Volscius, of Lünen, in his oration *de tribus linguis* at the *Quodlibeticæ* of 1523 ²⁾, which were further illustrated by a speech of James Sobius himself ³⁾ and by a plea of Peter Ubbels, of Wormer, in favour of the indispensability of the knowledge of Hebrew ⁴⁾. So evident was the influence of Louvain that James Ceratinus ⁵⁾, whom Erasmus had wished to be appointed as professor of Greek in 1518 ⁶⁾, was persuaded to come to Cologne, where he started work and tutoring; he lived, in April 1528, as a guest of Adolphus Eichholtz, Roboreus, Dryoxylus, canon at St. Mary's, a friend of Erasmus and Budé, who was then already teaching Canon Law, of which he became professor in 1540 ⁷⁾. Ceratinus had his *De Sono Literarum præsertim Græcarum* reprinted there by John Soter, in 1529, to which short booklet was added Erasmus' *De Recta Latini Græcique Sermonis Pronuntiatione Dialogus* ⁸⁾. Those two small treatises are the first documents

taught for a time under Æsticampianus at Freiburg, Saxony. He became M. A. in Cologne in 1516, and studied Law, whilst instructing. He was intimately connected with the two other 'Kings', and went with Neuenahr to Charles V's election at Frankfurt, congratulating him, on June 30, 1519, in the name of the nobility by an oration. Under the name of *Philalethes civis Utopiensis*, he wrote the *Dialogus Henno Rusticus*, 1519, against the Papal Legate selling indulgences. In 1523, he was appointed Town Orator and, in 1525-26, was entrusted with the mission of reforming the University studies: he died before January 25, 1528, leaving editions of Flavius Josephus, 1524, and Livy, 1525: Keussen, 478, 83; ADB; Allen, vi, 1775, *pr*; *UniKöln.*, 197, 340, 370; *HuNie-We.*, II, 27; *HutO*, iv, 486, *sq*, 514; *Krafft*, 118, 120, 123, 141, 156-58, 163, 198-200; *Tricoron.*, 46, 48, *sq*; *Varrentrapp*, 56-61; *Rhetius*, 10, *sq*, 12, *sq*.

¹⁾ *UniKöln.*, 112-13, 197, 371; there was a second attempt made to create an organism like the *Trilingue* about 1550, but it was no more successful than the first on account of general hostility: still it led to improving the *Tricoronatum*: *UniKöln.*, 200-1, 371.

²⁾ Keussen, 492, 20; *UniKöln.*, 197, 497, 512, 579, 581.

³⁾ Keussen, 478, 83.

⁴⁾ *Cp.* before, p 40.

⁵⁾ *Cp.* before, pp 323-330: meanwhile Erasmus had recommended him once more for the University of Leipzig: Allen, vii, 1899, 111, 1951, 24.

⁶⁾ *Cp.* before, I, 281-82; Allen, vii, 1899, 111.

⁷⁾ Keussen, 458, 1; Allen, iii, 866, *pr*.

⁸⁾ *Krafft*, 165-66; *EraBib.*, I, 76. Ceratinus' treatise was first printed by John Grapheus, Antwerp, 1527 (*NijKron.*, II, 2623), with a dedicatory

of the controversy about whether the old pronouncing of Greek was different from that which was used at Byzantium and by the Byzantine erudites; they fully contradicted the oriental tradition, which was then generally accepted, even by Reuchlin, and they introduced the new pronunciation which goes under Erasmus' name, and has supplanted the old one since nearly four centuries ¹).

Meanwhile Ceratinus' appointment as professor, which was considered as a fact ²), never realized, either through the premature death of Sobius and the aging of Mayor Rheidt, or since the animosity against languages became more intolerant as time advanced ³). The Greek erudite returned to Louvain, where he resumed his private tutoring and his studies ⁴) : they were unexpectedly interrupted by his untimely death, on April 20, 1530. He was buried in the Church of the Minorites ⁵) where a slab recalled his memory : *Egregius vir D. IACOBVS CERATINVS, ortus ex insigni oppido Hornensi, Presbyter Deo deuotus, & tam Græce quam Latine absolute doctus, vt testantur opera ab eo edita...* ⁶) Francis de Cranevelt and James Jespersen honoured his memory by an epitaph, as the latter announced to Erasmus on November 19, 1531 ⁷).

In the latter twenties, King Ferdinand of Austria and his

epistle to Erasmus of July 1, 1527, dated from Louvain : Allen, VII, 1843 : the author calls it his *primitiæ* (l 47). Erasmus' *Dialogus* was issued first by Froben, March 1528, with a dedicatory letter to Maximilian of Burgundy : Allen, VII, 1949. Cp. *MonHL*, 186.

¹) NèveRen., 202-3 ; Sandys, II, 130, 232-33, 272 ; Cheke, 87, sq.

²) Krafft, 165 ; Allen, VII, 2058, 11-12 : Quod Iacobo Ceratino facies, Erasmus wrote to John of Rheidt, October 1, 1528, non minus homini bene promerito facies, quam vestræ Academiæ ; sed, vt video, nimium de salario deliberatis.

³) Rhetius, 11, sq ; Tricoron., 47, sq ; UniKöln., 197, sq, 370.

⁴) Livinus Ammonius announced a false rumour of his death, ὀξύμορος, on July 15, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2197, 77.

⁵) SweMon., 241.

⁶) Cp. Mol., 603 ; Opmeer, I, 457 ; BatavMart., 141 ; BibBelg., 405-406 ; Miræus, II, 29 ; HEPH, 139, a ; Ciceronianus, EOO, I, 1013, f ; FG, 325 ; Allen, III, 622, 31 ; Cran., 218, a-d ; NèveRen., 200-3 ; NèveMem., 199 ; ErasDrum., I, 381 ; &c. — On his advice, Th. Martens had printed *Gregorii Nazianzeni Orationes Duæ*. Græce : Louvain (most probably about 1521) : NijKron., II, 3127.

⁷) Allen, IX, 2570, 5, sq ; Cran., LXXV, 218, d.

minister, the future Bishop of Vienna, John Faber ¹⁾, were planning to endow their capital with a school, in which the three languages were to be taught by most experienced erudites, as the latter announced to Erasmus on June 17, 1528 ²⁾. There, again, the Louvain example was leading, as results from the fact that both the King and his adviser tried by every means to induce to come to Vienna the man to whom just then Ecolampadius was making life unbearable at Basle ³⁾. Still the Erudite, who had shrunk from lecturing all his life, was not likely to begin in his old age. About 1534 John Faber founded the College of St. Nicolas, which he devoted to the teaching of the three languages ⁴⁾, thus realizing the ideal plan of his great friend, which was bringing a most precious help to all studies, and great glory to Louvain.

B. THE OXFORD COLLEGES

The first to realize an organism similar to that of Busleyden was Bishop Richard Fox, an old student of Louvain ⁵⁾, founder of the *Collegium Corporis Christi* in Oxford. He had devised it in the beginning as a study house for the monks of St. Swithin's, Winchester, but he accepted Bishop Oldham of Exeter's ⁶⁾ advice for a much wider scope ⁷⁾, and, most

¹⁾ John Heigerlin, son of the smith of Leutkirch, Allgau, *Faber* (1478-May 21, 1541), studied in Tübingen and Freiburg, a pupil of Zasius; he became a priest and subsequently Chancellor of the Bishop of Basle and Vicar of that of Constance. In 1523, he entered Ferdinand's service, who caused him to become Bishop of Vienna in 1530. He was as devoted a minister to his master as an enlightened shepherd to his flock, which suffered much during the siege of the Turks. He was a friend to humanism and Erasmus' continual protector. He strove also for a reform within the Church, which he vindicated against Luther and Zwingli. Cp. A. Horawitz, *Johannes Heigerlin, genannt Faber* : Vienna, 1884; Allen, II, 386, *pr*; *ADB*; *MatriFreib.*, 188.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 2000, 16-52.

³⁾ June 1528 : Allen, VII, 2000, 28-31, 2005, 19, 2006, 2007, 6-10.

⁴⁾ J. Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität* : Vienna, 1888 : III, 319-322; *ADB*, s. v. Faber.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 174-75.

⁶⁾ Hugh Oldham, who founded Manchester Grammar School, was Bishop of Exeter from 1504 till his death in 1519; he largely contributed to the foundation of Corpus Christi College : *DNB*.

⁷⁾ FoxE, xiv; *Fisher*, 123; *VivAng.*, 86, *sq*; Allen, III, 965, 9, 967, 26.

likely, let himself be further persuaded about the special character of his institute by John Claymond, who was to be its first president ¹⁾. Yet, although their great friend Erasmus highly praised the *collegium magnificum* on June 27, 1517, as being 'tribus præcipuis linguis ac melioribus literis, vetustisque auctoribus proprie consecra[tum]' ²⁾, it was not a *Collegium Trilingue*. Indeed one of the three professors was to teach theology, and no language was specified for his branch, although the decree of the Vienne Council ³⁾ which was supposed to have prompted the foundation, prescribed the teaching of Hebrew or Syriac besides that of Greek and Latin ⁴⁾. In the beginning, the new institute does not seem to have given any other sign of life except the admission of scholars and *socii* ⁵⁾, and nothing seems to have been done towards the introduction of a regular instruction in languages ⁶⁾, of which even the immediate want was unmistakably pointed out by the general opposition, expressed not only by the students, but even by the University preacher, against *Greek* and the *Grecians* with such an insistence that, on March 29, 1518, Thomas More wrote his letter to quell the animosity of the *Trojans* on the order of Henry VIII ⁷⁾. In later years, Henry VIII saw himself obliged to interfere once more, considering the ignorance of, and the opposition to, learned languages, even amongst University professors : he called back from Tübingen Robert Wakefeld, formerly professor of Hebrew in Louvain ⁸⁾, and appointed him as professor of Greek in Cambridge, with a competent stipend : Richard Croke ⁹⁾ had started teaching Greek there in 1519 ; in 1520, he even edited an *Oratio... a tempore qua hortatus*

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 42 ; also FoxE, 35, 86, 103, &c ; *VivAng*, 267 ; *PolE*, 50, 51, sq. ²⁾ Allen, III, 990, 1-6 ; *AllCorRea.*, 4. ³⁾ Sandys, I, 607.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 990, 4 ; *AllCorRea.*, 4 ; *VivAng.*, 68.

⁵⁾ Cp. *VivAng.*, 267, sq ; *AllCorRea.*, 1-2.

⁶⁾ The professorships for languages founded by Fox were not conferred and Wolsey, whose College was only decided on in 1518, appointed the first instructors : Allen, III, 967, 26 ; *AllCorRea.*, 2-3. When writing to Erasmus from Oxford on January 30, 1517, William Latimer does not make the least reference to the College that was going to be founded : Allen, II, 520.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 292 ; *AllCorRea.*, 2.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 379-86, 447.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 274-77 ; Stapleton, 59-60 ; *ZKG*, xxiii, 432-33.

est Cantabrigienses ne desertores essent ejusdem <linguæ Græcæ> ¹⁾. Wakefeld tried to make up for his lack of success, and inaugurated his lectures in 1524 by an *Oratio de Laudibus... Trium Linguarum*, published in that same year ²⁾.

Meanwhile Chancellor Cardinal Thomas Wolsey had, in June 1518, taken in hand the reforming of the University statutes, and was earnestly planning the erection in Oxford of an institute — which, from the ‘Cardinal’s’, was soon made into the ‘King’s, College’ by political circumstances ³⁾. He had decided on founding six lectureships, and in order not to waste any time, he already appointed, in November 1518, a professor of Humanities ⁴⁾. The first to fill that office was John Clement ⁵⁾, who at his leaving, at the end of 1519, was succeeded by Thomas Lupset ⁶⁾ : they boarded in *Corpus Christi College*, but were appointed and paid by Wolsey ⁷⁾. They taught Rhetoric, and, probably Clement, for certain Lupset, also lectured on Greek for a few auditors, using an edition of *Plutus* which Martens had printed for the Louvain *Trilingue* ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Croke made in 1519 an oration about the *utilitatem laudemque Græcæ lingue* : he published those *Orationes duæ* in Paris, 1520, and dedicated them to Nicolas West, Bishop of Ely : Cooper, I, 178, a, 179, b.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 383, sq ; his *three* languages were Arabian, Chaldaic and Hebrew : Cooper, I, 63, a, 64, b ; Creighton, 40-41.

³⁾ Wolsey, 145-146 ; Taunton, 100-106, 115 ; *UniEngl.*, 49, sq.

⁴⁾ Wolsey, 145 ; Taunton, 104 ; *UniEur.*, 73 ; *UniEngl.*, 16-18, 21-24.

⁵⁾ John Clement († July 1, 1572), who had been teacher of More’s children, was in April 1515 in Wolsey’s service. He was a pupil of Lily, and may have taught Greek and Latin : *AllCorRea.*, 2-3 ; Wood, I, 138 ; Allen, III, 820, 3 ; Stapleton, 60 ; *VivAng.*, 54, 69, 270. He left his teaching at the end of 1519, and in the spring of 1520 he started studying medicine in Louvain, where he still was when Erasmus left for Basle : *AllCorRea.*, 2-3 ; *ErasJort.*, II, 396 ; *MonHL*, 4 ; *Cran.*, 154, c-f ; *Acta-Mori*, 3, 29, 84, 108-9.

⁶⁾ Thomas Lupset (c 1498-1538) a divine, was an intimate friend of More, Erasmus and Linacre. After teaching in *Corpus* : *AllCorRea.*, 3, 4, he left England in 1523 ; passing by Basle he called on Erasmus, and went to study at Padua, where he was Reginald Pole’s tutor until 1525 : *Cran.*, 50, 9, 169, 1 ; Stapleton, 58 ; Wood, I, 28, sq ; Allen, I, 270, 60 ; *Busl.*, 469 ; *VivAng.*, 69, sq ; and before, p 43 ; *AllCorRea.*, 3-4 ; *VivAng.*, 69, 71-75, 270 ; PolE, 50, sq ; J. Archer Gee, *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset* (Yale Studies).

⁷⁾ *AllCorRea.*, 4 ; FoxE, xv ; *VivAng.*, 62, sq, 270-71.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 43.

At Lupset's leave, Vives, who happened to be in England ¹⁾, was sent to fill his place; he started work by October 1523, and brought new life to Oxford, in so far that, in December 1523, the King and Queen, on their way to Windsor, came to attend his lecture ²⁾. When in the autumn of 1525, Wolsey started his anti-Spanish policy, he availed himself of Vives' delay in arriving from Bruges, to have him replaced ³⁾. In March 1526, the Chancellor, who had, at that time, the set purpose of arranging a bilingual instruction in the College of his own, as Bishop Fox had founded in his (FoxE, 126), tried to tempt Erasmus himself to come to England, and take Vives' place ⁴⁾; on realizing that the old scholar would not leave his work at Basle, he commissioned John Hackett, the English ambassador, to Louvain in May 1526 to engage, if possible, the brilliant Latin professor Goclenius, who was making the *Trilingue* into a growing success ⁵⁾.

At that time Bishop Fox, who had sent an old fellow of Magdalen College, Edward Wotton, to Italy, purposely to study Greek, appointed him as the first reader of his foundation ⁶⁾ about the middle of 1525, probably as a match to Vives. Unfortunately he was prevented by circumstances for some months, so that, when he arrived, Vives had left ⁷⁾, and

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 6-7, 8-20; *VivAng.*, 82, sq, 270.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 9-10; P. S. Allen, *Early Life in Corpus*: Oxford, 1931: 2-3, recording the entertainment and the gloves offered as present to the Queen.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 20-22; *VivAng.*, 92, sq.

⁴⁾ That offer was brought to Erasmus by Charles Harst, who, when going there, passed through Mechlin on January 19, 1526, and stayed in England to the first days of March: *Cran.*, 172, a, b, 5, 177, 2, 182, 14; FG, 55, 39, 56, 19; Allen, vi, 1682, 2, 1697, 94-98.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 21; cp. before, pp 44, 245; Brewer, iv, 2161, 2177.

⁶⁾ Edward Wotton (1492-1555), a native of Oxford, studied at Magdalen College, where he promoted B. A. in 1514, and became fellow in 1516; he was appointed *socius compar* of Corpus Christi. On January 2, 1521, Richard Fox allowed him to spend three years in Italy at his expense and that of the College, on condition to lecture five years in Latin or Greek: FoxE, 126-27. He studied at Padua, and promoted Doctor of Medicine, on which degree he was incorporated in Oxford on March 3, 1526: FoxE, 145. He afterwards became President of the College of Physicians in 1541, and wrote a renowned work *De Differentiis Animalium*, published in 1552 (Paris, M. Vascosanus): FoxE, 126; Wood, i, 77-78; *AllCorRea.*, 5; *VivAng.*, 269, 271; *MonHL*, 8, 587.

⁷⁾ *MonHL*, 20-22.

had even been replaced for a time by David Edwards, of Northampton, a fellow of *Corpus* ¹⁾. It thus happened that only by 1526, nine years after the founding, lectures were started in *Corpus Christi* by readers of the foundation. It caused Bishop Fisher to dedicate, in 1527, his *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia... aduersus Ioannem Ecolampadium* ²⁾ to Richard Fox, to congratulate him for having instituted a *Collegium satis magnificum Oxoniis maximo sumptu*, chiefly for theologians, in honour of *Corpus Christi*, in which *bonæ literæ cuiusque generis docentur, Hebrææ, Græcæ, Latinæ* ³⁾ *et quicquid ad veram theologiæ eruditionem conferre valeat... a præceptoribus ad hoc ipsum ingenti mercede conductis diligentissime traditur* ⁴⁾. It follows from a comparison of the *Trilingue* with the far richer endowed foundations of Fox and Wolsey, that about 1526, when the teaching in Oxford began slowly and diffidently, and then for two languages only, Busleyden's Institute, thanks to the driving force of Erasmus' energy, could boast already more than eight years of regular and prosperous working for the teaching of the three — with just the exception of a short interval for Hebrew ⁵⁾.

C. THE 'COLLÈGE DE FRANCE'

Difficulties also hampered the prompt and steady working of the institute which Francis I wished to found in his Paris University. To be true, languages were taught in Lisieux College and in several other schools there ⁶⁾ : yet that teaching was chiefly temporary and occasional, and, besides, merely in view of, and accessory to, Philosophy and Divinity : the King devised a '*Collège Royal*'⁷⁾, which would be exclusively

¹⁾ *AllCorRea.*, 5 : he had entered the College in 1517 : *VivAng.*, 268, 269.

²⁾ It was published in March 1527, at Cologne by P. Quentell.

³⁾ Fisher evidently considered the new College as an imitation of the Louvain *Trilingue*.

⁴⁾ The dedicatory letter is dated *Ex Roffa* M. D. XXVII : FoxE, 152-56 ; *Fisher*, 93 ; *CorpCath.*, IX, ix, sq.

⁵⁾ From 1520 to about the end of 1521, John van Campen had been absent to study Hebrew thoroughly : cp. before, I, 505, and p 102.

⁶⁾ Allen, vii, 2065, 9-10.

⁷⁾ Actually the *Collège Royal*, *Collège de France*, dates, as College, from 1610 : before there were only 'Royal Professors' : Lefranc, 113, sq.

devoted to the study and the teaching of the three languages ¹⁾. The scheme was not new, for as early as 1517 he had invited Erasmus for that purpose ²⁾; that invitation was repeated in July 1523, when Claud Cantiuncula ³⁾ was sent to him at Basle with an urgent request, and with credentials to which the Monarch had added in his own hand : *Je vous auertys que sy vous voules venyr, que vous seres le byen venu. Francoys* ⁴⁾. The bearer of that exceptionally scarce royal manuscript ⁵⁾, was to make to the Humanist the formal proposition to come to Paris, and take the lead of the arrangement of the trilingual College, which then was earnestly contemplated erecting : 'Decreuit Lutetiæ collegium instituere trilingue', Erasmus wrote to Archbishop John de Carondelet, 'quale est Louanii. Ei rei volebat me esse præfectum' ⁶⁾. He

¹⁾ Lefranc, 46, 84.

²⁾ February 5-24, 1517 : Allen, II, 522, 523, 529, 531, 533-35, 537. In Novemb. 1522, Erasmus had thought for a while of removing to France ; still nothing came of the scheme : Allen, v, 1319, *pr* ; *BudERép.*, 193, *sq.*

³⁾ Claud Liedel, Chansonnette, Cantiuncula (c 1488-Dec. 1549), a native of Metz, studied in Louvain (*Excerpts*, 97), and in Basle, where he became professor of Laws in 1518, and remained until about 1523, when he looked out for a change. He went to Paris and was entrusted with the message to Erasmus ; he was appointed in that same year as councillor in his native town. In 1525, he was Chancellor to the Bishop of Metz, Cardinal John of Lorraine ; in 1527, he declined the place of professor of Law in Marburg (*UniMarb.*, 19) ; in 1532, he became Imperial official and, finally, Austrian Chancellor at Ensisheim : CantE, 6, *sq* ; Opmeer, I, 479, b ; Stintzing, 244, *sq* ; *Cran.*, 225, b ; *MonHL*, 54-57 ; Allen, III, 852, 80.

⁴⁾ July 7, 1523 : Vischer, 31 ; *BudERép.*, 204-6 ; Allen, v, 1375, 1439, I, VII, 1841, 10.

⁵⁾ Erasmus wrote in his *Spongia*, EOO, X, 1665, D : *Rex Galliæ toties ad honestissimas condiciones invitat, literis etiam propria manu descriptis, id quod negant eum ter a corona suscepta fecisse.*

⁶⁾ March 30, 1524 : Allen, v, 1434, 15-16. Erasmus made the same explicit statement in letters : to John Robbyns (March 31, 1524), to Goclenius (April 2, 1524), to Giles de Busleyden : *Cran.*, 95, 7, ; Allen, v, 1435, 7, 1457, 14, — 1437, 108, 177-180, — 1461, 12-18 ; *Roy*, 37. He also announced the King's invitation to Botzheim, August, and to <Sadolet>, September 16, 1523, to Pirckheimer, January 8, to Campeggio, c February 8, to Cuthbert Tunstall, September 4, 1524 : Allen, v, 1382, 23, 1386, 14, 49, 1408, 19, 1415, 93, 1452, 42, 1487, 15.

did not give a decisive reply for some time ¹⁾, and finally declined, remembering what envy and difficulties he had had to contend with in Louvain from some of the theologians on account of Busleyden College ²⁾; very likely the same treatment would be meted out to him in Paris, where the professors and students of divinity were decidedly hostile to Greek letters ³⁾; he evidently knew some of them personally, and he must have had an inkling of what was preparing by the Faculty ⁴⁾, especially by Noel Beda ⁵⁾ and Peter Sutor ⁶⁾. Further, he did not want to displease the Emperor, whose favour he was sure to lose if he entered the service of his bitter foe ⁷⁾. And, finally, if Charles V did not burden Erasmus with pensions and subsidies ⁸⁾, he was certain to receive even less if he placed his confidence on the promise of one whose lack of faith had become a proverb ⁹⁾.

At any rate, the efforts made to secure the Humanist, less perhaps as a teacher than as an organizer of the new institute, prove that in the mind of Francis I, his *Collège de France* was an imitation of the *Trilingue*; Erasmus vaunts *collegium illud florentissimum*, which he had introduced in Lou-

¹⁾ On April 2, 1524, writing to his confident Goclenius, he does not exclude the possibility of accepting the King's proposal, and even promises in that case to recommend him : *Si recipio me in Galliam, et datur occasio commendandi tui, significabo tibi. Et tu interim scribes per Leuinum quid habeas animi erga Galliam* : Allen, v, 1437, 179-181. Nor did Erasmus give a direct or peremptory refusal as reply, for which Budeus blamed him : Allen, v, 1484, 1516, 4, vi, 1601, 17, 1619, 14, vii, 1812, 87-95 ; *BERép.*, 218-19.

²⁾ Allen, v, 1434, 16-18.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 95, 9 ; Allen, v, 1435, 9, 1446, 41, *sq* ; Féret, I, 134, II, 9, *sq*.

⁴⁾ Delisle, 21, 22, 56, 59-60 : already on August 22, 1523, the Faculty had judged Erasmus' translations from the Greek New Testament as useless and dangerous, and had advised the King of it through his confessor William Petit, Bishop of Troyes.

⁵⁾ *Cran.* 202, 28 ; Delisle, 12-38 ; Féret, II, 4-17 ; Allen, vi, 1571, *pr*.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 168, 5 ; Féret, II, 392 ; Delisle, 67 ; Allen, vi, 1591, 25.

⁷⁾ Allen, v, 1434, 28-30 ; 1408, 20-21, 1437, 109-111, 173-175.

⁸⁾ Allen, v, 1434, 20-30.

⁹⁾ On October 7, 1527, Erasmus wrote to Rescius, who had also been invited by great promises to France : *scis qualia vulgo ferantur Gallorum promissa* (Allen, vi, 1882, 26-27) : evidently an allusion to the way in which Francis I kept his oath about the Treaty of Madrid : cp. *Cran.*, 211, 15-18, 243, 27-32.

vain notwithstanding the *Theologi et bonarum literarum osores* ¹⁾ — for, if nearly everybody rejoices that 'Floret... nunc, pretextu Collegii trilinguis, Vniuersitas Louaniensis, et de die in diem augmentatur :... sunt tamen, licet pauci numero, quibus displicet quod ea occasione contingit ²⁾ ; — he evidently delights in the universal appreciation : 'Hoc exemplum', he wrote to Pirckheimer, on March 14, 1525, 'imitatur vir quidam Tornaci ³⁾. Moliebatur idem Christianissimus Galliarum rex Franciscus, et hac potissimum de causa me toties inuitauit in Galliam. Non ille quidem mutauit animum, sed vides rerum tumultus' ⁴⁾. The glorious tribute of imitation, which was delayed merely by the political difficulties in France, elated the Founder's brother, Giles de Busleyden : 'Summæ mihi voluptati est', he wrote to Erasmus on July 1, 1524, 'quod audiam tantum Regem tanto sumptu carissimi fratris piæ recordationis consilium et institutum imitaturum. Quod si contingat, video et nonnihil amplioris gloriæ in fratrem ex hac regia imitatione recasurum, et hoc nostrum Trilingue Collegium apud omnes commendatius fore' ⁵⁾. In fact the Institute due to Busleyden's generosity had become the ideal imitated in other schools and Universities, and had added an illustrious glory to the *Tres Linguae*, of which St. Jerome claimed the acquaintance in his *Apologia* against the Ruffinus whom he apostrophizes : *Et me trilinguem bilinguis ipse ridebis ?* ⁶⁾ whereas St. Augustine, commenting on the honour bestowed upon the *Tres Linguae* by the inscription on the Cross, assures that they '*toto orbe maxime excellunt* ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1496, 168-172 : letter of September 6, 1524, to Melanchthon : MeLECle., 255.

²⁾ Letter of John Robbyns to Erasmus, June 28, 1524 : quod quanquam pluribus, et fere omnibus, summe placet, sunt tamen &c : Allen, v, 1457, 17-21.

³⁾ Peter Cotrel : cp. before, p 349.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1558, 300-308 : the *rerum tumultus* evidently refers to the wars in which Francis I had involved himself, and which led him to his defeat and captivity ; Erasmus concludes his remark by expressing the wish for peace of all favourers of good studies, so that great schemes might be realized.

⁵⁾ Allen, v, 1461, 12-18.

⁶⁾ Lib. II, ch. xxii.

⁷⁾ *Enarratio in Psalmum LVIII*, 1, 1 : AugO, iv, 692.

6. THE BOARDERS

A. THE OLDEST SET

The flourishing state of the *Trilingue* under President Wary is amply materialized by the accounts of his management, three of which have been preserved : they extend from January 21 of one year to a similar date of the following year, and cover, the first, January 1526 to January 1527 ¹⁾, the second, January 1527 to 1528 ²⁾ ; that from January 1528 to 1529 is missing ; the third that is preserved, extends from February 1, 1529 to the day of his decease, November 30 of the same year ³⁾. Those accounts mention the names of the proper boarders, as well as those of some of the bursars. The latter had not to pay for their entertainment at the College ; yet the Founder's will stipulated that they had to give the price of a bed at their entering the College ⁴⁾. During the first year of his regency, Nicolas Wary had bought three beds, one of them being bigger than the other, from the heirs of the Rhetor John Paludanus ⁵⁾, who died on February 20, 1526 ⁶⁾. Most likely they served for the bursars, two of whom are mentioned in the account for 1526, namely Robert Amorelle, of Aire, and a Roelant of Mechlin ⁷⁾. They were no doubt comprised in the census of the inhabitants of Louvain in

¹⁾ It was checked on September 5, 1527, by Bartholomew van Vessem and Nicolas de Nispen : *AccMaroI*, 1, r, 109, r.

²⁾ Checked on September 5, 1528, by B. van Vessem and N. de Nispen : *AccMaroII*, 1, r, 70, v.

³⁾ It was given by Wary's executors, John Stercke of Meerbeke and Nicolas van der Borch ; it was checked on September 21, 1530, by Barth. van Vessem, whilst Josse van der Hoeven, Wary's successor in the presidency, was present : *AccMaroIII*, 1, r, 86, r.

⁴⁾ *Test.*, 50.

⁵⁾ *AccMaroI*, 106, r : Jtem... voer dri bedden ghecocht jnd. huysraet van M. Jan Palude... xxij R.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 1, c ; cp. before, I, 184-90, 286, sq.

⁷⁾ Jtem van Roelant van Mechelen Bursier, een bedde vj R. Jtem van Robrecht amorelle van Arien bursier... vj R : *AccMaroI*, 2, v. The chapter of Mechlin, disposing of a scholarship, had an authentic copy of the Will : cp. *Busl.*, 130, sq ; and the Chapter of Aire conferred a *bursa*, generally to a choir boy : *Test.*, 6, 24, 60, 61 ; *AireSP*, 121.

1526 : it gives for the *Trilingue* besides the President and three professors, three boarders, nine bursars and a manservant ¹⁾).

Whatever may be the authority of that census, it is hardly consentaneous with facts : thus the presence of a bursar from Mechlin in 1526, shows that their number was not eight, as was prescribed by the Founder for the first decenniad, but ten ²⁾). Moreover, that all the rooms in the College were taken up by boarders, seems the only possible conclusion of Erasmus' endeavours, in October 1525, to have a place reserved for the son of his old pupil Thomas Grey ³⁾). That young man, originary from an outstanding English family ⁴⁾), had been one of his pupils in Paris in the last nineties of the xvth century, along with Robert Fisher, a kinsman of the Bishop ⁵⁾); his uncommon eagerness in learning had given rise to a great affection between tutor and pupil. Unfortunately, it was wrongly interpreted by the youth's elderly Scotch guardian, who not only stopped the lessons, but even caused Erasmus to leave the boarding-house, although he had started teaching him Latin charitably to help him to enter Orders ⁶⁾). Erasmus naturally resented that treatment, and expressed his displeasure, not only in letters to other pupils, the Northoff

¹⁾ Cuvelier, 314.

²⁾ The Will stipulated : *Primo octo Bursæ pro octo juuenibus* (*Test.*, 3) and when after ten years the wages of two professors were to be reduced, the eight Flemish pounds saved were to be used for two scholarships, one for a native of Mechlin, the other for a 'Luxemburgensis' : *Test.*, 20, 24.

³⁾ Allen, vi, 1641 : the date of this letter, which contains only two sentences and a final greeting, can be deduced from the fact that Grey was staying at Basle in October 1525 : in the first days of that month, Erasmus wrote to Thomas Lupset : *Viuit mecum Thomas Greius vna cum filio suo minimo* : Allen, vi, 1624, 18.

⁴⁾ Cp. Allen, i, 58, *pr.*

⁵⁾ Robert Fisher was one of Jerome de Busleyden's friends at Padua where both studied : he attended B.'s promotion to J. V. D. and was mentioned on the document : *Busl.*, 38-39 ; Allen, i, 62, 71, *pr* ; *LPH7*, iv, 5465.

⁶⁾ Referring to the guardian, the letter of Henry Northoff to his brother Christian mentions : *in animo sibi esse dicebat sacris initiari...* <Erasmus> *docuit hominem aliquot menses* : Allen, i, 61, 213-219, also 58, 72, *sq.*

brothers ¹⁾, but also to Peter Viter, *Viterius*, who succeeded him as tutor ²⁾, and especially to Grey himself ³⁾; that he considered their affection as unexceptionable ⁴⁾, results from the fact that the event is only known from those letters, which he himself published in October 1519 ⁵⁾, at one of the most critical periods of his existence ⁶⁾. By 1516, Grey had come to live in Paris with his wife and children ⁷⁾, and after a visit to Cambridge ⁸⁾, he resorted to Louvain, where Eras-

¹⁾ E. g., in his letter to John of Brussels, July 1497, and in that which, under the name of his pupil Henry Northoff, he wrote to his brother Christian, his old pupil : Allen, I, 60, 61, 164-253.

²⁾ Peter Viter, Vitre, *Viterius*, was connected with Thomas Grey at that time, and he probably taught him, since Erasmus wrote for him in Paris his *De Ratione Studii*, 'quod... ingenuos aliquot bonæque spei adulescentulos — no doubt his friend Grey amongst them — erudiendos haberet : Allen, I, p. 9, 6-9. He was still connected with Grey in 1516-18. He had been teaching at Calais, and, being dismissed, he returned to Paris on Erasmus' advice, lecturing first in Lombard College, and afterwards in Navarre College, where he was still at work by 1535-36. On February 20, 1536, he wrote about his poverty and his *calculus* to his dear and beneficent friend Erasmus, who, on March 13, sent a medicine and put him into his will for five times his yearly wages : Allen, I, 66, II, 444-45, XI, 3101, 3106 ; Renaudet, 615, 683 ; *Erasmiana*, IV, 864-806 ; FG, 443.

³⁾ Letter of July 1497 : Allen, I, 58.

⁴⁾ The incident does not seem to have had any bearing on the relation which Erasmus had at the time with many friends and acquaintances : one year later, in the summer of 1498, he became preceptor to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, then one of the most conspicuous young men at Henry VII's court : Allen, I, 79, *pr.*

⁵⁾ The letters referring to that event were published in the *Farrago Nova Epistolarum Des. Erasmi... admixtis quibusdam quas scripsit etiam adolescens* : Basle, J. Froben, October 1519.

⁶⁾ If anything reprehensible could have been derived from those letters, Erasmus would not have published them, as he was master of the secret, since Grey and Viterius were entirely devoted to him. Nor does it seem that contradictors, like Latomus or Bæchem, would have refrained from reproaching him with the wrong done in his youth, if they had found anything worth reproaching in it.

⁷⁾ Grey wrote from Paris, August 5, 1516, and Erasmus replied on February 13, 1517 ; on January 18, 1518, he asked Nesen to inquire about him and Viterius : Allen, II, 445, 16, 66, *sq.*, 460, 15-16, 528, 19, *sq.*, 581, 24-27, III, 768, 12-15.

⁸⁾ Letter (c. February 22, 1518) to Henry Bullock, Bovillus, fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge : Allen (, I, 225, 4), III, 777, 23-24, 26-28.

mus recommended him about April 23; 1518, to Thomas More for the recovery of some family property at Netherhall, which was then occupied by his father-in-law John Colt ¹). By 1525, he was Erasmus' guest at Basle, together with his son, whom he took to Louvain with his Master's recommendation to Goclenius, and his insistent request for help on account of the apprehension of not finding a room in the *Trilingue*, in which case the Latin professor was to look for a virtuous host who gave private instruction to two or three good young men ²). The letter also implied that Grey himself contemplated the possibility of settling in Louvain; still no further reference to that plan is made ³). About the same time, Erasmus wrote at Grey's request a letter to the Franciscan nuns at Denny, near Cambridge ⁴), amongst whom were some of his sisters ⁵). A *xenium* sent in reply was lost, which induced Erasmus to enlarge his letter into the treatise *Epistola Consolatoria in Aduersis*, which was printed at Basle in 1528 ⁶).

Thomas Grey may have resided in Louvain with his son, whose name does not appear in Wary's accounts that are preserved. The first of them mentions amongst the boarders **James of Deventer**, who had arrived in the College probably in the spring of 1525, and left on November 21 of that same year. He was most probably identical with the *Jacobus Daventriensis* of Overijssel, who was a famous geographer : he drew the maps of Brabant, Gelderland (1556), Holland and Zeeland (1536), which were reproduced by Gerard de Jode and even by Abraham Ortelius in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, whereas his *Frisiæ Descriptio* was inserted by Sebastian Munster in his *Cosmographia*, 1550 ⁷).

¹) Allen, III, 817, 827, 6, 829, 25-29, IV, p xxviii.

²) Letter of October 1525 : Allen, VI, 1641.

³) It reads : si continget illum sedere Louanii, dignaberis illi dare fidele consilium de recte collocando puero : possibly Grey intended staying with his son during his studies.

⁴) Allen, VII, 1925, *pr* : extracts from the *Epistola*, c 1525-28.

⁵) St. Clare's Convent of Denny, Waterbeach, was founded by Agnes Countess of Pembroke, replacing a Priory : besides legends only parts and fragments are left of it : A. Mee, *Cambridgeshire* : London, 1947 : 212.

⁶) J. Froben, 1528 : *EraBib.*, I, 96-7 ; *NijKron.*, I, 852.

⁷) *BibBelg.*, 408 ; *HEpD*, 61, a ; *Guicc.*, 160 ; *Jode*, 2, 11, 77-80, 118, 129 ; *Hessels*, I, xlv, nos 38, 43, 44.

Another boarder, **James Grunenberch**, who had come during Stercke's regency, and stayed to about the end of April 1526 ¹⁾, probably belonged to the Antwerp family of shippers Gronen- or Groenenberg ²⁾. His townsman 'Goyvaert Sterck' was also already an inmate before John van Meerbeke left ; he remained at least till February 1, 1528 ³⁾. He no doubt was the **Godefroid Sterck**, the Antwerp patrician, famous for his generous character, his erudition and the eloquence which was at his disposal in the use of several languages. Although very young, he was appointed accountant, or *Syndic*, in Charles V's household, where his faithful and intelligent service made him most dear and familiar to his Prince, who dubbed him *Eques Auratus* in grateful appreciation of his exertions. He probably had been recommended by Gerard Sterck, — apparently an uncle, — an Antwerp merchant, who, by 1528, was Charles V's financial representative, and the steward of the Government of the Netherlands in Antwerp : he negotiated small loans for the Emperor, and made himself responsible towards the investors for the payment of the interests, which he was entitled to take from the taxes and rates gathered by him. Although he had been appointed Receiver General or Treasurer for Brabant, he still worked for several years, often in conjunction with Lazarus Tucher ⁴⁾, at his remunerative employ in Antwerp, cutting

¹⁾ *AccMarvI*, 2, v.

²⁾ A widow Gronenberg is recorded on July 12, 1535, for having chartered with G. du Bruys through John van Halmale the vessel *La Cathérine*, Captain William le Gondeck, for a voyage to Las Palmas : Goris, 162-63. In 1554, a Melchior van Groenenberge was on the list of the Antwerp authorities as alderman : *AntvAnn.*, II, 408 ; *AntwHist.*, IV, 297 ; *AntwChron.*, 41.

³⁾ *AccMarvI*, 2, v [Oct. 18, 1525 to 1526] ; *AccMarvII*, 2, r, v [Oct. 18, 1526 to Jan. 21, 1528] : Jtem voor de montcoste... van goyvaert... voors. vanden tijt beghinnende den xxi Januar. [1528] totten eersten van februar. [1528] nader conclusien van dese Rekeninghe. — The account for the period January 1528 to 1529 has not survived.

⁴⁾ That friend of Sir Thomas Gresham belonged probably to the famous Nuremberg firm (*SweMon.*, 159), and seems to have been prosperous, as he contributed 3000 florins to the 1552 loan : *AntvAnn.*, II, 386 ; *FugZalt.*, I, 207, 215, 235-6, 249, sq, 314, 364, sq, II, 29, 46, sq, 60, sq ; Bartholomew Tucher may have been his father ; the Antwerp

himself large revenues by means of brokerage and *del credere*, which allowed him and his colleagues James Gramaye, John van Rooden and Nicolas Nicolai, to play an important part on the Antwerp Exchange until the crash of 1557 ¹⁾.

Godefroid Sterck's father, also called Godefroid, was Amman, *Prætor*, of Antwerp from 1511 to 1542 or 1543 : he certainly was still in function in 1542, when he contributed in a large extent to the defence of the town against Martin van Rossem in July and August ²⁾. It seems that at his father's death, Godefroid Sterck secured the office of *Prætor Urbanus* ³⁾, although not as an immediate successor, since William of Halmale is recorded for a short time with that title ⁴⁾; at any rate Sterck's epitaph mentions that he was 43 years in that office ⁵⁾, to which about 1577 had been added that of Treasurer-General of the States of Philip II, whom he served loyally. He died in Brussels on October 9, 1587 ⁶⁾, after having lost his wife Cornelia van Oudtshoorn (Auts-

alderman Ambrose Tucher was his son : *AntvAnn.*, II, 281, 297, 361, 367. Lazarus died at the age of 72, on February 5, 1563, leaving a widow, Jacobina Cocquiel, who placed a long epitaph on his tomb in St. Francis' : *SweMon.*, 159-161.

¹⁾ *FugZAlt.*, I, 364-65 ; to the loan granted by Antwerp to the Chancellor of Brabant, John de Molembais, and Peter Boisot, the Emperor's deputies, in 1552 (*AntvAnn.*, II, 384), Gerard Sterck contributed 2000 florins ; besides, a Peter de Smeet paid one hundred florins 'pro Nicolao Sterck', possibly a relative : *GesSterck*, 20-25 ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 385, 391. The accounts for the armaments often mention Gerard Sterck : Henne, III, 136, v, 135, VIII, 25 ; *AireSP*, 392.

²⁾ *AntvAnn.*, II, 234, 244 ; Henne, VII, 370 ; *GesSterck*, 14.

³⁾ *AntvAnn.*, II, 234-35, 257, 384, 402.

⁴⁾ William ab Halmale, *Eques auratus*, alderman, *consul* and *Prætor urbis*, died on September 5, 1553 : *SweMon.*, 88 ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 232, 235, 276, 356-57, &c ; Henne, VII, 370.

⁵⁾ Nobili ac Stren. viro Godefrido Sterck, Equiti aurato, Imp. quondam CAR. v. domestico, ac huius ciuitatis Præt. vrb... postquam bello ac domi Cl. dict. Præt. XLIII. ann... : *SweMon.*, 170-171. There seems to be a confusion in the commentary, for the rest badly copied, of J. B. de Tassis : Hoynck, II, ii, 283, 303.

⁶⁾ Guicc., 105 ; *GesSterck*, 30, 98, 224-28 ; *SweMon.*, 170-71, reproducing his epitaph ; *AntwHist.*, IV, 65, 270, 609, v, 68, 89, VII, 615, &c.

horen) van Sonnevelde ¹⁾ and seven of his eight children ²⁾, three of them, Gerard, Cornelius and Andrew, in the actual service of their King and Country ³⁾.

A townsman of Sterck's, James van Crombach ⁴⁾, was also a boarder of the *Trilingue* before October 1525 ; he remained in the College until October 25, 1527 ⁵⁾. He probably was the son, or at least a relative, of the John van Crombach, Knight ⁶⁾, who, from 1535 to 1546, was repeatedly alderman ⁷⁾ and even mayor of Antwerp ⁸⁾, and who had behaved so bravely in the campaign against the Turks in Pannonia that Charles V had conferred on him the title of *Eques Auratus*, of which he

¹⁾ She died on January 4, 1553, when giving birth to her eighth child : *GesSterck*, 32-34 ; *SweMon.*, 171.

²⁾ Four children having died in their infancy, the only child left at her father's death was Joanna, wife of Count Louis de Biglia : *GesSterck*, 43-45, 242.

³⁾ Gerard, having taken service in the King's household, died at Valencia in Spain, April 1563 ; Cornelius, Vice-prefect of military victuals under Don Juan of Austria, died at Roermond in 1579, and Andrew, also of the King's household, was at the head of the infantry during 15 years in that dangerous period, and died at Ghent on December 16, 1584, at the age of 38 : *GesSterck*, 45-46, 242 ; *SweMon.*, 171-172. — The Laurent Sterck, husband of Ann Mannaert († 1570), mentioned in 1513 as comptroller of the Prince Charles's household (*BruxBas.*, I, 88-89 ; Henne, II, 85) was of the same family : Dürer, who was often his guest, painted his portrait : *GesSterck*, 27, 92-96, 206-10, and title-page ; DürerD, 81, 83, 89. Other relatives, Henry and John Sterck, are recorded amongst the officials of Charles V's household : Henry, husband of Isabella de Ocoche, succeeded Peter Boisot on July 1, 1520, as 'maître de la Chambre aux deniers', or accountant, which he remained till 1531 : Brewer, III, p 969 ; *BruxBas.*, I, 109 ; *GesSterck.*, 96-97 ; Gachard, II, xxx, 4-5, 508, 515 ; DantE, 471, letter of de Schepper, June 12, 1546 ; and John, who was active in the 'Fourriere' 1521 (Gachard, II, 516) : he was the husband of Catherine Damast and probably ancestor of James Steven Sterck, who was knighted as Lieutenant-Governor of Brussels on July 1681 : *GesSterck*, 15, 98, 214 ; *Brab-Nobl.*, 515-17. It was maybe a sister of Godefroid Sterck who married a Wolfaert, and was the mother of the John Wolfaert Sterck who became a boarder of the *Trilingue* in the last months of Goclenius' management : cp. Ch. XVIII-

⁴⁾ *AccMarvI*, 2, v.

⁵⁾ *AccMarvII*, 2, v.

⁶⁾ Henne, VII, 370 ; *AntwHist.*, IV, 64, 66, 89, VII, 615.

⁷⁾ *AntwAnn.*, II, 180, 185, 217, 229, 232, 277, 292, 297.

⁸⁾ *AntwAnn.*, II, 228 (1541), 284 (1544) ; *AntwHist.*, VIII, 234.

showed himself most worthy in the defence of the town against the attack of Martin van Rossem in July 1542 ¹).

B. FIRST ARRIVALS UNDER WARY

Amongst the inmates who entered the College in 1526 was the Founder's nephew **Jerome de Busleyden**, who stayed from June 6, 1526 to about June 21, 1527. He was a son of Giles, and, with his elder brothers Francis and Nicolas, he had matriculated on March 25, 1519 ²); whereas his brothers left Louvain, Jerome not merely continued studying at the *Trilingue*, as evidently they had done hitherto, but entered it as boarder, probably at the breaking up of the little household of which he and his brothers had been part — with, possibly, a preceptor, and, no doubt, a servant. When Jerome left Louvain, he may have gone to Italy, where he is recorded as active in the *Curia* from 1545 to 1547 ³); he even asked, in 1545, to take on lease for his life one of the houses belonging to the confraternity of *S. Maria dell' Anima*, and in reply, he was invited to become a member of the brotherhood before making the decisive request ⁴). For certain, he settled in Rome: he became Paul IV's chamberlain and was provided both with a canonry in the Holy Angels', and with the provostry of Alba. He died before January 19, 1559, when a rent which, on October 11, 1536, he had inherited from his father, was divided amongst his heirs ⁵).

Probably about March 9, 1527, arrived in the College as a boarder **James van der Vorst**, who stayed at least to the end of Marville's second year of regency ⁶). He was one of the five sons of the Antwerp Councillor and Brabant Chancellor John Gheys, or Gijs, van der Vorst ⁷), Golden Knight, Lord of

¹) *AnteAnn.*, II, 246, 259: he laid the first stone of a defence work near the Red Gate on June 3, 1552: *SweMon.*, 39; *AntwChron.*, 41.

²) *LibIntIII*, 254, r; *Excerpts*, 101: on June 4, 1524, he took the oath prescribed for Antony Thielman, of Antwerp, who was under age: *Excerpts*, 104; *LibIntIII*, 314, r. ³) *MélMoell.*, II, 114.

⁴) *Anima*, 381.

⁵) *BuslGén.*, 9-10; *Busl.*, 18, 25.

⁶) *AccMarvII*, 2, v: Jacob van Vorst voor x maenden ende xij daghen: the second account closes on January 21, 1528.

⁷) *Guicc.*, 106; amongst the Antwerp aldermen for 1477 is recorded 'Waltherus Gys <or Ghys>, d<ictus> vander Vorst': *AnteAnn.*, II, 174.

Loonbeek, Austruweel and Vroenhoven ¹⁾, who had married Jane van Thielt. James had lost his parents as a child in 1515, two months one after another ²⁾; his brother Engelbert succeeded his father as Lord of Loonbeek ³⁾, and the three others entered the Church : Walter became apostolic proto-notary and canon of Cambrai ⁴⁾; John and Peter went to study in Bologna, where they entered the *Natio Germanica* in 1520 : they both promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* ⁵⁾ and seem to have been still connected with that University in 1526, when they offered a present in silver to their *Natio* ⁶⁾. John returned to the Netherlands, where he secured the provostry of Cambrai and a canonry of St. Lambert's, Liège ; on Nov. 10, 1529, he became dean of St. Mary's, in Utrecht ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ John van der Vorst bought the lordship and the estate of Loonbeek in 1505 ; he had succeeded Louis Roelants as Chancellor of Brabant on October 26, 1504. In November 1506, he was sent with others in legation to Maximilian of Austria to offer him the wardenship of his grandchildren and the regency of the Netherlands. In April 1507, he was appointed member of Margaret of Austria's Council : Henne, I, 63, 130, 136, v, 38. He rendered eminent services to his Prince and his country : *BrabConMS*, I, 37-41 ; *BrabCon.*, III, 338 ; *AntwHist.*, I, 470 ; *Cran.*, 244, a.

²⁾ After fourteen years of married life, John van der Vorst died in Brussels at 48, on May 15, 1515, whereas his wife had died on March 15 of the same year at the age of 42 : their epitaphs were in St. Gudula's, Brussels ; their five sons caused a memorial stained-glass window to be placed in St. Servatius' chapel of that Church with the effigies of the family members : *BruxBas.*, I, 124-26, 141-42.

³⁾ His brother John, who is mentioned in the register of the *Natio Germanica*, Bologna, 1520, as 'dominus temporalis de Loonbeke' : Knod, 603, 604, no doubt resigned that lordship to his brother Engelbert, Knight, husband of Anna of Ophem : *BruxBas.*, I, 141.

⁴⁾ He died in Rome in 1535 : *BruxBas.*, I, 141.

⁵⁾ Knod, 603-604.

⁶⁾ An entry in the Register of the *Natio Germanica*, under date of 1526, mentions that Joannes et Petrus van der Vorst... huic nationi Germanice in honorem Dei purissimum opus argenteum sub pii Christi super sepulchro sedentis imagine dono dederunt ac presentari fecerunt per dnum Julium de Canobio in Kal. Novembr. anni 1526. — Another hand afterwards added to that item : datum fuit in penam quam commiserat : Knod, 604.

⁷⁾ As dean of Utrecht he helped to carry out the transferring of the temporal power of the diocese to Charles V, 1528-31 ; he made notes on, and drew up a summary of, that transaction : Hoynck, III, I, 5-99 ; he welcomed Charles V on his solemn entry in Utrecht, August 14, 1540,

Peter, entering the *Curia* as chaplain and *auditor Rotæ* ¹⁾, attached himself to Cardinal William van Enckenvoirt, and was one of his executors ²⁾. By that time, their brother James, after having spent some time at the *Trilingue*, and applied himself to law, came in his turn to Bologna, where he promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* on September 12, 1536, and was inscribed as a member of the *Natio Germanica* in that same year ³⁾. After his promotion, he went to Rome, and joined his brother Peter, who, at the accession of Pope Paul III, had been appointed Bishop of Acqui on February 20, 1534; he had been just entrusted with the most delicate mission to go and invite King Ferdinand and all the clerical and secular Princes of Germany to the Council General, which they had claimed so urgently at the Diet of Speyer, in 1530, and which now was to be held at Mantua. In February 1535, Cardinal Pietro Paolo Vergerio had been sent to Germany to communicate the decision of convening a Council: it had led to the making of the frankly hostile Schmalkalden League ⁴⁾. In

with an oration, and was one of the executors of Albert Pigge's will: *Cran.*, 97, g; *HEpD*, 115-16, editing Pighius' letter to the Dean, March 6, 1543; he died on November 8, 1546: Hoyneck, III, i, 118, 179, 206; SonnE, 5; *GallChrist.*, III, 68, a, b; *HEpU*, 513, 533, 547, 585; *Cran.*, 214, a; *BruxBas.*, I, 141; *MatthAnal.*, I, 114; Brom, I, 102, 109.

¹⁾ He is already recorded as such in the entry of 1526 in the Register of the *Natio Germanica*: Knod, 604. Nicolas Herco Florenas, who had made his acquaintance in Italy, mentions in his letter of July 21, 1527, to Francis de Cranevelt that he had heard 'de Petro Vorstio, auditore Rote', that he had been 'male tractatum' in the Sacco di Roma: *Cran.*, 214, 17-18; *MélMoell.*, II, 103. In Corn. of Etten's *Liber Itineris* of Peter's progress as Nuncio, is stated that he had entered Adrian of Utrecht's service in Spain, and had come in his train to Italy as his chaplain: Pastor, v, 59. Still it is hardly possible that he ever should have had him as professor in Louvain: *Anima*, 362; and as his parents only married in 1501, he can hardly have been a priest in 1522. — The copy in the British Museum of Gerard Morinck's *Vita Hadriani Sexti* bears as owner's mark 'P. Vorstius': *MonHL*, 485.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 141, n; *Anima*, 291, sq. Peter van der Vorst was also one of the executors of Bishop Paul of Middelburg, old student of Louvain, the great mathematician and astronomer, who died in Rome in December 1534: *Anima*, 349-50; Polain, III, 3006-9, 3126-7. ³⁾ Knod, 603.

⁴⁾ He returned to Rome on January 7, 1536, and it was only a few days later that he heard of the decisions taken at Schmalkalden by the chief opponents to the General Council amongst the Princes on December 21, 1535: Pastor, v, 36-56, 63, sq; Gabbema, 120, sq.

order to placate the German authorities, the new Nuncio had been chosen amongst the prelates of the Emperor's estates, and only natives of the Netherlands and of the Empire were to form his train ¹⁾. Amongst them was James van der Vorst, who, as his brother's secretary, entered the German territory by Trent on October 13, 1536. They met King Ferdinand at Bruck in the beginning of November, and journeyed with him to Vienna, where James was dubbed *Eques Auratus* on November 19; on that occasion Claud Cantiuncula pronounced an oration ²⁾. He accompanied his brother through Germany on the progress, which was not hailed with hearty welcome by all the Catholic Princes, nor even by the spiritual authorities ³⁾; at Schmalkalden they met with a treatment which is unique in the history of diplomacy of civilized nations ⁴⁾. The Nuncio showed a prudence and a patience which even the adversaries acknowledged, using as only reprisal the testimony to truth ⁵⁾, as is related in the *Liber Itineris* ⁶⁾,

¹⁾ Pastor, v, 59, sq.

²⁾ *BrabConMS*, II, 501-503; *Vorst.*, 16, sq.

³⁾ Varrentrapp, 53, 74-5, 83-4; *Gropper*, 64; Redlich, I, 303; *Marck-Halk.*, 235.

⁴⁾ Pastor, v, 65; *PastReun.*, 96-99.

⁵⁾ Melanchthon called the treatment of the Princes at Schmalkalden *φορτικῶς* : *CorpRef.*, III, 297; Pastor, v, 66; *Melanch.*, 344. — Cp. for the events of the journey, *PastReun.*, 107, sq; Jedin, I, 254-62, 265, 327, 330, 551-54.

⁶⁾ '*Liber Itineris et successuum ejusdem, facti per Rev. in Christo Patrem ac Dominum Petrum Vorstium &c cum esset in legatione sua ad Germaniam, ad intimandum Generale Concilium in civitate Mantuæ celebrandum...* Auctore D. Cornelio Ettenio, Scriptore Archivii Apostolici, ejusdem Rev. Dom. P. Vorstii secretario'. The original of that most interesting and important document reposes in the British Museum, London (*Addit. MS.* 32.275) and has not been used to correct the indifferent translation by A. G. Arendt, *Bericht über die Reise des Legaten Vorstius*, in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, x, 1839, 465-556, or the careless edition by P. F.-X. de Ram (*Nonciature de Pierre van der Vorst* : *BelgAcM.*, XII : 1839, completed, in 1864, by de Ram's *Documents* (= *Vorst*, 237-422), made on a xvith century copy, *MS* 1081, which before the Fire of August 1914, reposed in the Louvain University Library, and on another of the same period, *MS* 16.510, in the Royal Library Brussels. Cp. *PastReun.*, 96-98; Pastor, v, 59-66; *BeitSchlecht.*, 281, sq; Brom, II, 11; *CorpCath.*, II, 18-19. The documents of *BbVat.*, Cod. 3915, very incorrectly rendered by de Ram, are carefully and entirely reproduced in St. Ehses, *Concilium Tridentinum* : Freiburg, 1904 : IV, 31, sq, 42-141; Jedin, I, 551.

which his secretary Cornelius van Etten ¹⁾ wrote about that dismal journey. Peter van der Vorst reached Brussels in the summer of 1537, and was triumphantly introduced into Antwerp on July 11 ²⁾. James, who took care of his brother Peter's succession in 1548 ³⁾, had, since 1537, settled in Belgium, and was soon appointed Councillor of Brabant, being considered as just and straight-forward by the upholders of Church and King ⁴⁾. He married Maria of Halmale, belonging

¹⁾ *MélMoell.*, II, 113. A Cornelis van Etten is recorded as receiver amongst the chaplains of St. Peter's, Louvain, in the accounts of the *Trilingue* from 1538 to 1541, for a tax on a house bought by the College : *ManBorchI*, 55 : it may be only a coincidence.

²⁾ *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 116-117, gives a few details of that reception in Antwerp, where Vorstius stayed to August 16. The Nuncio returned to Rome where, since August 1535, he was a member of a Commission for the Reform of Rome and the Roman Court : *Pastor*, V, 107. He had some difficulties about the preferments of Emmerich and Bonn, which, with other prebends, had been granted to him at Ingenwinckel's and Enckenvoirt's death, and which Duke Charles of Gelderland and the Archbishop of Cologne refused to acknowledge as his. He had also received the provosty of Cambrai on June 28, 1529, from his brother John, when he was appointed at Utrecht : *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 117; and Cardinal Erard de la Marck, whom he had met in 1537, had granted him, on July 28, 1534, the archdeaconry of Famenne : *MarckHalk.*, 141, 249, 275; *BerghAutr.*, 329, 340-41. Vorst had his diocese administered by a suffragan with the exception of some rights, and he continued his office as *auditor Rotæ* in Rome, where he was repeatedly *Provisor* of the *Anima*. He signed the decrees of the Council of Trent at Bologna on April 21, 1547, and he contemplated returning to his native country to restore his weak health when he died on the way, at Worms, on December 9, 1548, at the time that Paul III waited only for a fit occasion to create Cardinal that faithful and most sagacious collaborator : *Vorst.*, 237-422; *Knod*, 603-4; *Cran.*, 244, a, b; *Anima*, 362-63; *Brom*, I, 99-118.

³⁾ He wrote to the *Anima* on the subject of that 'hereditas' on April 24, 1550 : *Anima*, 363.

⁴⁾ In a lawsuit before the Council of Brabant, moved by the Lord of Petershem against the Dean and Chapter of St. Salvator's, Utrecht, owners *jure directi dominii*, and the Lord and Lady of Frenszee, Joanna de Merode, proprietors *jure utilis dominii* of an estate at Westerloo in 1555, the Lord of Petershem wishing to diminish the number of judges and prevent the suit to be decided, objected *ob causas plane frivolas* to John Haneton, provost of Deventer, and James Vorstius, councillors : *SonnE*, 4-5.

to a patrician family of Antwerp, and founded a branch which, for a time, was connected with Winghe ¹⁾.

Another inmate, **Desiderius de Puteo**, du Puys, van de Put, resided in the College from August 1, 1526 to January 21, 1528 ²⁾ : there do not seem to be any references to him : he may have been a son of the Remi du Puys, a Burgundian, who, on February 15, 1512, succeeded to John le Maire as 'indiciaire', or historiographer, of Margaret of Austria, and composed some chronicles about Archduke Charles, such as that of his entrance into Bruges ; he also seems to have been the inspector of the buildings of the Archduchess ³⁾.

On February 13, 1527, **Cornelius Suys**, **Suse**, **Susius**, son of Vincent, entered the College ⁴⁾, and, as there was no other room available, that which Rescius had occupied was placed at his disposal ⁵⁾. He was born at The Hague of a patrician family, and may have been the Cornelius who had arranged to go to France with Viglius in 1525, along with three other companions ; as he was still very young, his mother was afraid to let him start on an adventurous journey, and urged him to stay in the country, as, after all, he was wealthy enough not to have to bring such heavy offers for his instruction ⁶⁾. Cornelius Suys was then entrusted to the care of a

¹⁾ *Vorst.*, *passim* ; *BrabConMS*, II, 503 ; Knod, 603 ; *BruxBas.*, I, 141 ; *Cran.*, 244, a.

²⁾ *AccMarvII*, 2, v.

³⁾ Henne, v, 46 ; Bruchet, 221 ; M. le Glay, *Notice sur Remi Du Puys* (*Arch. Hist. et Litt. du Nord de la France*, I, 447) ; Thibaut, 111, 153.

⁴⁾ *AccMarvII*, 2, v ; the Peter Suys, son of Cornelius, who became a boarder on May 4, 1530 (*ManHoev.*, 3, v), does not seem to have been a very near relative, as there is not the least sign of any connection between the two boarders in the accounts of the *Trilingue* : cp. Ch. XVI.

⁵⁾ *StudAtt.*, 25.

⁶⁾ *ViglEB*, 9 : Letter to James Volcaerd, dated from The Hague, August 15, 1526 : Nam Cornelii quoque mater ubi audivit filium suum nobiscum iturum et intellexit quam longum iter esset, omnibus modis mariti filiique animum et precibus et lachrymis tentavit ut consilium proficiscendi mutaret, animadverteret filii tenellam ætatem, nec opus esse ut ille vitæ periculo per longas peregrinationes et literarios labores divitias conquirat. Plutum domi sibi natum hunc scientiæ et honorum satis sibi daturum, imo jam dedisse. Quæ illa plus æquo indulgentior facile marito additis itineris incommodis et mille periculis persuasit. — Cp. before, p 146.

preceptor, James of Bruges, who unfortunately died prematurely ¹⁾, so that the young boy went to live as a boarder in the *Trilingue*. He applied himself most earnestly to studies under the special guidance of Goclenius, who acted, not only as his tutor, but even as his steward, since he saw to the payment of the fees to the President ²⁾ : from the accounts it appears that Goclenius thus took care both of the instruction and of the material circumstances of several boarders, which explains how he gathered, in return for his services, a large amount of additional earnings paid in the shape either of money, or of silver or gilt cups, or any other kind of presents ³⁾.

Except for two absences ⁴⁾, Suys remained until April 29, 1532 ⁵⁾ in the College, to which he showed very generous ⁶⁾ ; he left for France, where he met James Lefèvre d'Étaples ⁷⁾, and studied laws, which he may have started already in Louvain. On his return to The Hague, he was appointed councillor of Holland. He remained very grateful to the

¹⁾ *StudAtt.*, 24. — Possibly the 'Jacobus Wittebroet de bruges', who, at the promotion of the Faculty of Arts of 1525 was placed the sixth : *ULPromLv.*, 9.

²⁾ President Judocus van der Hoeven recorded in his *Manual* : Anno xxx^o die Sabbati xiiij^a mensis septembris recepi a Cornelio præscripto per manus mgri Conrardi Goglenij xlv flor... Recepi a M. Conrardo prædicto xiiij^a februarij a^o xxxj - xxv R. &c : *ManHoev.*, 3, r.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XX ; *StudAtt.*, 26, 29.

⁴⁾ He was absent from the College from about December 1, 1528 to February 15, 1529, and from September 13 to October 28, 1531 : *AccMaroIII*, 1, v ; *ManHoev.*, 3, r.

⁵⁾ xj^a maij Anno xxxij^o Recepj a m. Conrardo quitan. de medio anno nomine Susij quj xxix^a aprilis recessit ad franciam xxv R : *ManHoev.*, 3, v.

⁶⁾ When, in 1530, President van der Hoeven ordered six panes of chequered pattern for a cross window in the class room, the two upper ones being provided with the Founder's arms, and similarly for the window in the room above, occupied by Suys, the latter had his coat of arms put into the two top ones, and paid himself for the expense : *ManHoev.*, 13, v ; *AccHoevI*, 42, v. Cp. *AccMaroII*, 2, v ; *AccMaroIII*, 1, v, 86, r ; *AccHoevI*, 5, r ; *ManHoev.*, 3, r.

⁷⁾ Opmeer, 461, a, relates that, in Paris, Cornelius Suys showed to James Lefèvre d'Étaples the metrical paraphrase of the Psalms and other religious poems composed by a relative of his, *Cornelia Adrichomia*, Cornelia van Adrichem, a nun at Beverwyck, of which the great humanist greatly admired the erudition. An epitaph on that poetess by Cornelius Musius is quoted in *OpMBoek*, 164.

Trilingue, to which he led an inmate, Jerome de Vienna : *Hieronimus de vyenna*, from Paris, on September 11, 1534 ¹⁾; he also readily offered his help and his testimony in the lawsuit against Rescius ²⁾. Some of the letters he wrote in the pursuance of his office to Viglius, President of the Privy Council, are extant, as well as Viglius' reply to a lost epistle, which shows the hearty affection that united those two staunch upholders of authority and orthodoxy ³⁾. Cornelius Suys, who was renowned as man of languages and letters as well as jurisprudent, had become Lord of Ryswyck, and was appointed President of the Holland Council on October 21, 1559. He was an intimate friend of Cornelius Musius ⁴⁾, and he encouraged his loyal countrymen in the growing trouble ⁵⁾. When the storm broke loose in 1572, he removed his Council from The Hague, which was occupied by the rebels, to Utrecht ⁶⁾, until the signing of the Pacification of Ghent, when he returned to The Hague : he died on September 19, 1580, at the age of 66 ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ *ManHoev.*, 2, c.

²⁾ He answered some questions put by Ruard Tapper and Peter de Corte, and collected the testimonies of his colleagues Peter Susius, Adrian Sandelin, and Arnold Sasbout ; he then sent them to Louvain with a letter of his own, on April 30, 1547 : *MotJuris*, 50, 59-64.

³⁾ There are three letters extant from Suys to Viglius : VigIEL, 32-37, dated from The Hague, on January 23 and February 11, 1551, also on February 8, 1557, mentioning, besides matters of government, letters from Viglius announcing the current news about the Emperor and the wars ; in the first epistle Suys requests the President to stay with him as guest on a visit to Holland : *Nec dedignaberis, spero, veteris amici tui vetus subire hospitium* : VigIEL, 33. A letter of Vincent Dammas, bailiff of Hughersluys, The Hague, February 3, 1553, announces to Viglius the contemplated visit of Suys to Mechlin : VigIEL, 39. A letter of Viglius to his 'Susi Amantissime', is dated Brussels, November 30, 1554 : Hoyneck, II, i, 368-69, and in his will of March 14, 1577, Viglius requests the *Clarissimus Dns Cornelius Suys, Præses consilii Hollandiæ* to take care of the Documents and Archives of Holland, especially those in the fortress of Gouda, so as to keep them out of the hands of the rebels : Hoyneck, I, i, 212.

⁴⁾ *OpMBoek*, 126, 160.

⁵⁾ *OpMBoek*, 287, 313 ; Henne, x, 215.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, I, ii, 696. — The documents of a lawsuit between Corn. Suys and Gerrit van Noortich repose in *MalGrCons.*, 826 : ff 498, sq.

⁷⁾ *Opmeer*, 461, a, with portrait in woodcut ; Guicc., 199-200 ; V. van Leeuwen, *Batavia Illustrata*, 1111, iv, 1473 ; Hoyneck, II, i, 368 ; *Gab-bema*, 492.

C. LATER ARRIVALS

On June 24, 1527, the family of the *Trilingue* was enlarged by the arrival of the three young squires, 'jonckers', **Barons of Trazegnies**, with their preceptor, *magister* James of Aeth, and their servant Charles ¹⁾: they stayed in the College until September 24, 1529 ²⁾. They were, no doubt, the sons of the renowned Baron John of Trazegnies and Silly, prince of the Free Fees of Rognon, Lord of Irchonwelz, Hacquegnies, Inchy and Heppignies, governor of Ath, peer of Hainaut, and hereditary Seneschal of Liège ³⁾. He possessed several estates and lands in Flanders and Artois, and he was related through a great-grandmother with Ann of Borsselen, whom he visited at her castle of Tournehem ⁴⁾. On the occasion of such visits he had made the acquaintance of James Batt, the tutor of Adolphus of Burgundy, Ann's son, and of her protégé Erasmus. As he was rather irascible as well as jovial, and as he shamefully neglected a wife of a high and noble character, Erasmus conceived a treatise of moral exhortation for him, a book carried in one's hand, a manual, ἐγγεγραμμένον, enchiridion, which was to remind him constantly that, although being a soldier and a courtier, he had also to be a Christian ⁵⁾. That seems to have been the genesis of the famous treatise, which was addressed from St. Bertin's in the autumn of 1501 by

¹⁾ On December 30, 1530, Josse van der Hoeven noted that the servant Charles had died: *ManHoev.*, 1, r.

²⁾ *AccMaroII*, 2, v; *AccMaroIII*, 1, r, v; *ManHoev.*, 1, r.

³⁾ Henne, II, 172; the family, which is many centuries old, still holds the secular castle and estate, near Fontaine-l'Évêque: Guicc., 287.

⁴⁾ Ann, protectrice of Erasmus, was daughter and heiress of Wolfhart of Borsselen, lord of Veere, who died in 1486; her late husband, Philip of Burgundy, had died on July 4, 1498, and their son Adolphus was being tutored at the castle of his grandfather Antony of Burgundy, at Tournehem, between Calais and St. Omer, by John Batt, an old friend of Erasmus, who often resorted there when he studied in Paris: Allen, I, 80, *pr*, 93, *pr*.

⁵⁾ Erasmus called the treatise *quandam viuendi rationem*, which John had requested, as he wished to follow his friend's advice, and live more religiously: yet the Humanist wanted to prevent him from following the outward devotion advocated by monks. The book was enlarged in Louvain and printed amongst the *Lucubratiunculae*, Antwerp, Th. Martens, February 15, 1503: *NijKron.*, I, 835; Allen, I, 93, *pr*, 164, *pr*.

Erasmus, *Canonicus Ordinis Sancti Augustini Aulico Cui-dam Amico*, whose name was only indicated as 'John' ¹⁾. In November 1501, he accompanied Philip of Austria and Jane of Castile on their progress through Hainaut and France to Spain ²⁾. In October 1507, he was with the army in Louvain, when the invasion of the Gelderland bands was feared ³⁾. As he had served Philip the Fair as cup-bearer in 1494, and as chamberlain in 1501, he was appointed as knight of honour, grand chambellan, in the household of Princess Eleanor at the Court of Brussels in 1514 ⁴⁾. Charles of Austria honoured him with his friendship and, for services both at court and in war, he was proposed in 1516 for the supreme honour of the Knightship of the Golden Fleece ⁵⁾. On Nov. 2, 1517, Erasmus wrote once more to 'John' mentioning the *Enchiridion*, which was getting renowned, although it brought little profit to the author and the addressee. He further congratulates him for being 'totum inauratum a Principe', — no doubt alluding to the Golden Fleece ; still he keeps to the old familiar tone, inviting him to the Lily if he ever should come to Louvain : 'tractaberis in pedagogio more pedagogiali' ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Although there is no certain proof that the *Joannes* is identical with de Trazegnies, most details point to him : the mention : 'totum inauratum a principe' of the letter of November 2, 1517 : Allen, III, 698, 3, *sq.* is conclusive : it refers to the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which the jewels, granted to Trazegnies in November 1516, could really be said to gild a man all over. John is also called ἀνταφάβητος, letter to Paul Volz, August 14, 1518 : Allen, III, 858, 2, which only means that he had had no literary training, of which de Trazegnies never seems to have given any proof.

²⁾ Henne, I, 37.

³⁾ Henne, I, 164.

⁴⁾ Moeller, 182, 108.

⁵⁾ November 1516 : he died as Dean of the Order : Guicc., 287.

⁶⁾ Allen, III, 698, 3-10. In that same letter, Erasmus requests his friend to see to the dispatch of a letter to Nuremberg, no doubt that to Pirckheimer, dated Louvain, November 2, 1517 : Allen, III, 694. Indeed John de Trazegnies had some connection with that town : in May or June 1515, Erasmus had recommended from Mechlin to Pirckheimer, a *Matrona*, who was the sister of the young man to whom he had dedicated the *Enchiridion*, as he wrote from Basle, October 16, 1515, in reply to a letter from Pirckheimer announcing, on October 1, that he had welcomed the *Matrona* : ita fuit ut ipsa nec plus sperare nec ego præstare potuissem ; quid enim tui gratia non faciendum censerem ? &c : Allen, II, 359, 18-20, 362, 23-24. Most probably de Trazegnies had some relation

In 1519, John de Trazegnies was chosen to accompany Eleanor of Austria to Portugal and offer the jewels of the Golden Fleece to the King, her betrothed ¹⁾. In August 1521, he was part of the escort of honour which Charles V gave to Wolsey on his visit to Bruges ²⁾. In the following year he was at work as military commissary in Luxemburg, and, in the absence of the marquis of Aerschot, in Hainaut ³⁾. In January 1540, at the Chapter of the Golden Fleece at Utrecht he criticized the Emperor for not having respected the privileges of the members ⁴⁾; yet he kept not only the well deserved confidence, but even the hearty affection of his master, who honoured him with the most important missions until his death in 1550 ⁵⁾.

John de Trazegnies had married, on April 23, 1513, Isabeau of Werchin, Lady of Liestres and Merlemont ⁶⁾. Their three sons showed themselves worthy of their father: one of them, 'vaillans à merveille', died of an epidemy in the Imperial army in the campaign of the last months of 1546 against the Protestant princes ⁷⁾. Charles de Trazegnies took part in the expedition against Tunis, 1535, and against Algiers, 1541 ⁸⁾, as well as in the siege of Hesdin, 1552 ⁹⁾, whereas he and his brother distinguished themselves for their bravery in the

in Nuremberg or Augsburg, which, in those times, when the Tuchers, the Fuggers and the Welsers were getting an entrance into the highest ranks of society, may have been quite natural. — Relatives of John de Trazegnies are referred to in *Brug&Fr.*, I, 216, 383.

¹⁾ Henne, II, 252.

²⁾ Brewer, III, 1460.

³⁾ Henne, III, 268, 270; Philip of Orley had taken the place of de Trazegnies as bailiff of Walloon Brabant, which he exercised from September 24, 1520 to December 18, 1554: Henne, IV, 184.

⁴⁾ Henne, VIII, 275.

⁵⁾ Henne, VIII, 362; he probably attended the feasts at Prince Philip's visit to Antwerp, 1549: *AntvAnn.*, II, 348.

⁶⁾ She was the daughter of Nicolas Lord of Liestres, Merlemont, Verton, Waben, Dominois and Wailly, and of Yolande of Luxemburg: *Brug&Fr.*, III, 199; Henne, II, 252.

⁷⁾ Henne, VIII, 294.

⁸⁾ Henne, VI, 91, VII, 311; he was prince of the freedoms of Rognon, peer of Hainaut, Baron of Silly, seneschal of Liège, lord of Irchonwelz, Autreppe, La Chapelle (Herlaimont), Longrenée, Warfusée, St. Georges, Dommartin, Warlem, Ernault, Heppignies, Steenbrugge and Cauwenbergh: *Brug&Fr.*, III, 199.

⁹⁾ Henne, IX, 341.

fight against the French at Talmas, on the Somme, in 1553 ¹⁾. On July 21, 1549, he married by contract passed before the peers of Hainaut, Mary Magdalen Pallant ²⁾. In the beginning of 1567, he was appointed Governor of Mechlin ³⁾.

On April 6, 1529, Charles de 'Lokenghem', Locquenghien, entered the College with a tutor, probably the 'magr. Nicolas Huberti', recorded in that office, and a servant Peter; they remained until May 28, 1530 ⁴⁾. His father was Peter de Locquenghien, lord of Wihove or Wyhove, first carver to Maximilian, Councillor and 'maistre d'Hostel' of Philip the Fair and of Charles V ⁵⁾. He helped Archduchess Margaret in her proceedings against Don Manuel of Portugal in 1512 ⁶⁾. He had married Mary de Nieuwenhove, Lady of Coeckelberghe, who died November 15, 1525; he outlived her until October 23, 1539 ⁷⁾. Little seems to be known about Charles of Locquenghien, except that, on March 17, 1559, he was created Baron of his estate of Melsbroeck, in appreciation of the service rendered by his family ⁸⁾. His brother John ⁹⁾ was

¹⁾ Henne, x, 55, 58.

²⁾ She was the daughter of Gerard, baron of Pallant and Culembourg, Lord of Wilthez, and of Ann de Lalaing; they left at least one son, Charles, baron of Trazegnies and Silly, who, by patent letters of February 8, 1614, was created Marquis of Trazegnies: *Brug&Fr.*, III, 199, v, 320.

³⁾ He replaced Antony of Lalaing, who was, certainly, far less devoted to his religion and King than de Trazegnies: P. Claessens, *Le Cardinal de Granvelle*: Louvain [c 1870]: 28.

⁴⁾ *AccMaroIII*, 1, v, 86, r; *AccHoevI*, 2, v, 5, r; *ManHoev.*, 1, r (Recepi a dōi^{lo}... de locquegem per manus petri sui seruatoris), 3, r (Recepi per manus mgri nicolai huberti in plenam solutionem omnium ex parte debitorum vsque in diem suj recessus qui fuit sabbatum xxvii^a maij <annj xv C xxx>).

⁵⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, I, 137.

⁶⁾ Henne, I, 321.

⁷⁾ *BruxBas.*, I, 113.

⁸⁾ *BrabNob.*, 54.

⁹⁾ John of Locquenghien, Squire, Lord of Berchem, Melsbroeck and Coeckelberghe, had married Ann van der Gracht, Baroness of Pamele, daughter of Sir Philip van der Gracht, lord of Melsele, and of Ann de Blondel-Joigny-de Pamele, canoness of Mons: *Brug&Fr.*, III, 439, I, 137; he died on April 12, 1574: Hoyneck, I, II, 800; *BruxBas.*, I, 116; *BruxHist.*, III, 270. He left several children: a son Philip, heir of the title, and married to Valerie Cottereau; and several daughters allied to sons of the greatest families: Isabeau-Jane, married to Charles Rym, lord of Bellem, and Philip van Steenland; Margaret, married to Adrian de Gavere: *Brug&Fr.*, I, 137, III, 196, 439.

so much the more famous as page ¹⁾ and as man of war ²⁾, but especially as 'amman' of Brussels ³⁾, in which quality he deserved the gratitude of succeeding generations for his energy in pursuing and executing, with Cornelius de Schep-per ⁴⁾, the plan of digging the canal connecting Brussels with the Rupel and the Scheldt, 1550-1561 ⁵⁾.

The next arrival amongst the boarders was Baron **Baltasar de Künring**, Coenrink, or Chünring ⁶⁾, who entered on May 11, 1529 ⁷⁾. He was a native of Vienna, son of John V von Künring, belonging to the nobility of Upper Austria ⁸⁾. He succeeded Cornelius Suys in Rescius' room ⁹⁾, and was entrusted to Goclenius' care, who helped him in his studies. He matriculated on February 7, 1530 ¹⁰⁾, and left Louvain a few weeks later, on March 4, 1530. Still he returned to the College on October 26, 1530, and left for good on April 24, 1531 ¹¹⁾. He went for a time to Paris, where he met some of his Louvain fellow-students, Joachim Polites ¹²⁾, Bartholomew

¹⁾ The lists of Officials of Charles of Austria's household for 1517 and 1521 record, amongst the cup-bearers, Le jeusne Loquinghen : Gachard, 504, 512.

²⁾ Henne, III, 172, iv, 35, 157.

³⁾ Having been repeatedly mayor, receiver and member of the Brussels Council between 1547 and 1553 : *BruxHist.*, II, 535-536, I, 374, he was appointed amman in 1565 : Hoyneck, I, II, 800 ; *BruxHist.*, I, 374, II, 507. His son Antony, and grandson Charles, followed his example, and took an active interest in the welfare of Brussels : *BruxHist.*, II, 18, 46, 48, 60, 542 ; *BrabNob.*, 240.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 249, c ; and before, p 169.

⁵⁾ Henne, III, 172, ix, 263 ; *BruxBas.*, I, 116 ; Guicc., 52 ; *BruxHist.*, I, 393, III, 515 ; *BrabNob.*, 54.

⁶⁾ No doubt the name was misread as Khieueringe, Kieuering (Küenring, Kuenring) : Allen, XI, 3052, 38, 3061, I, 3111, 191.

⁷⁾ *AccMarvIII*, I, v : vuer den montcost balthazaris germani van den xj jn Mey als hij eerst jn de collegie quam..., 86, r.

⁸⁾ Knod, 283.

⁹⁾ *MotJuris.*, 63, 64 : D. Balthasar de Kuenrinck baro austrie : *Stud-Att.*, 25, 33.

¹⁰⁾ *LibIntIV*, 20, r : Balthasar Kienrinck, filius Joannis de Vienna, Austr. patariens. dioc.

¹¹⁾ *AccHoevI*, 2, v, 5, r ; *ManHoev.*, 3, v : Balthasar Koenrinck germanus, de vyenna... discessit a louanio die veneris quarta marcij aº a nat. dñi xv C xxx... Redijt die mercurij xxvjº octobris eodem anno Et reces-sit circa xxiiij aprilis annj xxxj, Et nichillominus soluit... pro medio anno...

¹²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XII.

Latomus ¹⁾, as well as Janus Secundus, who mentions him in his *Itineria* ²⁾; he may have studied there for some time ³⁾. In the summer of 1535, he went to Freiburg to visit Erasmus, who, on September 2, 1535, wrote to Goclenius from Basle : 'Balthasar a Khieueringe, tuus discipulus, apud me fuit. Visus est iuuenis perhumanus, ac bene Latinus, tuique aman-tissimus' ⁴⁾. He had entrusted him with a letter to his former professor, to whom he promised to have it carried by his own servant ⁵⁾; along with that letter he had given, amongst other booklets, a nicely bound copy of the *Precationes aliquot Nouæ*, destined to John Paungartner, who was then a page or a squire at Mary of Hungary's court ⁶⁾. Goclenius was expected to transmit it to Livinus Algoet, who was to hand it to Paungartner. Unfortunately no mention was made of all this to Goclenius, who, not finding any inscription in the little book, thought it was a present for him, and gave it to a friend. When the error was found out by Algoet, Paungartner had already left for Germany ⁷⁾. On September 21, 1535, the great jurisprudent Zasius announced to Boniface Amerbach that the Freiburg Faculty of Law were returning the 'consilium D. Baronis de Kienringen elaboratum', asking Amerbach to transmit it to Künring ⁸⁾. On September 28, Goclenius wrote to thank Erasmus for the help he had given his favourite disciple in obtaining, no doubt, that 'consilium', of which

¹⁾ They met in 1532 : Paquot, vii, 193 ; with them was also a sculptor, John Swerts : Künring dined with them, as well as with Secundus and Polites, on March 19, 1532.

²⁾ *JSeclt.*, 18 ; in a letter dated from Paris, March 14, 1532, to his brother Nicolas Grudius, Janus Secundus describes the hearty reception offered by Künring and Polites, on March 19, 1532, which was as good as that which Mechlin, and even his Julia, might have offered : G. Prevot, *Jean Second à Paris*, in *Revue Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.*, ix, 1930 : 553-58.

³⁾ Probably to learn French.

⁴⁾ Allen, xi, 3052, 37-39.

⁵⁾ Allen, xi, 3052, 1-2 : Balthasar Austriacus tuus discipulus affirmat se proprium famulum missurum Louanium. Ei commisi literas ad te &c.

⁶⁾ John Paungartner (1490-1549), son of a wealthy merchant of Augsburg, was Imperial Councillor ; he had a son John, who, in 1533, was at the Court of Mary of Hungary ; to another, David, Erasmus had dedicated his *Precationes*, 1535 : Allen, ix, 2603, *pr.*

⁷⁾ Letter of Goclenius, March 21, 1536 : Allen, xi, 3111, 189-202.

⁸⁾ The *consilium* had gone amiss 'præsertim in honorario distribuendo', as Zasius announced to Amerbach on Oct. 15, 1535 : ZasE, 245-6.

the nature is not known ¹⁾ : in fact, it is evident that the professor was taking much interest in the young nobleman ²⁾, who did great credit to his beloved Master. Leaving Erasmus, Künring proceeded to Bologna, where he was inscribed in the same year 1535 as a member of the *Natio Germanica*. Unfortunately he died prematurely in 1547 ³⁾.

A few months after Künring, on August 10, 1529, the *Trilingue* got as new boarder Cornelius of Zegerscapelle ⁴⁾; he was the son of Christian of Zegerscapelle and Jacqueline van Clichtove, who had been married before to Peter d'Onche ⁵⁾, and whose daughter Ann Isabella, or Elisabeth, having lost her first husband Peter Laurin, Lord of Leeskens, on February 27, 1522 ⁶⁾, became the wife of the famous Cornelius Duplicius de Schepper in 1529 ⁷⁾. It was probably he, who had his brother-in-law sent to the *Trilingue* for his instruction. Cornelius was a native of Bergues-St. Winock; he matriculated on February 7, 1530 ⁸⁾, and stayed in the

¹⁾ Letter of Goclenius, September 28, 1535 : Allen, xi, 3061, 1-16.

²⁾ Goclenius paid to Josse van der Hoeven Künring's expenses for board and lodging : *ManHoev.*, 3, v; *Cran.*, 95, e. ³⁾ Knod, 283.

⁴⁾ *AccMarvIII*, 1, v : Cornelis van Zegherscapelle... jnde Collegie quam op sinte Lauwereinsdach aº xv C xxix. — He occupied Rescius' room after Künring : *StudAtt.*, 25, 27.

⁵⁾ Christian of Zegerscapelle married Jacqueline of Clichtove, daughter of Cornelius of Clichtove and of Catherine van de Walle (daughter of John, and Margaret Halle); her grandfather Cornelius of Clichtove was alderman of the town and castellany of Furnes in 1450. Jacqueline had been married first to Peter d'Onche : *Brug&Fr.*, i, 365, ii, 111.

⁶⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, i, 365; *BrugInscr.*, i, 160; *Cran.*, xlviii, 249, b; cp. p 167.

⁷⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, i, 365; *Cran.*, lxxvii, xcvi, 249, b, 281, c; cp. bef. pp 167-68. — Cornelius Suys, mentioning in his report of 1547, that Zegerscapelle lived in Rescius' room, called him 'frater vxoris D. Corn. Scepperj' : *StudAtt.*, 25. Cornelius van Zegerscapelle had a proper sister Jacqueline, who, on August 23, 1528, married Roland Claeys, and died in 1539, leaving two sons, Roland and Arnold, and a daughter Jacqueline : *Brug&Fr.*, ii, 111-113. Isabella d'Onche left, of her first husband, Catherine Laurin, who, in 1549, married Wulfaert van Borselle, and of her second, Ann de Schepper, who married Cornelius van Coornhuys, as well as a son Cornelius : *Brug&Fr.*, ii, 164, iii, 51.

⁸⁾ 'Cornelius Zegherscapelle f. Christiani de bergis guinochi morin. dioc.' : *LibIntIV*, 20, r.

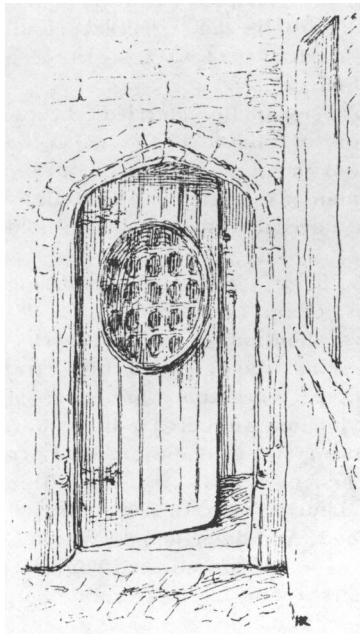
College at least until October 9, 1534 ¹⁾ : like so many of his fellow-students, he was entrusted to Goclenius' special care and private tutoring ²⁾. In the autumn of 1541, Cornelius took part in Charles V's expedition against Algiers : in the subsequent failure, it was thought that he was drowned ; yet safe, though naked, he reached Barcelona ³⁾. Most probably he did not live very long, since a son of his sister Jacqueline, who died in 1539, Roland Claeys, bore after her death the title of Lord of Zegerscapelle ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ *ManHoev.*, 1, r, 3, v ; *AccHoevI*, 2, v, 5, r ; *AccHoevII*, 5, v.

²⁾ *ManHoev.*, 1, r (xvj mensis februarij <1530> recepi a Mgrō Conrado goglenio pro expensis medij annj Cornelij zegerscapellij), 3, v.

³⁾ Letter of de Schepper to Dantiscus, January 30, 1542 : *DantE*, 434.

⁴⁾ 'Roland Claeys, Lord of Zegerscapelle', married to Antoinette de Mamez ; he was the son of Roland, and Jacqueline van Zegerscapelle : *Brug&Fr.*, II, 111. Possibly the 'Chretien van Zegerscapelle, lord of that place' — husband of Jeanne van Schore, who, having become a widow, married James van Oye : *Brug&Fr.*, II, 114, — may be identical with this Cornelius, whose name was mixed up with his father's. — Cp. *Messenger des Sciences Historiques*, 1856, 233-34 : *Zegerscapelle*.



Entrance
to the
Wendelsteen

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
Ground-plan of the <i>Trilingue</i>	pp 46
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	50
Ormendael and neighbourhood	58
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	94
Nicolas Cannius	139
Corridor leading to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	224
<i>Wendelsteen</i>	296
Entrance to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	386
Door-way to Lecture Room	515
The Founder's Crest and Device	637

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

On p 85, nn, l 1,	please read	1560	instead of	1540
» 92, n 5, l 1,	» »	ortum	» »	ortium
» 137, l 7,	» »	messages ⁴⁾ .	» »	messages.
» 166, n 4,	add : Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.			
» 166, nn, last l but one,	read	⁵⁾	instead of	⁶⁾
» 269, l 18,	»	1530	» »	1529
» 323, l 12,	»	B	» »	E
» 358, n 6, l 7,	»	<i>PolE</i> Fr	» »	PolE
» 359, n 6, l 1,	»	Wotton	» »	Wotten
» 403, l 1,	»	dus,	» »	dus ⁷⁾ ,
» 517, l 27,	»	Thomas	» »	William
» 636, l 16, & n 6, l 3,	»	Josse	» »	John

CHAPTER XII

WARY'S PRESIDENCY

II. THE STUDENTS

1. FOREIGN STUDENTS

A. RIQUINUS AND CORNARIUS

Continuing the minute research for references and allusions so as to make up for the lists of students which never existed ¹⁾, we find amongst those who attended the lectures in the *Trilingue* in Wary's last years, several foreigners of note : two medical men, two diplomatists and a poet : they highly praised the instruction which they had received there and counted it as a glory throughout their lives.

Simon Rychwyn, **Riquinus**, Dythemius, of Montabaur, a native of Treves, matriculated in Cologne in November 1519 as a student of the Arts. He passed his *determinatio* on November 27, 1520, and began the tests for his *magisterium* on March 26, 1522 ²⁾. His father wished him to enter the Court of the Archbishop of Treves, whereas he himself preferred study and teaching ; he had already started tutoring Antony and Salentin, sons of Salentin I, Count of Isenburg, in Hessen, who matriculated in Cologne on March 24, 1520 ³⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 130, 131.

²⁾ Keussen, 524, 50.

³⁾ Keussen, 525, 34, 35 ; John Cæsarius taught them and dedicated to them an edition of the *Epistolæ* of Horace in 1523 (Cologne, John Soter) ; he was succeeded, at least for Antony, by Peter Medmann : Allen, viii, 2298, 25-31, 2304. They were the grandchildren of Gerlacus II († 1502 : Allen, viii, 2298, 27) and the sons of Salentin I, who was appointed supernumerary councillor for Luxemburg by Archduke Charles, Oct. 6, 1519, and acted as justiciary of the nobility of that duchy from April 1525 : *LuChav*, v, 170, 210-292 (1531) ; Salentin, Count of Isenburg,

As they did not evince much interest in studies, Riquinus stopped his lessons, and applied himself probably to medicine, keeping away from his native town. His fame seems to have reached as far as Diest, in Brabant, whose mayor and secretary offered him one hundred *philippæi* besides the boys' fees, in case he would assume the management of the school which they had started. He accepted, and for nearly three years he conducted the *ludus, non sine laude*, as he thought. Tired of the tedious work, *pertesus sordium*, he resorted to Louvain ¹⁾, probably about 1526 or 1527, attracted by the *Collegium Trilingue*, of which he became a zealous hearer.

The life at Diest had been 'multarum rerum fructu dulcorata' ²⁾, no doubt, a young wife; at any rate, he was a married man in Louvain, where he stayed several years, giving hospitality to Janus Cornarius, with whom his wife quarrelled on account of his irreligious talk, and his refusal to refund what she had spent for him. In revenge, Cornarius slandered his former host on a visit to Basle; for Erasmus knew him: already by the end of 1528, he referred to Riquinus in a letter to Louis Berquin, whom he supposed to have met him, no doubt on a casual visit to Paris ³⁾. Nor is it difficult to explain how Riquinus had made Erasmus' acquaintance, ardent student of the *Trilingue* that he was, as results from the fact that on January 1, 1530 ⁴⁾, he appeals to the

gained in May 1542 a lawsuit for the Lordship of Montmedy: *LuCha* V, v, 313-16. — Members of that family, which counted in that century an Archbishop-Elector of Treves and one of Cologne, are often referred to: *LuCha* V, v, 340-58; *Mansfeld*, I, 23, 31, 43, 205; Henne, III, 359, IV, 81, VIII, 29, 218.

¹⁾ Riquinus, in his letter of March 29, 1530, relates to Erasmus that Beatus Rhenanus had guessed right when he surmised that he had been a *ludimagister*: Allen, VIII, 2298, 25-42. He may have been known to the authorities of Diest by their Lord and Patron, the Count of Nassau-Dillenburg and Vianden, Lord of Breda, Geertruydenberg, Sichem, Diest, and also of Catzenellebogen: *Mansfeld*, I, 28.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2298, 39-40.

³⁾ Letter to Louis Berquin, December 23, 1528: Simon Rychuinus, quem opinor tibi notum, retulit de quodam Gandavo qui strenuum virum præstiterit in hoc tumultu Beddaicorum: Allen, VII, 2077, 42-44.

⁴⁾ Evidently in reply to a letter from Erasmus, which brought him great pleasure and honour, although it blamed him: he therefore justifies himself: Allen, VIII, 2246, 1-7.

opinion which Goclenius, Rescius and Campensis have of him in Louvain, and Herman of Neuenahr and Conrad Heresbach in Cologne. When he wrote that letter, he had no doubt secured at least the degree of licentiate of Medicine, and had written a treatise on the sweating sickness, of which he sent a copy to the great Humanist ¹⁾, who had offered to recommend him in Louvain, possibly as professor ²⁾. No doubt he preferred returning to his native country, where he accepted the office of court physician to John, Duke of Cleves and Jülich; on March 29, 1530, he urged Erasmus to accept his master's invitation to come and be a Councillor in the Duchy, and he conveyed to him a present from the young Duke William ³⁾. Riquinus, who proved a most faithful friend to the old Scholar ⁴⁾, was about 1547-48 the Court physician of the Archbishop of Treves ⁵⁾.

The Janus Cornarius, who enjoyed for a time Riquinus' hospitality in Louvain ⁶⁾, and ill rewarded him for it, not only by towering over the smallish, slender wife, and trying to frighten her by his vast size — *ceu hinnulus viso elephanto*, — but also by slandering him afterwards in Basle ⁷⁾, was a

¹⁾ *Judicium de Sudatoria Febri, quem vulgo Sadorem Britannicum vocant*: Cologne, John Soter, October 1529: it contains two letters from Herman of Neuenahr to him, Cologne, 7 September, and Benrath, 10 September 1529.

²⁾ *Profuissent non parum, he wrote, ni fallor, commendationes tuæ apud Brabantos si ego me accommodare voluissem*: Allen, VIII, 2246, 38-39, which does not apply to his initial arrival in Louvain as student, since it results from Riquinus' letter of March 29, 1530, that Erasmus did not know before, that Riquinus had been a *ludimagister*: Allen, VIII, 2298, 25, sq.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2246, 32, sq, 2274, 18-19, IX, 2508, 8 (to Tilman Gravius, June 1531); the latter letter was sent to Erasmus by Peter Medmann, of Cologne, who was then at Strassburg, April 2, 1530, and afterwards became Consul of Emden: FG, 132-33, 135-36, 391; Gabbema, 72, 79-89.

⁴⁾ Cp. letter of March 6, 1531, to Sebastian Franck, *Eleutherius*: Allen, IX, 2441, 18, sq.

⁵⁾ Allen, VIII, 2246, *pr*; FG, 412-413; Krafft, 189; Nic. Mameranus, *Catalogus Familiæ totius Aulæ Cæsareæ...* 1547-1548: Cologne, 1550: 64. — A Nicolas Riquinus alias Monsterman, of Ahrweiler, is mentioned as resigning the place of parish priest at Holzweiler, on December 22, 1545: Redlich, II, 578.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p. 388.

⁷⁾ Cp. Riquinus' letter of self-defence and accusation, January 1, 1530: Allen, VIII, 2246, 8-25.

native of Zwickau, called Hagenbutt (c 1500-1558). He started his University training in Leipzig in 1517 under Mosellanus ¹⁾, but moved to Wittenberg in 1519, where he became Master of Arts in 1521, and Doctor of Medicine in 1523. He then started a journey to Livonia and Russia, visiting Sweden and Denmark, England and France. He also stayed for a time in Louvain, probably in 1527-28, and as he wanted chiefly to study Greek and medicine, it is most likely that, like his host Riquinus, he was more than casually interested in Rescius and his teaching in the *Trilingue*. Cornarius reached Basle in September 1528, and started lecturing there on Greek medical authors, wanting to put them in the place of the Arabs. In 1530, he settled as physician at Zwickau, but he soon moved to Nordhausen and Frankfurt, and, after teaching three years in Marburg, he returned, in 1546, to Zwickau, leaving it finally in 1557, to become professor in Jena. He has rendered great services to Medicine and to Greek by his editing and translating several medical authors ²⁾, and even works by St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom ³⁾.

B. CARLOWITZ AND DAMBROWSKA

Christopher von Carlowitz, a Carlebitz, was born on December 13, 1507, at Hermsdorf from a noble family, of which many members had served the public interest in their country : thus, his uncle George von Carlowitz was one of the influent councillors of Duke George of Saxony ⁴⁾. He matri-

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 306-12 ; CeltE, 43, 638 ; HuNieWe., II, 14 ; Rivius, 5, 6, 22, 26.

²⁾ Although having courted Erasmus' friendship in the beginning, he was made antipathetic through Camerarius, on account of his growing addictedness to the cause of the Reformation, in so far that he did not make use of the Humanist's translations of Basil and Galen : Allen, VIII, 2204, 10, 15.

³⁾ Cp. O. Clemen's biographical sketch in *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte*, xxxiii (1912) : 36-76, xxxiv (1913) : 163-64 ; Hessus, II, 264 ; ZasE, 199 ; DelPoGer., II, 823, 836 (epigrams by Euricius Cordus) ; ADB ; FG, 330 ; BeitClem., II, 99, 104 ; Allen, VIII, 2204, pr ; Voigt, 580.

⁴⁾ He represented Duke George at the Conversations of Leipzig in 1534 and 1539, and afterwards the Elector Maurice, at the deliberations about the *Interim* of 1548 : PastReun., 139-40, 146-49, 372, 403, 430 ; Cardauns, 1-4, 6-10, 14-15 ; Melanch., 374, 412, sq, 563 ; Seck., I, 305, III, 90-91, 128, 160, 208, 266, 371, 424, 497, 571 ; ConstConc., I, 34.

culated in Leipzig in the summer of 1520, and became Peter Mosellanus' ¹⁾ eager and devoted student, some of whose writings he edited in the first twenties ²⁾. From Leipzig he went to Cologne, where he edited in 1527 Valla's *Antidoti* ³⁾, and, further on, to Louvain where he spent the greater part of that year studying earnestly at the *Trilingue* as a regular auditor of Goclenius ⁴⁾. With letters and a recommendation from the latter, he and a companion, left Brabant on Oct. 26 for Basle ⁵⁾, calling on their way down on John Vlatten at Speyer ⁶⁾. Christopher wished to make Erasmus' acquaintance, and to visit his old friend Louis Carinus. Erasmus received him in his house, and greatly admired both his character and his zeal for study ⁷⁾, which, in 1528, he effusively praised in his *Ciceronianus* ⁸⁾.

On Duke George's order, Carlowitz translated into Latin for Erasmus his pamphlet on the Communion under one form ⁹⁾ ;

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 306-12 ; *MosPæd.*, xv, xvii. — Amongst his fellow-students under Mosellanus were Julius von Pflug : cp. p. 393 ; Helius Eobanus Hessus : *Hessus*, I, 255 ; George Agricola, who, in 1549, dedicated to him *De Mensuris quibus Interualla metimur* (Basle, Froben, 1550), recalling their old friendship with their master in 1522 ; John Rivius, who dedicated to him, on July 1, 1550, his book *De Perpetuo in Terris Gaudio Piorum* (Basle, 1551) : *Rivius*, 52 ; also Joachim Camerarius, with whom he was in lively correspondence, especially in his latter years : J. Camerarius, *Libellus Nouus, Epistolas &c* : Leipzig, 1568 : ff S 3, 4 ; cp. his *Epistolarum Familiarium Libri VI* (Frankfurt, 1583), and *Libri Quinque Posteriores* (Frankfurt, 1595).

²⁾ In September 1521, he edited his *Præceptiuncula de tempore studiis impartiendo* ; in April 1523, his *Progymnasmata seu de primis apud Rhetorem Exercitationibus* (: Leipzig, 1523) : *MosPæd.*, xlviii, 51-54.

³⁾ That work was directed against Poggio : Cologne, H. Alopecius, 1527 ; he made there the acquaintance of Mayor J. von Rheidt : *Krafft*, 164.

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 2063, 4.

⁵⁾ Goclenius' letter to Erasmus of Nov. 7, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1899, 100-110.

⁶⁾ Letter of John Vlatten, November 30, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1912, 11.

⁷⁾ He praised him effusively in his letter to Jerome Emser, of Dec. 29, and in that to Duke George of Saxony, December 30, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1923, 19-20, 1924, 39-47.

⁸⁾ 'Habet Saxonia juvenes summæ spei, nihil mediocræ de se pollicentes, quorum est & Christophorus Carlebitzcius, imaginibus majorum ornatissimus, sed literis ac moribus compositissimis ornatior : *EOO*, I, 1014, D.

⁹⁾ Letter of Simon Pistorius to Erasmus, February 18, 1528 : Allen, vii, 1951, 27-31.

he started that rendering at Dôle, where he had gone to in February 1528 to learn French ¹⁾ and where he met Carinus ²⁾, whom he found quite-estranged from Erasmus. By the middle of the year, he removed to Besançon ³⁾, and on his return to Louvain, at the end of the summer, he imparted to Goclenius his information about Carinus, substantiating it through an autograph letter ; that news was duly sent on to Erasmus ⁴⁾ ; he had already heard of it from Viglius ⁵⁾, who at that time, was also at Dôle ⁶⁾. From Louvain, Carlowitz returned to Besançon ⁷⁾, where he finished the translation of Duke George's pamphlet.

Having been warmly recommended on several occasions by Erasmus ⁸⁾, he was taken into Duke George's service soon after the Diet of Speyer ⁹⁾, and was already sent in August 1529 on an embassy to England, where he met Thomas More, and made up a memoir on the King's divorce ¹⁰⁾. He also went on mission to Cracow in March 1530, and met Sigismund of Herberstein ¹¹⁾ ; by 1530, he also entered Duke George's Council, and from then on his work lay in diplomacy. He thus

¹⁾ Letter of Erasmus to a 'Felix', February 21, 1528, and to Duke George of Saxony, March 24, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1956, 43-44, 1983, 52-59 ; Krafft, 164.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 392-93, and pp 26-28.

³⁾ Letter to Erasmus, July 16, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2010.

⁴⁾ Letter of Goclenius of October 7, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2063, 1-10.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 143-50, 153 ; about Carlowitz, Viglius wrote in 1536 : *antiqua mihi familiaritate junctissimus*, &c : Hoyneck, I, i, 133.

⁶⁾ Letters from Carlowitz, January 10, 1529, from Viglius, February 15, 1529, and to Louis Ber, March 2, relating Polyphemus' quarrel with Carinus : Allen, VIII, 2085, 5, sq, 2101, 50, sq, 2112, 31, sq ; Hoyneck, II, i, 228-29 ; RhenE, 377 ; *ErColTran.*, xi, sq, 239-44.

⁷⁾ Letter from Carlowitz, Besançon, January 10, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2085.

⁸⁾ Letters to Duke George, December 30, 1527 and March 24, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1924, 41, sq, 1983, 52, sq ; to Bernard of Cles, and to Simon Pistorius, March 14, 1529, to Claud Jannandus, April 1, and from Balt. Mercklin, May 19, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2121, 12, sq, 2122, 2, sq, 2141, 9, sq, 2166, 1, sq. Erasmus had sent the young man to Speyer with letters of recommendation to King Ferdinand, to the Duke of Saxony and 'alii aliquot magnatibus' : Allen, VIII, 2141, 9-10.

⁹⁾ Felix Konings Polyphemus, in his letter to Erasmus of March 23, 1529, announces that he met Carlowitz at Speyer : Allen, VIII, 2130, 108-112.

¹⁰⁾ Brewer, IV and V.

¹¹⁾ That famous diplomatist was for a time ambassador in Poland for King Ferdinand : *Lasco*, 164 ; *DantE*, 4, &c.

became his uncle's colleague, and with him and a third relative, Nicolas ¹⁾, he advocated the policy of conciliation and the re-uniting of the Protestants with the Church of Rome, which had found great promoters in Bishop Julius von Pflug ²⁾, and, later on, in Cardinal Granvelle ³⁾. He continued his work after Duke George's decease in 1539, under the Elector of Saxony, Maurice : decided favourers of the Reformation, like John Sleidanus ⁴⁾, applied to him, and at the *Interim* of 1548 he even brought Melanchthon so far as to cause him to write the famous letter of April 28, 1548, disclosing the servility in which he had always lived under Luther, his sincere wish for unity, and other views on the religious question which made Catholics hope for a satisfactory solution, and Protestants bitterly blame what seemed a leader's betrayal ⁵⁾. At Maurice's death in 1553, Christopher von Carlowitz continued his eminent services under the reign of his brother and successor Augustus, until his death on January 8, 1578 ⁶⁾.

Another student who about that time came to the *Trilingue* from a distant region was **Martin Slap a Dambrowska** — possibly Dombrowka in Poland. He probably belonged to

¹⁾ *PastReun.*, 135, 140-49, 373-77, 401, 403, 430 ; *Melanch.*, 374, 412, *sq.*, 533, 563 ; *Seck.*, III, 571.

²⁾ *PastReun.*, 129-135, 137, *sq.* Julius von Pflug, 1499-1564, a pupil of Mosellanus, at whose death he composed an *Oratio*, studied in Italy ; on his return, he became dean of Meissen Cathedral, and, in 1541, Bishop of Naumburg. From 1530, he corresponded with Erasmus, and through his moderation, he became one of the chief councillors of Duke George of Saxony and of Charles V in the question of religion : *OlaE.*, 336 ; *Allen*, IX, 2395, *pr.* ; *Melanch.*, 374, *sq.*, 410, *sq.*, 530, *sq.*, 563, *sq.* *Cp.* before, I, 307, 372, 492, and *p.* 391.

³⁾ *Cp.* before, *pp.* 159, 235 ; *Melanch.*, 386, *sq.*, 395, *sq.*

⁴⁾ In 1542, John Sleidanus had met Carlowitz in Paris, and from April 1545, he frequently corresponded with him so as to secure a gift which Elector Maurice had promised him : *Sleidan.*, II, 43, 47, 50, 64-65, 75, 110, 144, 179, 299.

⁵⁾ *MelEley.*, 20-27 ; *Melanch.*, 533-36, 540, 584, 601 ; *CorvE.*, I, 171-72, II, 248-51 ; *MelaVers.*, 73-76.

⁶⁾ Fr. A. von Langenn, *Christoph von Carlowitz* : Leipzig, 1854 ; *Hoynck*, I, i, 133 ; *Krafft*, 164 ; *Erasmiana*, III, 794 ; J. Manlius, *Locorum Communia Collectanea... ex lectionibus Philippi Melanchthonis* : Basle, n. d. : III, 98 ; *FG*, 97, 123, 322 ; *Allen*, VII, 2010, *pr.*

the household of the royal secretary Andrew Crzycki, *Cricius*, Bishop of Plock ¹⁾, who chose him as a companion to his nephew Andrew Zebridovius ²⁾ on a journey throughout the West in 1528 : they were, a time, Erasmus' guests, and in the autumn went to Paris ³⁾. In 1529, Slap once more stayed with Erasmus during the summer ⁴⁾ before he returned to Poland in October of that same year ⁵⁾. In March 1530, Martin again left Cracow, and brought from Cricius to Melanchthon an invitation to settle in Poland ⁶⁾ ; and to Erasmus, in Freiburg, some letters with a ring and a book. He resided for a time with the Great Humanist ⁷⁾, and was even sent to fetch for him some wine from Besançon ⁸⁾. He then proceeded to Louvain where he arrived on the last day of May with a warm recommendation to Goclenius, who procured him excellent board and lodging in a family, and thus allowed the eager young man to start his studies ⁹⁾. On July 12, 1530, he wrote an enthusiastic letter to Erasmus thanking him for the recom-

¹⁾ The great friend of Dantiscus, and Erasmus' generous patron, Andrew Crzycki, of Krzycko, 1482-1537, became archbishop of Gnesna in 1535 : Allen, vi, 1629, *pr*.

²⁾ Andrew Zebrzydowski, c 1496-1560, the son of Cricius' sister, studied in Cracow ; after his journey, he became canon at Cracow in 1530, and having been employed as ambassador, was appointed to different sees, and finally that of Cracow, in 1550, where he was the Chancellor of the University : Allen, vii, 1826, *pr* ; *CatCzart.*, ii, 1288, 1605.

³⁾ Erasmus wrote to 'Zebridovius' in Paris on December 23, 1528, sending greetings to 'Martino Dambrofskio' : Allen, vii, 2078, 26.

⁴⁾ Erasmus writing from Freiburg on July 23, 1529, to Andrew Cricius, mentions as his guest Martinus Dambrouiskius whom he greatly praises : Allen, viii, 2201, 58-73.

⁵⁾ He there met once more Glareanus, who entrusted him with the letter of October 6, 1529 to John a Laski : Gabbema, 13.

⁶⁾ DantE, 278 ; *MelaVers.*, 11-19.

⁷⁾ Letters of Erasmus to Andrew Cricius, September 1, to Christopher of Schydlowyetz and to Peter Tomiczi, September 2, 1530 : Allen, ix, 2375, 2, *sq*, 2376, 1, *sq*, 2377, 23, *sq*.

⁸⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Francis van der Dylft, July 9, 1530 : Allen, viii, 2348, 9-13.

⁹⁾ Allen, viii, 2351, 1-32, 111 : *Louanium pridie Calendas Iunii veni : quæ ciuitas multis de causis plurimum placet, aut hoc vno quod plurima incitamenta studiorum et paucissima auocamenta hic sint.* — On account of the fear of 'perfidia', he would not have found accommodation if Erasmus had not recommended him to Goclenius.

mentation and for all the grandeur he bestowed on a young man whose return to his country would have merely been known to his mother, whereas now the whole nation heard of him as 'ille convictor Erasmi' ¹⁾; he also expresses his concern about the Old Master's health, which he had not been able to improve with the favourite medicine, as he had not brought back any wine from Besançon ²⁾. On July 14, 1530, Goclenius in his letter mentions his new pupil : Polono, he writes, quem mihi tantopere commendaras, nullum beneficium erit in me clausum ³⁾. It is not known how long he resided in Brabant : on August 20, 1534, he matriculated as student of jurisprudence in Padua, and he wrote to Erasmus from Rome in 1536. He was Doctor of Canon Law, and Archdeacon of Poznan when he died in 1550 ⁴⁾.

C. ANDREW DE RESENDE

Andrew de Resende, Resendius, who afterwards adopted the names of Angelus, from that of his mother Leonor Vaz de Goes, called Angela on account of her great kindness ⁵⁾, and of Lucius, was born at Evora in 1498, from a noble family. He studied in Alcalá under Antonio Nebrissensis ⁶⁾, and, after 1517, in Salamanca and Paris. He entered the Dominican order, and became a priest at Marseilles. He then came to study in Louvain, where he was chiefly taken up by languages and literature : he had expected to find Erasmus still there, but he made the best he could of the *Trilingue*. He seems to have been more especially Goclenius' student and friend, for he showed a very great liking for poetry : he dedicated to his master a poem glorifying the town and the University of Louvain, which was printed in 1530 ⁷⁾. He thus

¹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2351, 33-71.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2348, 9-13, 2351, 72, sq.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 298, sq, 306-307.

⁴⁾ *Erasmiana*, IV, 776; FG, 361, 422; C. Miaskowski, *Korrespondenz des Erasmus mit Polen* : 1901 : 14-15; Allen, VIII, 2351, pr.

⁵⁾ Diego Mendes de Vasconcellos, in his edition of Resendius' works, with a biography : Evora, 1593.

⁶⁾ *Ximenes*, 109.

⁷⁾ *Encomium orbis & academiae Louaniensis* : Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1530; it was printed as sequel to Dantiscus' *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva* : NijKron., I, 683. — The dedication is entitled : L. And. Resendius Conrado Goclenio latinæ linguæ in Collegio Trilingui

refers to the study of languages and to the professors of the *Trilingue* :

Felix, nullique secundum
Musarum emporium, quaqua Germania ab Istro
Clauditur ad Rhenum, vel qua se Belgica tendit
Per latus Oceani, quoad iungi Sequana Celtis
Divisor prohibet. Nec iam concedet <Lovan.> Achæis
Gymnasiis, Latiisve, nisi quia tempore in illo
Non erat. At quamvis Phœbo, Musaque recenti
Nupera sit, tamen assequitur virtute, quod annis
Iunior ætati tribuit, dum grata priori
Posteritas potius quam præsentī æqua triumpho
Mirari veteres gaudet. Veterascere & olim
Continget nostris, inerit quoque gratia factis
Iam priscis. Quamquam quis tam moriente palato
Et penitus fatuo fuerit, venerande sacerdos
Phœbi, & Musarum interpres fidissime, cui non,
Gocleni, ambrosiam sapiant tua verba ? Latino
Sive tono, Samiove cupis dicenda sonare,
Illo te Charites dulcem comitantur alumnum :
Seu Ciceronis opus, seu carmina dia Maronis
Enarras, nemo Ciceronem, nemo Maronem
Enarrare putat, Ciceronem ipsumque Maronem
Audit : utrumque etenim sic exprimis ipse, Poeta
Clarus, & Orator, possis ut uterque videri.
Sic cum Pasithea, dominans affectibus ore
Suada medulla tuo insedit, blandique lepores.
Hinc si te pubes stimulant maiora, cupisque
Graiæ Thespiados montem, clivique superbi
Amfractus superare graves, adeundus Apollo
Rescius ille tibi est : quo consultore quid umquam
Non bene verterunt divi ? quid quæso fefellit ?
Quæ tibi non spondes Græcæ penitissima linguæ ?
Nunc age te Solymæ capiunt oracula vatū
Gentis ? & a prima nascentis origine mundi

Buslidiano Louaniensi Doctori S. D., and is dated : Louanii, xvii Cal. Oct. MDXXIX : ResendO, 13-15 ; the poem takes up pp 15-21. It starts with the words : *Attica dum staret virtus...* and finishes : *...concedant numine palma.* — Cp. further, Ch. XX.

Vis veri responsa Dei ? legemque, Dracone
 Contempto, ex ipso demissam quæris Olympo ?
Campensis tibi ductor adest, qui guttura formet,
 Terrentesque sonos Latiam stribligine musam,
 Insuetæque domet linguæ dumeta ¹⁾).

In the following lines, Resendius praises his friend Nicolas Beken Clenardus who, through his private lessons in the three languages, works as an auxiliary teacher preparing young men to the lessons of the *Trilingue* ²⁾).

That poem found a good welcome with friends interested in literature ; it was soon followed up by *Des. Erasmi Encomium*, also dedicated to Goclenius, by a letter dated 'Louanii Eidibus Februariis M. D. XXXI' ³⁾). To acknowledge that and other poems, Erasmus sent, on June 8, 1531, a most encouraging letter to Resendius ⁴⁾, suggesting not to provoke the anger of his *confratres*, by ridiculing amongst others, Eustace van der Rivieren, of Sichem, the 'longus homo, vasto corpore', whom he himself called Stentor ⁵⁾). He gave the prudent advice rather to enjoy literature ; he praises the poet by his masters's discernment : ' Scio nihil exactius Cocolenii iudicio, nec ille quenquam temere prædicare solet. Porro, sic amo virum ut vel solo illius affectu cogar amare quemlibet : tantum illius tribuo iudicio vt præterea nihil requiram argumentorum' ⁶⁾). A similar admiration was felt by Resendius ⁷⁾, who was just finishing ⁸⁾ his *Epitome Rerum Gestarum in India a Lusitanis anno M D XXX*, on the authority chiefly of Nonius Cugna ⁹⁾ ; he dedicated it 'Conrado Goclenio viro præstantissimo', 'Louanii XI. Cal. Jul. M D XXXI' ¹⁰⁾). Moreover he wrote several poems in his honour : one, entitled *De*

¹⁾ ResendO, 15-21 ; VAnd., 400-401 ; Cerejeira, 8.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 220-224. According to a passage in the *Oratio pro Rostris*, pronounced in the University of Lisbon on October 1, 1534, Resendius had seen in Paris University men of over fifty starting to learn Greek under Clenardus : that evidently happened in the winter of 1530-1531 : Carvalho, 11 ; Cerejeira, 34-35.

³⁾ ResendO, 26-27, 28-42 ; *ErasPort.*, 29.

⁴⁾ Allen, IX, 2500.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XV.

⁶⁾ Allen, IX, 2500, 35-38.

⁷⁾ Resendius was chiefly formed by Goclenius : Cerejeira, 29, 301.

⁸⁾ The *Epitome* was dated by Resendius from Louvain, June, 21, 1531.

⁹⁾ *Prorex* Nuno da Cunha : GoesOp., O 1, v ; Pimenta, 198, sq.

¹⁰⁾ ResendO, Cci r-Dd 5 v ; NijKron., I, 1792.

Conrado Goclenio nobili Rhetore ¹⁾, another *Oda ad Goclenium* ²⁾. He also inscribed verses to his countryman Damian a Goes ³⁾, to his tutor Nicolas Clenard ⁴⁾, and to some of his fellow-students.

In return probably of some poetry, Janus Secundus wrote two epigrams, besides a poem, to Lucius Angelus Andreas Resendius Lusitanus, calling him 'Monachum et Poetam' ⁵⁾; they show that he appreciated Resendius' verses ⁶⁾ and, especially, his free spirit towards the Order to which he belonged and to the 'confratres' he found in Louvain. In one of the epigrams, Janus Secundus alludes to the cowl, and wishes his friend to have it soon changed for a mitre ⁷⁾ :

Nec te perpetuo gravet imperiosa cuculla

Sed tua purpureus tempora cingat honor :

Quæque gerit laurum frons, mox gerat illa galerum...

whilst in a poem amongst the *Sylvæ*, he augurs ⁸⁾ :

forsitan astro

Adveniet grata hora suo, nec lenta moratur

Quum te cornuta cinctum sacra tempora mitra

Sublimen, sortis meminisse iuvabit acerbæ.

The *sors acerbæ* is, no doubt, an allusion to the trouble that Resendius experienced, when the Dominicans of Louvain had prohibited to the men of their Order reading Erasmus' works under the penalty of excommunication, even in case a permission was granted by the Pope. As that prohibition appeared unbearable, since his sympathy was secured for Erasmus and his great friends, Resendius left the convent ⁹⁾. As it

¹⁾ ResendO, 21 : the poem of 16 lines begins with the words : Preterito sudor nonnumquam...

²⁾ ResendO, 22-23 ; the *Oda* of 48 lines begins : Ten' non plus oculis amem...

³⁾ *Ad Damianum Goium Musicum* (4 lines) ; *ad Eundem* : ResendO, 42-54 ; another thanks for the sending of some sweetmeats : GoesOp, k 3, v, k 4, r, v.

⁴⁾ ResendO, 55 ; Cerejeira, 8.

⁵⁾ ResendO, 55-56 (*poem to Andream Quatrinium*), 23-27 (letters to John Vasæus). — Cp. *Sylvæ* : NijKron., 1, 1674.

⁶⁾ *Epigrammata* : JSecOp., 137 and 141 ; *Sylvæ*, JSecOp., 283. Janus Secundus' brother Adrian Marius did not share that good opinion about Resendius' poems ; cp. further, sect. 4.

⁷⁾ JSecOp., 141.

⁸⁾ JSecOp., 283.

⁹⁾ Letter of James Jespersen to Erasmus : November 19, 1531 : ...Item prohibuerunt predicatores Louanii saltem in capitulo ne quis legeret

would have been hardly possible for him to take up his abode elsewhere in Louvain or even in Brussels, he placed himself under the protection of the Portuguese ambassador Pero Mascarenhas, in Brussels, who availed himself of the occasion to be instructed in Greek and Latin ¹).

In his spirit of defiance he probably was responsible for the literary programme of a grand feast offered on the occasion of the birth of the King of Portugal's first born son, December 21, 1531, to the Emperor, his sister Mary of Hungary, the Papal Legate Aleander, and the whole Court. At the end of the banquet was acted a play — the Jubily of Love, by Gil Vicente ²), in which the trade of indulgences and the power of money in Rome for all things spiritual, was continually mentioned by a personage dressed in a surplice and wearing a Cardinal's biretta, which had been 'borrowed' from the Legate's house. Aleander was utterly scandalized, even after he had been told that the play had been written long before; he sent a letter of complaint to Sanga on December 26, 1531, referring to the general laughter at the production which made him seem to be in the middle of Saxony, and to hear Luther: as, however, he did not wish to lose the favour of the Princes and the Courtiers, he suggested that the Pope himself should fatherly admonish them in his place ³).

Resendius, who mentions that obnoxious banquet play in his *Genethliacon Principis Lusitani* ⁴), may have experienced some difficulties on that head from the Order to which he still belonged. He certainly did on account of the poem *Aduersus Stolidos Politioris Literature Obtrectatores*, which he had sent to Erasmus in the spring of 1531, and which Froben had printed in September 1531, without having asked any leave ⁵).

libros tuos sub excommunicatione, etiamsi haberet potestatem a pontifice. Sic narrabant mihi nudiusquartus Rescius et Conradus Goclenius. Quapropter discessit Angelus Recendius Lucitanus tuus ab illa secta: Allen, ix, 2570, 40-44.

¹) *MonHL*, 614: iam cohabitabit hic Bruxellis apud oratorem regis Portugaliæ, quem grece et latine instituit: Allen, ix, 2570, 44-45.

²) *PortHist.*, 35, calls it 'Auto da Lusitania' referring to C. v. Reinhardstoettner, *Portugiesische Literaturgeschichte*: Leipzig, 1904: 102.

³) Laemmer, 92.

⁴) Bologna, 1533; *EraSpain.*, 449; letter of Erasmus to Goes for news about Resendius: March 11, 1534: *ULAnn.*, 1853: 240-241.

⁵) Allen, ix, 2500, 4.

It vexed Resendius who expostulated with Erasmus, as the latter announced to Goclenius on May 3, 1532, adding that he thought that the poet was 'liber', namely, liberated from the Order to which he had belonged ¹).

Meanwhile Resendius meditated an attack on Vives by a poem, on account of his dislike of immorality in poets and of his stern judgment on Aulus Gellius. In the third book of his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, 1531, the great Pedagogue writes most appreciatively of poetry, but states that besides the *energia* which it produces in the reader, it also may communicate injury and corruption. Commenting on Plutarch's *De Lectione Poetarum*, he judges that it is wiser to leave the poison untouched altogether, rather than to make it less hurtful by an antidote; he therefore wishes to keep out of the boys' hands works like those of a Tibullus or an Ovid; reserving them to men of settled convictions — or, at any rate, give them in expurgated editions, as they should serve to educate youths, not to corrupt them ²). As to Aulus Gellius he calls him a rhapsodist, a compiler rather than an author, showing before all his ignorance in his pretentious, silly and wrong remarks about words, which prove him to be unreliable ³). That severe judgment displeased Resendius, in so far that he made a satirical poem which he communicated to John Dantiscus, who was then at the Court in Brussels. The impression made on the Polish ambassador by that onslaught on a man of Vives' merits, was highly unfavourable ⁴); he

¹) Allen, x, 2644, 34-36 : *Expostulat mecum Resendus ob editum carmen. Atqui putabam hominem esse liberum. Alioqui numquam eram editurus. Demiror autem quare me hoc nescire volueris.* — It seemed to Erasmus that Resendius after his return to his native country kept an unwonted silence : he expressed his wonder to Goes on August 18, 1535, and risked the supposition that he had been disappointed, or that he had secured some high office : Allen, xi, 3043, 13-15. Five months later, Erasmus once more mentioned the puzzling silence in his letter to Goes of December 15, 1535, and concluded : *Valeat ille tam rustice ingratus* : Allen, xi, 3076, 6. Even the sadness Resendius expressed at Erasmus' death and the reference he made to it in poems and letters to Glenardus, seem as heartless jokes as those of his friend : *ClenHum.*, 4-7.

²) VOO, vi, 321, sq, 329, sq, 342; Watson, clv, 78, 95, 125, sq, 136, sq, 159.

³) VOO, vi, 337; Watson, 150.

⁴) The letter of Goclenius begins with the words : 'Prudentiam tuam... vehementer probo qui eo temperamento Resendij nostri famæ consulis,

wrote for advice to Goclenius, who, on January 21, 1532 ¹⁾, approved of Dantiscus' efforts to prevent that the Portuguese poet should harm himself and the right studies, by making his poem public. It would arouse against Resendius the whole Spanish nation; moreover, although Vives is rather severe in his judgments, that severity applies only to excesses in petulance and freedom of speech, and is amply redeemed by the eminent services he renders. If, notwithstanding all, the *poematium*, which is *dignissimum lectu*, should be published — as Dantiscus intended, in a work of his own ²⁾, — it would be advisable to edit it anonymously, and, in any case, the name of Vives should be replaced in the title and throughout the satire, as thus: '*In L. Charitæum Gurdum* ³⁾', as Resendius himself had suggested to Goclenius on a visit to Louvain, although the greater part of his labour thus would seem to be lost. No doubt Dantiscus, who may have been aware of Goclenius' lack of outspoken partiality towards Vives ⁴⁾, took it as a fair warning to avoid impairing in any

ut Viuetis viri, quod negari non potest, haudquaquam vulgariter eruditi, maximam rationem ducas' &c, which does not seem to justify the supposition that the onslaught on Vives greatly pleased and delighted Dantiscus (*EraSpain*, 638), as otherwise he would not even have written to Goclenius to gather his advice.

¹⁾ DantE, 188.

²⁾ Possibly as sequel to his letter-poem *Victoria sereniss. Poloniae Regis contra Vayevodam Muldaviae a. D. 1531*, which was printed in Louvain by Rescius on October 21, 1531: NijKron., I, 684; Gab. Korbut, *Literatura Polska*: Warsaw, 1929: I, 127-130. A letter of Rescius to Dantiscus of September 20, 1531, refers to a *libellum* which he printed in 50 copies: it was a poem by Resendius — probably the one referred to here: DantE, 162.

³⁾ *Charitæus* suggests a translation of Joannes, and *Gurdus* is an allusion to the *Vivas Siempre*, which Vives had as symbol, and which seems to have been meant for the Greek ἀμβροσία, *ambrosia*: *VivGen.*, 4-8; *RuelDiosc.*, 433; Matthiol., III, cxii. The substitute was no doubt chosen on account of the allusion implied by the name *gurda* or *cuhurda* (from *cucurbita*: *RuelDiosc.*, 263-4), which had made the Low Latin adjective *gurdus* — meaning stupid, doltish — evidently as bad as the criticism itself.

⁴⁾ On August 16, 1528, Goclenius wrote to Erasmus: *Consilia Viuis nisi e literis tuis non noui. Et animo est sublimiorj quam qui nobis quicquam communicet, egoque tuum consilium secutus, cum Viue*

way the reputation of the great Spaniard, and thus to harm the prosperous humanistic movement : at any rate the poem does not seem to have been printed publicly ¹⁾).

On January 20, 1532, Resendius passed through Louvain on his way to Germany, probably with Mascarenhas, the Portuguese ambassador, whom he accompanied to the war against the Turks ²⁾, at least until the summer of 1533 when the illness of his mother made him return to Evora ³⁾. He enjoyed the protection of King John III, to whose two brothers he served as tutor. In return, his royal patron obtained for him the Pope's dispensation, liberating him from the Order, and allowing him to accept a canonry in his native town, which he enjoyed to the end of his life, 1573 ⁴⁾. He was considered as one of the chief Latin poets of his time, and he continued his literary connection with most of the friends he had made in Louvain : not only Damian a Goes ⁵⁾, but also John Was, *Vasæus* ⁶⁾, and, especially, Nicolas Beken Clenar-

præter ciuilem amicitiam nihil habuj commune : Allen, vii, 2026, 3-6. Not much more appreciative is the mention of Vives and of his orations held in Louvain to make his *De Disciplinis* more saleable, in the letter which Goclenius wrote to Freiburg on July 14, 1530 : Allen, viii, 2352, 345-354, 369-370, 373-376.

¹⁾ The satire, printed probably on a very few copies for the reliable friends : cp. DantE, 162, is not amongst the poems published in Cologne in 1613 : *EraSpain*, 658.

²⁾ He related his experience in a poem to Sperato Martiano : ResendO, 4.

³⁾ He was back at Evora on October 1, 1533 : *ErasPort.*, 36 ; Cerejeira, 39, 48, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. the biography in the edition of the *Antiquitates Lusitaniæ* : Evora, 1593, by Diego Mendes de Vasconcellos ; Opmeer, i, 482, a ; Braancamp Freire, in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, vii, 345-406 (Fr. Leitão Ferreira, *Vida de A. de Resende*, 1735), xi, 268, 313 (*Noticias da Vida de A. d. R.*) ; Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Notas Vicentinas* (*Revista da Univ. de Coimbra*, i, 1912) : 243 ; Diego Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, i, 161, sq ; Allen, ix, 2500, pr ; FG, 193, 409 ; *PortHist.*, 35 ; *MonHL*, 614 ; *ClenCorr.*, ii, 44 ; SchottE, 25, and his *Hispaniæ Illustratæ*.

⁵⁾ He dedicated, amongst other verses, to Goes from Evora, Oct. 27, 1535, his poem *De Vita Aulica* : GoesOp, k 4, v-1 4, r ; ResendO, 42-54 ; that *Aulica Vita* was reprinted by H. Petreus, in Frankfurt, 1577. Goclenius wrote, on June 10, 1534, to Goes : Si quid boni habes de Resendio nostro, nihil maiore cum uoluptate audiemus : GoesOp, c 3, v.

⁶⁾ To Joannem Vasæum doctissimum is addressed the *De Aera Hispanorum Epistola*, as well as an *Epistola pro Colonia Pacensi*, 1543 : ResendO, 123-150.

dus ⁷⁾, to whom he procured the preceptorate of the Cardinal Infante Henrique ¹⁾ : he is highly praised both as friend and as poet in the *Epistolæ* of the famous Arabist ²⁾, and, as to poems on Erasmus' death, of which mention is made, there are three amongst his works ³⁾. He also taught at Coimbra ⁴⁾ and Lisbon ⁵⁾, and was greatly interested in the history of his country : he collected materials for a work on Roman antiquities in ten books, of which only four could be edited after his death ⁶⁾, and he published, amongst other volumes in Portuguese, an *Historia da Antiguidade da Cidade de Evora* ⁷⁾.

2. VIVES' PUPILS AND COUNTRYMEN

A. JOANNIUS AND ALDERETE

Some of the foreign students who were in Louvain at the time that Wary managed the *Trilingue*, formed a group of Spanish young men tutored and trained by the great John Louis Vives, who had left Paris in 1512 as the invincible dialectician ⁸⁾ and had been turned by the Brabant University into the protagonist of Humanistic Studies ⁹⁾, in so far that,

¹⁾ There is a poem 'ad Nicolaum Clenardum' : ResendO, 55, and, in Beken's *Epistolæ*, Resendius is frequently referred to : *ClenCorr.*, II, 186 ; Cerejeira, 301-304, &c.

²⁾ Joaquim de Carvalho, *Uma Epistola de Nic. Clenardo a Ferd. Colombo* : Coimbra, 1926 : 19 ; Clenard's *Epistola ad Christianos* : *ClenCorr.*, I, 226, 770, sq, 840, sq ; *ErasPort.*, 36.

³⁾ Quid dicam de amicis ? Resendius primas partes obtinet, Poeta cum ueteribus comparandus... non minus nobilitaret suam Eboram quam Lucanus Cordubam : *ClenCorr.*, I, 228, 835, sq.

⁴⁾ *ClenCorr.*, I, 102, 151, 118, 103 ; Cerejeira, 303, sq.

⁵⁾ On October 1, 1534, he pronounced an *Oratio pro Rostris* in the University of Lisbon : Marcel Bataillon, *La Mort d'Henrique Caiado* : Coimbra, 1928 : 6.

⁶⁾ *Libri Quatuor de Antiquitatibus Lusitaniæ... accessit liber quintus de Antiquitate municipii Eborensis* (edited by Diego Mendes de Vasconcellos) : Evora, Martin Burgensis, 1593.

⁷⁾ That history is partly based on inscriptions implying that Evora had been one of the head-quarters of Sertorius ; they have been shown to be supposititious : *Corpus Inscript. Lat.*, II, 13, 805 ; Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Eborā (v, 1897) ; J. P. Walzing, *Recueil Général des Inscriptions Latines* : Louvain, 1892 : 27, 87, 90.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 232.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 233, sq.

in 1519, he even disillusioned his old fellow-believers by his *In Pseudo-Dialecticos* ¹⁾. Although he had worked himself up in a few years to the triumvirate with Erasmus and Budé ²⁾, he was unfortunate in his hopes on an *ottum literarium* : his pupil Cardinal William of Croy died ; the preceptorate of Prince Ferdinand escaped his grasp ; and the news of a lucrative position in the Alva family offered to him, did not reach him ³⁾. As his most successful public lecture in the Halls did not yield any profit ⁴⁾, the poor erudite saw himself compelled to make his home in Oppendorp Street into money : it became a boarding house for his English friends and admirers : Giles Wallop ⁵⁾ and Nicolas Wotton ⁶⁾ ; the medical student John Clement ⁷⁾, and Richard Pace's companion William Thale ⁸⁾ ; the teachers Maurice Birchinshaw ⁹⁾ and Nicolas Daryngton ¹⁰⁾ ; and the Archbishop's relative, Richard Warham ¹¹⁾. For several Spanish youths, his home was organized into a school, to which even his garden, with its two Springs, was arranged, according to the inscription in a Latin verse which adorned the front for centuries :

Hic Gemini Fontes, Græcus fluit, atque Latinus ¹²⁾.

As the outlook remained gloomy, and as he believed it to be his duty to return to Spain to help his family in distress, he left for England in May 1523, hoping to find a means of conveyance ¹³⁾, and he bequeathed his Louvain students to the maternal care of the *Trilingue*, to whom he, no doubt, had introduced already two amongst the most proficient ones, Alderete and Joannius. The latter, **Honoratus Joannius**, was born on January 14, 1507, as the son of a prominent Valencian

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 234.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 231.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 2, sq.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 2.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 3.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 41, b, 281, c ; *MonHL*, 4.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 154, c-f ; *MonHL*, 4 ; and before, pp 43, 358.

⁸⁾ *MonHL*, 4.

⁹⁾ *MonHL*, 4 ; he was a witness to William Lily's will, September 2, 1522-February 1523 : Sam. Blach, *Die Schriftsprache in der... Paulsschule* : Halberstadt, 1905 : 96.

¹⁰⁾ *Cran.*, 202, 30 ; cp. before, I, 78, 382.

¹¹⁾ *MonHL*, 4.

¹²⁾ *SweMon.*, 255 : the house joined the interior H. Ghost-gate in what is now the Rue de Diest : rebuilt in the xviith century, it has quite been demolished ; one of the Springs, the Latin one, is still providing the neighbourhood with pure, cool and refreshing water. Vives refers to the Springs in his *Exercitatio Latinæ Linguae* : VOO, I, 330.

¹³⁾ *MonHL*, 6-8.

citizen Caspar, who filled many offices in the town, culminating in that of *Sevir*, in which capacity he is praised in an oration of 1549 by Francis Decius, professor of literature in the University ¹⁾. From that oration, as well as from the *Dialogus de Re Medica* ²⁾, by Peter Ximenus ³⁾, in which he is introduced as an interlocutor, it appears that Caspar Joannius was highly interested in Renaissance studies and literature, as well as in the beauty and the welfare of Valencia ⁴⁾.

After his training in his native town, Honoratus Joannius resorted to Louvain, where he soon became a favourite disciple of Vives ⁵⁾: in his dedicatory letter of the *De Officio Mariti* to John of Borgia, Duke of Gandia, he even predicted that Joannius would be one day the light of Valencia ⁶⁾. He introduced his pupil in his *Exercitatio Latinæ Linguae*, in the *Dialogus Vestitus et Deambulatio Matutina* ⁷⁾, and referred to him in the *Varius Dialogus de Urbe Valentia*, entitled *Leges Ludi* ⁸⁾. Honoratus stayed for some time in Louvain after Vives had left for England, and, no doubt, prepared himself for his work in after life, according to his master's advice, by a thorough study of languages ⁹⁾ under the lead of the professors of the *Trilingue*. He most likely was the Spanish Student, 'cuidam Honorato', to whom Goclenius

¹⁾ *Viv Vita*, 206.

²⁾ Valencia, 1549.

³⁾ He was professor of Medicine in the University, having been trained in Padua by Andrew Vesalius: *Viv Vita*, 202.

⁴⁾ *Viv Vita*, 202-206.

⁵⁾ In his *De Censura Veri*, I, he gives as example of *voces compositæ* <quæ sunt> *duæ, aut tres... vel vinculo colligatæ, ut Valdaura et Maluenda, ego cum Joannio*: VOO, III, 148.

⁶⁾ Honoratus Joannius, *Civis noster, adolescens natus ad maxima, et (vivat modo, ac pergat qua coepit) futurum aliquando lumen nostræ ciuitatis*: January 1529: VOO, IV, 303; Bonilla, 203.

⁷⁾ VOO, I, 323-330; *Viv Vita*, 159, 197-198.

⁸⁾ VOO, I, 389: *Estne ille, qui mula vehitur, Honoratus Ioannius? — Non, ut arbitrator, nam unus ex meis pueris... reliquit illum abdentem se in bibliothecam suam, &c.*

⁹⁾ In his *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, Vives repeated the praise which he had given him in the dedication of the *Officium Mariti* (VOO, IV, 303: cp. above, note ⁶⁾), in the form of an advice preserved amongst the scraps of letters: *Vale mi Honorate, et literas colè quæ te principem virum efficient nostræ civitatis*: VOO, II, 294.

gave some letters to be rendered into Latin before being sent to Erasmus ¹). With Vives, Honoratus kept up a regular correspondence, although only two letters seem to have survived. In one, a reference to his mother-in-law, Clara Cervent, who had been ailing for some time, and had become so dangerously ill that, in the first days of June 1527, he returned from England in all haste, shows that it was written between the news of that illness, and September 11, when she died ²) : Vives replies to Honoratus' inquiries about the patient ³), and, elucidating an evident misunderstanding, he declares that he is convinced that nobody alive loves him as much as does his former pupil, who is no less loved in return ⁴). The same affectionate tone sounds in the second letter, replying to two epistles which Joannius had written since he left Louvain : one of these was dated from Paris, where he had met several fellow-students and countrymen ⁵), to whom Nicolas Valdaura, who wrote to him announcing his intended arrival, wanted to be recommended : that letter of Valdaura, who wished to start the studies of medicine in Paris, is dated from Bruges, and certainly belongs to September 21, 1529 ⁶). Joannius probably did not stay long

¹) Letter of Goclenius to Erasmus, Dec. 10, <1526> : Allen, vi, 1768, 23-25.

²) *Cran.*, 241, 1, 11, sq ; *MonHL*, 22-23.

³) *VivE*, 137-38.

⁴) *VivE*, 138 : hoc velim tibi esse multo persuasissimum, me existimare, neminem hodie vivere, cui tu in me amando concedas ; vicissim &c.

⁵) Amongst them were Peter Malvenda (cp. further, pp 411, sq), Francis Benedictus, Beneito, who afterwards filled several important offices in Valencia (*VivVita*, 210), and John Straselius, the future Royal Professor (cp. pp 415-16) ; Bonilla, 205 ; *VivVita*, 210.

⁶) That letter, which is reproduced in the *Elogia Honorati Joannii* (Valencia, 1659), is dated 'Brugis, anno 1529, die 21 Novembris' : still the month cannot be exact, as it announces the projected arrival in Paris where Valdaura is going to apply himself to medicine. It consequently has to be older than the letter which Vives wrote to William Budé actually to introduce his well beloved brother-in-law, whom he wishes to be recommended to his medical friends, especially to 'Ruellius', namely to the translator of Pedanius Dioscorides' *De Medicinali Materia*, Johannes Ruellius, of Soissons : *SaxOnom.*, 134, 602. Vives adds that, in October, Valdaura's leaving was precipitated by the breaking out at Bruges of the *Sudor Anglicus*, which also made him flee with his wife towards the south. He even thought of accompanying Nicolas to Paris ; still the fear for the *luem* (*VivE*, *lucem*) had subsided

in the French capital and wrote again to Vives from Valencia. To that and to the Paris letter, Vives replied in the first months of 1531, requesting his beloved disciple to prove a consoler and a warden to his relatives, who had been, quite recently, sorely afflicted by the loss of an uncle, Jerome Dixar, who was as the colum of their family ¹).

Joannius, soon after his return to Spain, became the preceptor of Don Carlos, Philip II's son, as well as of Don Juan of Austria, and thus rendered great services to his monarch. He used the influence he had gained in favour of erudites and of learning ²) : he lived on friendly footing with Janus Secundus ³) ; he recommended Vives to the *Infante* Don Carlos ⁴), and encouraged the publishing of the Commentaries on the reign of King James ⁵). As he was a thorough admirer of Cicero, he helped the Latin professor of Valencia, Laurence Palmyrenus, to replace the manuals by Erasmus and by Lorenzo Valla, which had been in use up to then, by others, which were more in keeping with the growing admiration

when they reached Artois, and his wife went back to Bruges : Vives was kept for some time by countrymen at *Lens* (VivE, *Leusi*) before he returned home. The letter, VivE, 218-19, which relates most of the events to Budé, was taken to Paris by Nicolas Valdaura, along with a copy of *De Concordia et Discordia Humani Generis*, published at Antwerp by Mich. Hillen in 1529 : NijKron., I, 2163 ; it has no date, but belongs without doubt to the latter half of October 1529, as already on November 10, Vives dedicated at Bruges to Margaret of Austria his *Sacrum Diurnum de Sudore Jesu Christi*, inspired by the recent events : NijKron., I, 2165. It follows that the letter of Nicolas Valdaura was dated from Bruges, on September 21, 1529 : *VivVita*, 209-10 ; Bonilla, 642. A letter of Vives to Antony Barcher, also relating the flight from Bruges and recommending Nicolas Valdaura, VivE, 220, belongs to the same period as that to Budé, and was taken by him to Paris ; so was, for certain, that to Jerome Salinas : VivE, 221 ; VOO, II, 311 ; cp. Bonilla, 642.

¹) VivE, 139-41 : in his letter, Vives also mentions that his *Disciplinæ* were then being printed : they were published in July 1531, at Antwerp by Mich. Hillen : NijKron., II, 4063 ; *VivVita*, 105, 120 ; *Cran.*, 32, b.

²) Several poets and literators were amongst the friends of Honoratus Joannius, whom they praised in their works : *VivVita*, 73, 95, 193, 200-2.

³) *JSecOp.*, ***5, v.

⁴) *VivVita.*, 193, 198-99.

⁵) *VivVita.*, 185, 195 ; Altamira, I, 377-83 ; the *Commentaria Jacobi I* were published at Valencia in 1577.

for Rome's great Orator ¹⁾. He had entered the Church, and in reward for his services, he was appointed, in 1564, to the see of Osmá, which unfortunately he held only a short time, as he died on July 30, 1566 ²⁾.

Joannius' fellow-student in Vives' school was **Diego Gracian**, a native of **Alderete**, son of Diego Garcia, head of the Emperor's armourers, *præfectus tormentorum bellicorum Cæsaris* ³⁾. After Vives' leave, he studied languages for some time at the *Trilingue*, before entering the service of Maximilian Transsylvanus, probably after the latter's visit to Christiern II of Denmark, November 1525 ⁴⁾. He left his master to return to Spain in 1527, probably with a recommendation to Alonso de Valdes, who obtained for him by 1528 an employment at the Emperor's Court ⁵⁾; he translated documents

¹⁾ *Viv Vita.*, 77, 149, 196, *sq*; Palmyrenus wrote a *De Vera, et Facili Imitatione Ciceronis*, 1560, dedicated to Joannius; he was helped in his efforts by Andreas Sempereus.

²⁾ *VivE*, 137-38, 139-41; *Viv Vita*, 195-206; A. Kircher, *Splendor Domus Ioannicæ* : Valencia, 1672; N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispanica Nova* : Madrid, 1783-88 : II, 389; Allen, VI, 1768, 23; Bonilla, 203, 222, 642. There is a letter from Juan Gines Sepulveda to Honoratus Joannius, dated '*pridie non. Febr. 1544*' : SepulvO, III, 331 : 156-8.

³⁾ DantE, 345; *Viv Vita*, 207.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 68, b.

⁵⁾ Alonso de Valdes, born about 1490 at Cuenca, Castile, twin brother of Juan, studied in Alcalá, and entered Gattinara's service about 1520; he followed the Court to the Netherlands, and, by 1522, he entered the Imperial Chancery. He served Charles V as a trusted secretary : in his *Lactancio*, he vindicated his master for his responsibility in the Sack of Rome, 1527, and took again his defence in a dialogue *Mercurio y Caron*, 1529. He used his great influence in favour of learning and erudites, and became a staunch friend of Erasmus and John Dantiscus. By 1530, he was ready to help Melanchthon at Augsburg to come to an understanding, and to prevent a hostile solution : although his colleague de Schepper was less encouraging, the Emperor and Cardinal Campeggio accepted to consider the matter in all secrecy, which was made impossible by the Lutherans and the Zwinglians at the Diet : *Melanch.*, 268-71; Seck, II, 165, b-167, a. Alonso de Valdes died of the pest in October 1532 in Vienna, where he made his will on October 5. Cp. *RevHisp.*, VIII (1901), 183-84; Ed. Boehmer, in *Homenaje à Menéndez*, 1899, I, 383-412; Allen, VII, 1807, *pr*; *ValdDial.*, 15-18, 23-25, &c, and the many letters in DantE. — Alonso's brother Juan seems to have followed the Court from 1526, and soon was referred to as a friend of Diego Gracian and Francis Vergara. He wrote a dialogue *De Doctrina Christiana*, in Castilian : Alcalá, January 1529; it was discovered and edited

from other languages and Greek, and wrote Latin letters, for which he was praised in L. Marineus Siculus, *De Rebus Hispaniæ Memorabilibus* : July 1530 ¹). Still his work seems to have left him some leisure, which he used to good purpose by serving some of the chief personages at Court, as he had done before being appointed : for, by 1527, he served the marquis of Elche and Don Juan Manuel ; he also attended for some time Francis de Mendoza, Bishop of Zamora ²). He afterwards became secretary to the Empress, and was created knight on April 10, 1539. From the beginning of his secretarial career, he evinced a decided partiality to Erasmus ³) and to the principles of which he was looked upon as the symbol ⁴), and he thus became a fit helper and a staunch supporter to Alonso de Valdes ⁵). He willingly took his share

by M. Bataillon (Coimbra, 1925) ; it is evidently inspired by the ideas expressed by Erasmus in his *Enchiridion* and his *Colloquia*, which caused it to be suspect to the Inquisitors ; it made the author migrate to Rome ; from 1534, he removed to Naples, where he wrote on Biblical scholarship, and composed small religious tracts in Castilian, such as the *Instrucion Cristiana* which were translated in many languages ; he died about August 1541. Cp. Allen, vii, 1961, *pr* ; *ValdDial.* ; *EraCab.*, 33, *sq* ; *Instrucion Cristiana para los Niños... en ocho Lenguas* : Bonn, 1883 : v-xxiv. Cp. Pastor, v, 704-6 ; Buschbell, 97, 214.

¹) Alcalá, 1530 : 130, 173. Cp. *VivVita*, 207-8.

²) Gracian describes the disappointment felt in the service of the various masters in his *Speravi*, 1552 : *EpHispcClar.*, 95-104 ; *EraSpain*, 371.

³) *ValdDial.*, 59-61, 72, 187, 284-85 ; *EraCab.*, 42, 48-52, 99 ; *EraSpain*, 242, 299 (Gracian copied the protecting letter of Charles V for Erasmus, and passed it on to Alonso Fernandez of Madrid, the Arcidiano of Alcor). — When the various translations of Erasmus' writings were preparing in Spain, Gracian examined them most minutely : *EraSpain*, 310.

⁴) *ValdDial.*, 107-8, 179, 187, 284-85 ; *EraSpain.*, 470, 552. — A letter-book containing Gracian's epistles, mostly dating from 1527 to 1531, is preserved in a xviiith or xviiith century copy, which was unfortunately damaged by fire ; it now belongs to the Duke of Berwick and Alva, Madrid. That series of letters contains most interesting information about the state of mind in Spain at that period, and about the efficiency of the efforts of some of the younger generation to propagate the love of study and of truth in life, literature and religion. Cp. *ValdDial.*, 48-52, 59-61, 72 ; Allen, vii, 1913, *pr* ; Bonilla, 631.

⁵) For Valdes, Gracian shortened a long letter from Alonso Fernandez to Erasmus, and wrote it as if it were in his hand : November 13, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1904 ; *EraSpain*, 302-3 ; he also made a copy of his *Dialogus* between Lactantius and the Archdeacon : *EraSpain*, 414-15.

in humanistic work, providing Spain with translations from books by Greek authors, thus evidently putting to profit the training which he had enjoyed in Louvain at the *Trilingue*. Amongst those translations are Plutarch's *Apophthegmata* and *Moralia* ¹⁾, Xenophon and Thucydides, as well as Isocrates' oration *ad Nicocles* ²⁾ — besides S. Ambrose's *Officia*, Joannes Sleidanus' abridgment of Froissart's Chronicles, and several smaller works ³⁾. Some of those renderings were dedicated to his royal masters, whose favour he continued enjoying throughout a very long career ⁴⁾. Even his marriage connected him in a way with Humanism : for having come across John Dantiscus' natural daughter Juana and her mother Isabel Delgada, in Valladolid ⁵⁾, he wanted to save from perdition the girl, who was hardly more than a child ; he managed to get betrothed to her, March 1537, and caused her to be educated in his mother's home ⁶⁾. He married her on June 30, 1537 ⁷⁾, and, although the union was highly

¹⁾ Alcalá, 1533 and 1548 ; *EraSpain*, 664-666.

²⁾ Salamanca, 1552, 1564 & 1570. Cp. *VivVita*, 207 ; *EraSpain*, 665.

³⁾ The *Officia* were published at Toledo, 1534 ; and the translation from Sleidanus, 1549, is preserved in manuscript at Munich (*Manuser. Hisp.* 10 : cp. L. Karl, *Un Erasmiste Espagnol du XVI^e Siècle* (in *Rev. du XVI^e Siècle* : xi) 1924 : 91, sq. — Poets like Vincent Marinerius and Joannes Petreus praised Gracian's literary achievement : *VivVita*, 207-208 ; *EraSpain*, 664-666, 669, 736-37. — Gracian possibly also translated Peter Dorlandus' *Viola Animæ*, as *Violeta del Anima* (Valladolid, 1549), since an initial epigram is built on the acrostich *Gratianus Secretarius Regius* : *ValdDial.*, 247.

⁴⁾ He is said to have lived to the age of 90 : cp. Allen, vii, 1913, *pr.*, referring to a sketch by Don Ant. Paz y Melia, *Otro Erasmista Español* : *Diego Gracián de Alderete* : in *Revista de Archivos*, v, 1901, 27-36, 125-39, 608-625 ; *RevHisp.*, viii, 189-90, 268-78 ; *EraSpain*, 286-87 ; Nic. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* : Madrid, 1783-88 : i, 286-87 ; also DantE.

⁵⁾ On March 9, 1537, Jacobus Gratianus writes to Dantiscus reminding him of having been introduced to him by Alonso de Valdes seven years earlier ; when arriving at Valladolid on June 1, he had taken up his abode with Isabella, mother of Joanna Dantisca : DantE, 345.

⁶⁾ He wrote to Dantiscus, on September 13, 1536, about his decision of marrying the girl, whom he intended entrusting to his own mother for her education : DantE, 332, 345.

⁷⁾ *Instrumentum notariale* attesting the marriage of Gratianus Aldereto and Joanna de Curiis Dantisca : June 30, 1537 : DantE, 353 ; on July 6, Diego sent a letter in three copies to John Dantiscus, then Bishop of Culm : DantE, 355.

recommended by their common friends ¹⁾, John Dantiscus treated his son-in-law with undisguised suspicion, as his consent had been asked only after the decision had been taken, possibly also because Gracian, whom he considered as too vainglorious for an erudite, insisted on receiving a dowry, or at least a liberality ²⁾. Gracian had several children ³⁾ and his descendants, who succeeded one another for over a century as secretary, or *criado, de su Magestad* ⁴⁾, accounted it as a title of glory to have the *Dantesca* amongst their ancestors ⁵⁾.

B. MALVENDA

The third of Vives' students, **Peter Malvenda**, is also

¹⁾ Such as Cornelius de Schepper, John de Weze, Archbishop of Lund, Doctor Alobera Abrilensis, Gondisalvus Perezius, and Fabian Dameraw who had been entrusted with the care of looking after Juana Dantisca. Also Gaspar Weiler, who represented the firm Fugger at Valladolid, and in whose house the wedding was celebrated, as well as the Imperial officials Nicolas de Granvelle, Covos, Doctor Guevara and Antonio de Taxis : DantE, 358-67, 370, 372, 374, 385, 390-91.

²⁾ Cp. DantE, 369, 420, 470, &c. In *EpClarHisp.*, 268-78, there are three letters in which Gracian complains about the way in which he is treated by Dantiscus.

³⁾ *VioVita*, 208, relates that Juana was still beautiful after her twentieth confinement, when her picture was made by a son, and adorned with a distich by her husband :

Bis decies gravidæ talem nunc cerne figuram,
Qualis erat facies Virginis, ipsa docet.

⁴⁾ *VioVita*, 207-208. A 'secretario Antonio Gracián', of the Holy Office, writes a letter to Alvar Gomez on April 5, 1571, about books of Pedro Ponce de León, Bishop of Placencia : Fr. de B. San Roman, *El Testamento del Alvar Gomez de Castro* : Madrid, 1928 : 10. Altamira, III, 557, 635, mentions a : Gracián, que en sus libros *El héroe, El discreto, El cortesano*, &c, estudió las condiciones del jefe de un Estado y sentó máximas políticas de admirable sagacidad. Another relative, Baltasar Gracián, was the author of *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*, 1648, a codification of 'conceptist' rhetoric : Altamira, III, 601, 635.

⁵⁾ On the title of *Galateo Español, aora nuevamente impresso, y enmendado* (Madrid, 1722), is indicated su autor *Lucas Gracian Dantisco, criado de su Magestad*. The signature of Lucas Gracian Dantisco is also found e. g., in the '*Censura y approbation*' '*fecha en Madrid, a veynte y seys de Iunio deste anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y seis annos*', of Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla* : Sevilla, 1587 : § 2 (p 3).

introduced in the dialogue *Vestitus et Deambulatio* ¹⁾, which shows that he was amongst the schoolfellows of Honoratus Joannius and Diego Gracian. Like they, he stayed for some time in Louvain ²⁾, and most probably applied himself to the study of languages, as well as to that of theology, which became as his chief branch. During those years, Malvenda kept in close touch with Vives, and may have occasionally gone to see him in Bruges; for he proves well acquainted with Nicolas Valdaura ³⁾, who, on <September> 21, 1529, wrote a letter to Honoratus Joannius, announcing his intention to come and study in Paris ⁴⁾, and sending greetings to 'Dominum Maluendam, Benedictum (namely Francis Beneito) et Straseliū', viz., John van Strazeele, later Paris professor of Greek ⁵⁾. Malvenda may have been in Paris already for some time before Honoratus Joannius arrived there on his way to his native Valencia ⁶⁾, and Vives may have then sent off the letter in which he mildly reproaches his old disciple with wasting his time on *rixosa ista theologia*, which was taught and practised especially in Paris; he wrote that it made him fight against the sun, and only prepared him for the day that he should enter the lists and take part in the *fabula*, in a matter in which nothing should be farcical or theatrical; although he admits that the almost irresistible public tyrant insists on laying on the yoke of the generally accepted wrong judgment in those most important matters, Vives insists on upright men not giving in, but rather removing that tyrant by the freedom of truth ⁷⁾. That letter of fatherly advice was probably written in September 1529,

¹⁾ VOO, I, 323, sq; *VivVita*, 33, 34.

²⁾ In his *De Censura Veri*, I, Vives, as already mentioned, explains the *voces compositæ* by an example as how they are connected amongst themselves, ut *Valdaura et Maluenda, ego cum Joannio* : VOO, III, 148; it shows that the note 34 on Bonilla 642-43, is wrong: cp. *VivVita*, 73, 197. Possibly the end of a letter quoted in *De Conscribendis Epistolis* and mentioning Malvenda, was addressed to Nicolas Valdaura : VOO, II, 292.

³⁾ Indeed 'petrus maluenda hispanus' matriculated as late as September 5, 1529 : *LibIntIV*, 19, r.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 406.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, p 415.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 407.

⁷⁾ *VivE*, 212 : Vives wrote '...rixosa ista theologia, qua te armas in solem nunc, aliquando et in arenam proditurus, et serviturus fabulæ, in re qua nullam decet esse minus fabulosam et theatricam : &c.

for Vives mentions *capitis gravedo et oculorum dolor tota hac æstate continuus* : which is corroborated by a letter of August 8, 1532, in which he complained to Vergara that since three years he had been suffering grievously from his head and his eyes, and longed to die ¹⁾).

When, in the beginning of 1531, Vives answered Honoratus Joannius' last letters, he announced that Malvenda was at Bruges, and that he had related what he had done, and how he enjoyed his stay in Paris ²⁾ ; also that he intended going to the Court and talk over some things with his 'amicissimus' Granvelle, — evidently Nicolas Perrenot, Lord of Granvelle, Secretary of State for the Burgundian Netherlands since 1528 ³⁾. The latter helped Malvenda in his further career : his son Antony, Bishop of Arras, chose him as his attendant for the meeting of Worms, November 1540 ⁴⁾ ; it was thus quite natural that Charles V appointed him as one of his theologians for the second *Colloquium* of Ratisbon, convened for December 1545 ⁵⁾. Malvenda was the first of the Catholic orators, the others being the Carmelite Provincial, Everard Billick, of Cologne, the Austin Provincial, John Hoffmeister, of Colmar, and John Cochläus ⁶⁾. The meeting opened on February 5, 1546, by a speech of Malvenda ⁷⁾, who developed the Catholic doctrine on the question of Justification ⁸⁾. As the new *Colloquium* had been devised chiefly to dissipate the possible illusion that the Roman Church was going to tone down some of her dogmas to keep the 'Protesting' within her fold, as the first *Colloquium* of Ratisbon, 1541, had been thought to imply ⁹⁾, the purely scholastic treatment of the doctrine by Malvenda took the opponents by surprise ¹⁰⁾ : they expected

¹⁾ *EpClarHisp.*, 267 ; *Bonilla*, 651. ²⁾ *VivE*, 139. ³⁾ *Cran.*, 273, a.

⁴⁾ *Gropper*, 125 ; *CochlSpahn*, 307-8 ; *SleiComm.*, 481-83.

⁵⁾ *VivVita*, 209-210 ; *Gropper*, 125 ; *HerMaur.*, 162 ; *CochlSpahn*, 307 ; *Melanch.*, 527, sq.

⁶⁾ *Voigt*, 333 ; *Hoffmeister*, 199, sq ; *CorpCath.*, XVIII ; *PastReun.*, 314 ; *Gropper*, 125-126 ; *BeitClem.*, II, 142-43 ; *Seck.*, III, 619-20.

⁷⁾ *PastReun.*, 315 ; *BeitClem.*, II, 143-45 ; *Seck.*, III, 623, b, sq.

⁸⁾ *PastReun.*, 315-16. In 1546 were printed at Wittenberg *Propositiones Petri Malvendæ Propositæ in Colloquio Ratisponensi*, with the counter-propositions of M. Maximilian Maurus : *BeitClem.*, II, 145 ; *Seck.*, III, 624, a, b.

⁹⁾ *PastReun.*, 311, sq, 316-17.

¹⁰⁾ *Gropper*, 126-27 ; *Seck.*, III, 624, a, b ; *SleiComm.*, 482-83.

that the conclusions of 1541 would have been left untouched, and wished to bring up again the old humdrum of unruliness and tyranny of prelates and monks ¹⁾). The rejoinder, by the first opponent Martin Bucer, was, however, reserved and cautious ²⁾), but the Emperor's prohibition to divulge the debates before he himself and the German Diet should have heard them, caused the contradictors to leave the town before Charles V reached it ³⁾). Although giving due credit to Malvenda's erudition and clever arguing ⁴⁾), the Protestants laid the blame of the unsuccessful *Colloquium* on him ⁵⁾), and made him unpopular by means of a discussion which he was said to have had at Ratisbon with his countryman Juan Diaz ⁶⁾), whom he had reproached with his apostasy from the faith of his fathers to the aberrations of Germany, where an upright Catholic gets older in six days than in as many years in any other country ⁷⁾). Two years later, on August 10, 1548,

¹⁾ PastReun., 316, 317; Gropper, 127, sq.

²⁾ PastReun., 318-20; Seck., III, 623, b, 624, a; CochlsSpahn, 308.

³⁾ PastReun., 321, sq; Gropper, 126-28; Seck., III, 623, b.

⁴⁾ Thus Melanchthon, in his letters to Bucer and John Brenz : *Corp-Ref.*, VI, 31, 51, 66; PastReun., 326.

⁵⁾ Voigt, 194; PastReun., 320, 325, sq : especially the contradictor George Major was bitter in his reports on Malvenda : Seck., III, 623, a, 624, b-626, b. Cp. Pastor, V, 559, sq, 649.

⁶⁾ John Diaz had studied in the Universities of Paris and Louvain; he afterwards went to Wittenberg, where before long he became a decided Protestant. He used his past experience in favour of his new friends, thus trying to prove that Roman divines doubt of their faith by relating how three Louvain theologians despaired of their salvation : a Guarlacus, reader in St. Gertrude's Abbey; an Arnold of Bommel, who committed suicide, and the famous professor James Latomus, who, he said, had become mad with despair in his last days, and was kept shut up in his house by Ruard Tapper, *homine crudeli et impio* : Seck., III, 653, a. He had come to Ratisbon where Malvenda, whom he had known in Paris, tried to make him return to his old faith. His brother Alonso, jurisprudent in the Roman Curia, advised of the apostasy by the Emperor's chaplain, Malvenda's friend, had come in all haste for the same purpose, and was suspected of having caused him to be assassinated, at Neuburg, on March 27, 1546 : Seck., III, 652-58; *Slei-Comm.*, 490-93.

⁷⁾ Seck., III, 653, b-656, b : the report of the meeting was noted down from memory by Claud Senarclæus, a Savoyard youth, who was with Diaz at the last, and made a relation of his death and the preceding events.

Bartholomew Latomus ¹⁾, who had been an official assessor at the Ratisbon *Colloquium*, wrote to Viglius announcing that Antony Perrenot of Granvelle had just appointed him to a similar mission — possibly the *Interim* ²⁾ — in connection with Malvenda, to whom he wishes to have his greetings conveyed ³⁾.

C. FURTHER PUPILS

Amongst Vives' students in Louvain, there was also a Flemish youth, mentioned as being in Paris, in September 1529, when Nicolas Valdaura wrote to Honoratus Joannius ⁴⁾; he was a native of Strazeele, a village near Bailleul, John **Straselius** or **Stracelius** ⁵⁾. He, no doubt, enjoyed at first the lessons of the poet Livinus van den Cruyce, *Crucius*, future parish priest and schoolmaster of Boeschepe ⁶⁾, who, for several years, taught at Bailleul: in after times, Vives gave evidence to their mutual affection by inserting amongst the greetings quoted as examples in his *De Conscribendis Epistolis*: *Stracelius Crucio τῷ αὐτοῦ θυμῷ χειριζομένῳ et quod de amico Aristoteles dixit, alteri ipsi* ⁷⁾. Straselius afterwards was trained in Louvain, where he attended Vives' lectures and those of the *Trilingue* ⁸⁾; from them he derived the store of knowledge which he made ample use of in his lessons in

¹⁾ Malvenda and Latomus may have met during the time of their studies in Louvain: cp. further, Ch. XIII, 3.

²⁾ Malvenda and Pedro de Soto were requested to give their advice on the *Interim* of 1548, prepared by Julius von Pflug, the Mayence suffragan Michael Helding, and John Agricola: *PastReun.*, 362; Tytler, I, 84-85; *Melanch.*, 532.

³⁾ *BritMus.*, MS Harl. 7011, Plut. xlviii, I, f 59.

⁴⁾ <Sept.> 21, 1529: the others mentioned in that passage are Peter Malvenda and Francis Beneito, who filled several offices in Valencia, and became a priest at the death of his wife Hieronyma Olivàn: *VivVita*, 210; cp. before, pp 406, 412.

⁵⁾ *Straselium meo nomine salutabis*: *VivVita*, 210.

⁶⁾ *Gran.*, 288, a, b; in *MonHL*, 500, it is suggested that Straselius was *Crucius'* colleague at Bailleul: most likely he was his pupil.

⁷⁾ VOO, II, 287.

⁸⁾ He was acquainted with Nicolas Beken, who related to another common friend, John Vasæus, Straselius' appointment, in his letter of December 24, 1534: *GlenCorr.*, I, 43, 244, II, 56.

Paris University, where he probably settled in 1529, after having been, at least for a while, in James of Halewyn's service ¹). He had for some years taught privately, when he was requested, on account of his excellence, to replace temporarily the Royal lecturer in Greek, Peter Danès ²), who, in the summer of 1534, followed to Italy his pupil George de Selve, the future Bishop of Lavaur ³). The situation, which seemed to be only provisional, proved definitive, and Straselius became one of the most renowned professors of the new Institute. He hardly published any of his writings, as he devoted all his time and his efforts to his students, one of whom, Franciscus Thorius, honoured him in 1558 with a chronographic distich :

BELLVLA PROGENVIT, FINXITQVE BRABANTICA ; TELLVS
OBSTVPVIT : RAPVIT GALLIA STRASELIVM.

Straselius died in 1559 ; his commentary on the *Carmina Pythagoræ* was edited in 1562 by Francis Thorius, of Bail-leul, who, with John Auratus (Dorat), Leodegar a Quercu, Robert Straselius and other admirers and disciples, published a *libellus Epitaphiorum* in memory of the Professor ⁴).

¹) In the dedication of *Demosthenis et Æschinis Epistolæ*, February 1, 1537, Peter Nannius asks James of Halewyn, Lord of Maldegheem, Uytkerke, Lembeke, &c, canon of the fifth prebend of Our Lady's, Bruges, since 1524 : Straselius olim contubernalem tuum, nunc vero regium Parisijs professorem, uirum utriusque linguæ peritissimum, meo nomine si quando ad illum scribes, salutabis : Polet, 253, 130. James of Halewyn died on July 25, 1548, and was buried in Our Lady's, Bruges, near the widow of a 'James de Halewyn', Jacquemine, who died on October 5, 1529 : *BrugInscr.*, II, xiii, 185 : judging by that epitaph and *Brug&Fr.*, I, 232, it does not seem as if the 'James of Halewyn' referred to, should be one person : cp. Chs. XIX, XX.

²) Pierre Danès, Danesius (c 1497-1577), appointed to teach Greek in 1530, represented France at the opening of the Council of Trent in 1546 and became tutor of the Dauphin under Henry II : Allen, VII, 2044, *pr* ; *MonHL*, 457, 458, &c.

³) George de Selve left for the embassy of Venice on December 12, 1533, and urged on March 28, 1534, the King's chaplain James Colin to allow Danès to join him. Danès was in Venice in the beginning of September 1534 : L. Delaruelle, *Deux Lettres Inédites de Pierre Danès (Mélanges d'Archéol. et d'Hist. de l'Ec. Franç. de Rome, 1899 : XIX, 168-169 ; Lefranc, 150, sq.*

⁴) *FlandScript.*, 104-105, 55 ; *GandErVir.*, 52 ; Lefranc, 182, 132, 150, 152, 163, 205, 232, 381, 402, 404, 406 ; Polet, 253.

Of other students little more is known than the name : between 1520 and 1535, a zealous young Spaniard, **Pedro Alonso de Burgos**, studied in Louvain : on returning to his native country, he entered the Abbey of Montserrat in 1536, and lived there a long life of study and work, until his death in 1572 ¹⁾. By 1522, there was amongst Vives' pupils **Joannes de Castillo**, who matriculated on July 23 of that year ²⁾, and about whom Diego Gracian and his patron, the Archbishop of Toledo, were most solicitous six years later ³⁾. Amongst the rich students of the Castle, who were inscribed on August 31, 1527, was a **Jaspar de Castro de Burgoys** ⁴⁾, who, also, may have felt interested in the teaching of his great countryman, and in the study of languages which he had always heartily recommended, and which was just then reaching its climax in the most prosperous *Trilingue* : and so probably did several more of the *Hispani* whose names were entered — often most erratically — on the last pages of the third volume of the *Intitulatum* ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ 'Petrus Alfonsus Burgensis' : cp. *Analecta Montserratensia*, vii.

²⁾ *LibIntIII*, 290, r.

³⁾ *VivE*, 213; *MonHL*, 429-30; *EraSpain*, 552; — there is a Joannes Castellus, who was tutored by Vives in Bruges, and who is introduced into the *Exercitatio* : *Ludus Chartarum*, along with Nic. Valdaura and Rod. Manrique : *VivVita*, 74; *VOO*, i, 378, sq. — The frequent recurrence of the name makes it hard to decide about the identity with the Juan del Castillo of *ValdDial.*, 33-8, 44, 79-89, and *EraCab.*, 33, 75.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIII*, 343, r; *VivE*, 205-6; *EraSpain.*, 552-53.

⁵⁾ Thus *FUL*, 23 (finishing on August 31, 1527) has, from 1521, the following inscriptions (— the list is not exhaustive —) : Digo castelle, dives *Liliensis*, August 28, 1521 (*LibIntIII*, 280, v), Jacobus dies hispanensis & Antonius elias, hispanus : January 20, 1522 (*id.* 284, v), ferdinandus gulerius hispanus toletanæ dioc. pauper : February 19, 1522 (*id.* 285, r), Mgr Joannes de fonseca, alias de bouadilla sallaman-tien. dioc. : September 24, 1522 (*id.* 295, r), Petrus de lacerna, hispanus : November 7, 1523 (*id.* 308, v); Mgr Johannes de salinis alias de mendosa : January 11, 1524 (*id.* 310, v), nobilis Alphontius Manerik hispanus : May 24, 1524 (*id.* 314, r), M. Antonius de haro hispanus : February 8, 1525 (*id.* 322, r), Petrus lopes : March 1526 (*id.* 330, v), houinuitus Joannis & Franciscus lupianus hispanj : May 1526 (*id.* 331, r).

3. JURISPRUDENTS

A. QUADRUPLICATE PROMOTION

The spirit of objectivity, and the wish to reach truth according to the methods advocated by Erasmus and Vives, and practically applied in the teaching of the *Trilingue* in the various fields of action ever since its foundation, is splendidly exemplified, as already shown, by the young student of law Gabriel van der Muyden ¹⁾ : having been a most enthusiastic listener to the Busleyden professors, as well as to Vives' magnificent exposition of the new way of learning languages and all sciences, at the *Quodlibeticæ* of December 1522 ²⁾, he put into practice those principles with such an effect that he astounded his very fellow-students at the meetings of the *Collegium Baccalaureorum Juris Utriusque* ³⁾, in so far that they threatened him, not only with exclusion, but with a sound caning if he thus once again should disturb their meeting by his subversive doctrine ⁴⁾. Difficulties of that kind rather encourage men whose conviction is founded on truth : Mudæus' experience went to lengthen the series of events which ensured the triumph of humanistic ideals, and gained him imitators and favourers amongst scholars and masters.

If Mudæus was not celebrated yet in the twenties, as he was later on in that century, as one of the glories of Louvain and of the Nation ⁵⁾, yet his spirit, although in a less effective way, animated the best amongst the jurists who were just then preparing in Louvain, thanks to the principles symbolized and put into practice by the *Trilingue*. That

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 210-18.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 388-89.

³⁾ Cp. VAnd., 209, sq ; and before, p 213.

⁴⁾ Matthias Van Wesembeek, in his *Oratio de Mudæo*, Wittenberg, 1572, relates that they threatened Mudæus 'de homine non solum exterminando verum etiam per collegia fustigando' : *Mudæus*, 8-9.

⁵⁾ E. g., the poem by Janus Gruterus, which he sent on February 12, 1588, from Dantzic to Abraham Ortelius, the great geographer, at Antwerp : Hessels, I, 365, 26. Already on April 7, 1543, Gemma Phrysius praised to Dantiscus : D. Amicum et D. Gabrielem, as 'viros... non minus facundos quam eruditos' : DantE, 444 ; *GemFrisius*, 411.

results from the fact that, at the quadruplicate promotion to *Doctores Vtriusque Juris* on September 13, 1530 ¹⁾, were invited the chief lawyers then at work in our provinces who, at same time, were the leading protectors of Humanism : Nicolas Everts, Everardi, President of the Great Council of Mechlin ²⁾, with three of the most prominent members of that Council, Peter l'Apostole ³⁾, Francis de Cranevelt ⁴⁾ and Louis de Schore ⁵⁾; they attended the final tests, and gave their opinion on the *doctorandi*, although not taking any part in the decision.

The first of those young jurisprudents was **Peter de Vriendt, Amicus**, of Ter Tolen ⁶⁾, Erasmus' *protégé*, who had been preceptor to Giles de Busleyden's sons and had come with them to Louvain in the spring of 1519 ⁷⁾. The great Humanist took an interest in the young Master of Arts, whom he recommended to Francis de Cranevelt on December 18, 1520 ⁸⁾, and, about the same time, to the Bishop of Tournai, Louis Guillard, as results from his letter of June 17, 1521 ⁹⁾. Although the latter could provide him with a few months' employ at the Tournai Chapter School, where he published his *Institutiones Grammaticæ* ¹⁰⁾, the former probably did him more good by encouraging him to continue his studies at the *Trilingue* and in the Faculties of Law, so as to enlarge his ken and his prospects. He meanwhile gained his living by tutoring, and was so proficient that, soon after promoting doctor, he was entrusted with the lecture on Feudal Law ¹¹⁾, until he succeeded Josse Vroeye both as secondary professor

¹⁾ VAnd., 185.

²⁾ Cran., 123, a-e ; MonHL, 77, 95, 99, 219, &c ; Busl., 218, 348.

³⁾ Cran., 30, a, 261, 45 ; Busl., 311-12, &c ; before, I, 3, 129, 268.

⁴⁾ Cran., liii, sq.

⁵⁾ Cran., 110, c-f ; MonHL, 35, 300, 351, 393, 422, 631-35 ; bef., I, 224, 600.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 126-27.

⁷⁾ The three boys matriculated on March 25, 1519 : cp. before, p 126.

⁸⁾ Allen, iv, 1173, 9-21 ; Cran., p 687.

⁹⁾ Allen, iv, 1212, 1-6 : reference is made to a letter sent to Amicus for a request to be made to the Bishop, probably a recommendation for the young man in quest of an employ.

¹⁰⁾ The *Libelli Duo*, printed by G. Vorsterman, Antwerp, were dated : 'Ex Greco latino gymnasio Tornacensi' on June 22, 1521 : NijKron., i, 116.

¹¹⁾ That lecture was not given after 1532-33 : Anal., xxxix, 303-304.

of Civil Law in 1533 ¹⁾, and also as University Dictator ²⁾, thanks, no doubt, to his linguistic and literary ability. He fulfilled those functions until 1556, the year of his decease.

The second of the four *promovendi* was **Hermes de Winghe**, of Renaix, who is recorded as most versed in jurisprudence : on February 26, 1526, succeeding Dominic Cakaert, he was entrusted with the extraordinary lecture of Canon Law ; in 1527 with that of the Institutes, and in 1530, that of the Pandects ³⁾. Having been elected Rector on August 31, 1536, he married, in the first days of December 1536, the daughter of John Auxtruyes, member of the Privy Council ⁴⁾, and succeeded him as Councillor and Master of Requests in 1537 ; as such and as treasurer of the Flanders Charters, he served the King most faithfully by his prudent ability, which made him a great friend of Viglius and of Hopper ⁵⁾. He died on March 11, 1573 ⁶⁾ and was buried in St. Gudula's, Brussels : his wife Margaret had preceded him on October 16, 1570 ⁸⁾.

The third *promovendus* was **Renier Jansz**, or **Janssen**, **Joannis**, of Enkhuizen ⁹⁾, who had already fulfilled the office of University promotor from May 31, 1510 to December 22, 1512, when he was succeeded by John Macket ¹⁰⁾. On August 19, 1510, he entered the Academic Senate ; he was Licenciante

¹⁾ VAnd., 156 : Josse Vroeye died on February 10, 1533 ; Amicus was succeeded by John Wames : VAnd., 191.

²⁾ VAnd., 50 ; he was also appointed as *Signator Primarum Litterarum* of the Conservator's Court on December 29, 1541 : VAnd., 72. On April 7, 1543, Gemma Phrysius praised 'D. Amicum' amongst 'viro... non minus facundos quam eruditos' : DantE, 444 ; *GemFrisius*, 411.

³⁾ VAnd., 186 ; Mol., 546, 772 ; *Cran.*, lxii ; before, I, 225.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 156-58, 211 : he had been Dean of the Coll. Baccalaureorum.

⁵⁾ VAnd., 32 (vi. Non. Dec.), 42 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 265 ; John Auxtruyes, councillor since 1504, entered the Privy Council in 1520 and died in 1541 : Hoyneck, III, ii, 311-12 ; *MalInscr.*, 175, b ; Alexandre, 409.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 29, 167, ii, 669, 671.

⁷⁾ Vern., 33, 98, 298 ; VAnd., 186 ; *ConPriT*, 64 ; *MalConM.*, 94, 109 (Jean Auxtruyes) ; Alexandre, 409-10.

⁸⁾ *BruxBas.*, II, 42 ; their son John became Councillor of Brabant in 1569 and Vice-Chancellor in 1592 : Hoyneck, I, ii, 538 ; their daughter Jane († Dec. 1623) married Antony of Gottignies, Lord of Neeryssche and of St. Gertrude's Mechlin, Brabant Councillor : *BruxBas.*, I, 59, 95 ; Hoyneck, I, ii, 619.

⁹⁾ VAnd., 185 : he was Provost of Our Lady of Walcourt.

¹⁰⁾ VAnd., 54 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 347-49.

of Canon Law at that period ; from 1532 to 1538, he was secondary professor of that branch ¹⁾, and on July 13, 1540, he was appointed judge delegate by the Abbot Peter Was, of St. Gertrude's ²⁾, Conservator of the Privileges of Louvain University, for lawsuits of persons outside Liège diocese ³⁾.

A fourth was Michael Drieux, Driutius, of Volckerinchoven, near Cassel, son of Adrian, and of Mary de Swarte ; he was trained in the Lily, where humanistic work was eagerly encouraged ⁴⁾ ; having promoted M. A. in 1516, being classed the tenth ⁵⁾, he started studying law, whilst teaching philosophy in his Pedagogy ⁶⁾ until, on March 21, 1529, he was provided with a professorate in Canon Law and with a prebend in St. Peter's ⁷⁾. He was a great favourer and promotor of the new studies of the *Trilingue* ; and not only was he himself a zealous student, but he also encouraged others, such as James de Cruucke, *Crucquius*, of Messines ⁸⁾, disciple of Goclenius and Nannius, whom he even allowed to go and perfect his knowledge on a journey abroad. On his return, *Crucquius* was invited by Drieux to a *convivium doctum*, such as those which Erasmus describes in his *Colloquia* ⁹⁾ : both Peter Nannius and Vulmar Bernaert ¹⁰⁾ had also been

¹⁾ VAnd., 42, 156, 185.

²⁾ ULDoc., I, 519-20 ; VAnd, 70 ; Vern., 51 : Peter Was, of Brussels, the fifth Abbot of St. Gertrude's, managed his community with wise severity and artistic munificence from 1527 to his death, Febr. 14, 1553.

³⁾ VAnd., 70, 42 ; ULDoc., I, 519, sq. ⁴⁾ Cp. I, 194, sq ; pp 256-58.

⁵⁾ ULPromLv., 6 : Michael drieux de Casleto L(iliensis). — The name occupying the second place for 1521 is a misreading for 'Nicasius Wineel de Casleto L.' both in ULPromRs, 73, and in the list of Promotions, MS 22.174 of the Royal Library, Brussels, f 26, v.

⁶⁾ ULDoc., III, 259, IV, 246. He entered the University Council on October 2, 1525, as professor of the Faculty of Arts.

⁷⁾ VAnd., 156-57 : on April 1, 1530, he was appointed Royal Professor of the *Decretum Gratiani* ; he also became Official of the Bishop of Liège in Louvain, and was, from July 6, 1537, active as Inquisitor : BN, s. v. Tapper, Titelmans ; Et&Aud., n° 1177¹ c, January 23, 1554.

⁸⁾ See further, Ch. XIX.

⁹⁾ Cp. *Convivium Religiosum, Convivium Poeticum, Convivium Fabulosum* ; &c : EOO, I, 672, 720, 759.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. further, p 425 : Gemma Phrysius mentioned on April 7, 1543, to Dantiscus 'D. Michaellem Druysium et Licenciatum Wilmarum Bernardum, quorum et vita doctrinæ excellentiæ respondet' : DantE, 444 ; GemFrisius, 411-12.

invited, as well as a young student of laws, the host's 'familiaris'; it attests to the constant solicitude of cultivating language and eloquence : indeed, in the conversation this question was proposed : Who of the three is the most useful to the commonwealth, the man who talks well in public, the clever author, or the one who leads an exemplary life. Drieux is recorded to have pronounced on that subject so eloquent a speech that Crucquius inserted it in substance into the dedicatory epistle to his commentaries on Horace's *Satyræ*, 1573 ¹).

In the spring of 1559, Drieux, famous as Professor of Canon Law, succeeded Ruard Tapper as Dean of St. Peter's Chapter and as Chancellor of the University, but he died on Sept. 16 of that same year ²); by his will of July 28, 1559, he founded and richly endowed one of the finest of the Louvain Colleges; it bore his name ³), and was established in his own house in Shrine Street, — opposite the entrance gate to the *Trilingue* ⁴): it had formerly belonged to the renowned physician and professor John Spierinck ⁵).

B. PINTAFLOUR AND BERNAERT

That solicitude for the eloquent expression shown by de Vriendt and Drieux, is one of the signs of the new spirit introduced by the *Trilingue* in the study of jurisprudence : it is also conspicuous in the letters of Viglius to his friends and companions. When writing to Hector of Hoxwyer, on June 6, 1531, to congratulate him on his speech to the Emperor entering our Provinces after his coronation at Bologna, he insists on having it published, as it would please, by its excellent and pure style, all those who like himself were

¹) Paquot, xviii, 374-76.

²) VAnd., 185-186, 42, 58, 60, 190, 196, 311, 403; Vern., 34, 97-98, 107; Mol., 137, 478, 546; VigIEL, 41-43; *ULDoc.*, iii, 258-260; *Drieux*, 3-6; Hoynck, ii, ii, 67, 118; *Anal.*, xxxix, 300, 303; &c. — His lectures, in autograph, were preserved in the library of his College; letters of Aug. 4, 1539, March 17 & July 9, <1558>, &c, are preserved in *Et&Aud.*

³) FUL, 2934-40, 2943, 3053-54; VAnd., 311-312; Vern., 228-229; Mol., 643; *ULDoc.*, iii, 260, sq. His nephew Remi was the second Bishop of Bruges.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 44, 49, 56, sq, 94.

⁵) VAnd., 227. Cp. Ch. XIII, 1.

obliged to bend over the barbarous authors on law ¹⁾ : it would be as a help for those who study jurisprudence to aim at the purity of diction which necessarily suffers ²⁾. It was indeed one of the objects of Humanism to express science and erudition in a clear, unobjectionably pure language, without the scholastic prolixity.

Another aim was a sagacious consideration of what there may be sound and useful in the doctrine and the writings of the predecessors in matters which are intrinsically traditional, as right and jurisprudence. In a letter to Haio Cammingha, Viglius advocates the study of the *Institutes* and their text : even the knowledge of the titles would provide as an index of the matter ; and he was in so far unprejudiced that he did not altogether condemn the glosses, stating that it would be ridiculous to suppose that all good Jurisconsults of preceding periods had erred ³⁾ : evidently their judgments were to be examined and sifted carefully, instead of being either accepted blindly or temerarily rejected.

An interesting example of that sagacious consideration, managing to curb the obstinate tradition to the requirements of the general welfare, as suggested by the novel view of jurisprudence, is provided by **Peter Pintaflour**, Pintaflorius, the grandson of a Sicilian soldier, who had hardly anything left except life after Charles the Bold's disaster at Nancy, in January 1577. In the Castellany of Cassel he founded a family which prospered, so as to allow his grandson Peter, born in 1502 at Strazeele, to be sent to Louvain. He matriculated there on August 31, 1522, as a student of the Lily ⁴⁾, where some years later, he became professor of philosophy and took the name of Thindari in remembrance of 'Sancta Maria in Thyndaro', a most popular shrine in Sicily. He meanwhile studied languages according to the tradition of the Lily, as well as jurisprudence, in which branch he promoted Licentiate, and was so versed that it brought in a welcome addition to his wages of teaching and tutoring, in return for his wise

¹⁾ Gabbema, 522.

²⁾ Gabbema, 524 ; cp. before, pp 163-64.

³⁾ Gabbema, 553.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIII*, 293, r : Petrus Pintaflours de Strasele ; J. B. Gramaye, *Antiquitates Flandriæ* : Louvain, [1708] : 194, a.

advice. On January 23, 1540, he was appointed secondary professor of Canon Law and Canon of St. Peter's, and thought of entering orders as he had obtained a provision through the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts. He changed his mind in 1542, and resigned his professorship and the canonry connected with it, which were granted on December 9 to Robert Martin, of Valenciennes; he left the University and became juridical adviser of Charles of Croy, Bishop of Tournai. Settling as lawyer in Brussels, he married there, but soon lost his wife, which made him reconsider his old plan of entering the church: he was ordained, and nominated to the parish of Herinnes, on the Scheldt. Meanwhile he used his influence to create an understanding between the Bishop and his clergy about the representation of the Diocese at the Council of Trent. The favourable result reached on that and many other occasions, caused him to be appointed as canon of Our Lady's, Tournai, for which he resigned his parish; in August 1557, he was elected Dean of the Chapter, and started the reform of the clergy by giving the good example. He brought the Chapters of the Tournai diocese and those of Cambrai to accept even those decrees of the Council which were in opposition with their secular privileges, joining to their submission an appeal to the Pope's justice and benevolence. In the troublesome sixties he did what was possible to avert evil and disaster; when Alva restored order, he helped Bishop Guilbert d'Ongnies to make the Cathedral Chapter, although exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction, agree to the decree of the visit and the reform of corrupt practices, in so far that the Diocesan Synod of May 1567 accepted the decrees of Trent, which caused endless trouble to several bishops. Six years later, he was appointed himself Bishop of Tournai and took possession of his see on June 15, 1567¹⁾; his device: *Sit mora consiliis* was as the expression of the prudent sagacity which had characterized all his activity during the whole of his life, and still did in the last years, when he struggled, by Martin Rythovius' side, against William of Orange for the

¹⁾ At his consecration his former pupil Remi Drieux, Bishop of Bruges, assisted: *Drieux*, 482-83.

sake of Faith and peace ¹⁾; the end came on April 10, 1580 ²⁾ and for long months he was left without successor ³⁾.

If that Bishop, considered as one of the glories of Louvain ⁴⁾, used his linguistic ability and his intellectual store of knowledge chiefly to convince his brethren of what appears the more beneficial to truth and their welfare and to that of humanity in general, a younger countryman and fellow-student made less use of similar gifts in active life, reserving them for study and teaching. **Vulmar Bernaert**, born in 1510 at Eycke, or Eecke, (so called from the hollow oak where St. Vulmar hid three days, it is said, from obtruded honours) at Casteren (Caestre), near Cassel ⁵⁾, also studied in the Lily, where he promoted Master of Arts in 1528, being classed the third of the 103 competitors of his year ⁶⁾. He, too, taught philosophy in his Pedagogy ⁷⁾ and zealously applied to languages, which made him an intimate friend with a younger fellow-student and colleague, the great linguist Andrew Masius ⁸⁾, with whom he remained in close connection, as results from their correspondence extending from 1541 to 1562 ⁹⁾. He, also, studied jurisprudence, with so much success that in 1538 he was appointed secondary and extraordinary professor of Canon Law ¹⁰⁾ and that on April 7, 1543, Gemma Phrysius commended him in his letter to Dantiscus: 'in Canonibus D. Dominicum (Cakaert), D. Michaellem Druysium et Licentiatum Wilmarum Bernardum, quorum et vita doctrinæ excellentiæ respondet' ¹¹⁾. From 1540 to 1544, he was the

¹⁾ Drieux, 610, 618-20, 623, 704-5, 735.

²⁾ Mol., 144; VAnd., 158; ULDoc., iv, 247, 554; BelgChron., 421-422; Drieux, 6; Vos, i, 110-127; E. Cortyl (relative of the Bishop and of Remi Drieux), *Pierre Pintaflour, Évêque de Tournai*: Lille, 1893.

³⁾ Hocquet, 256.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 380.

⁵⁾ FlandAnn., 6, v, 7, r; J. B. Gramaye, *Antiquitates Flandriæ*, 195, a. — The proper orthography of the great professor's name was 'Vulmar Bernaert', as he himself signed on *LibRecII*, 175, r.

⁶⁾ ULPromRs, 76.

⁷⁾ ULDoc., iv, 247; he was yearly appointed as *Tentator Licentiandorum* between 1536 and 1539: ULPromRs, 86, 90, 94, 98.

⁸⁾ Cp. Ch. XVII.

⁹⁾ MasE, 12-13, 15, 96, 98-99, 104, sq, 107, sq, 111, sq, 345.

¹⁰⁾ VAnd., 156-57: he replaced John de Lobel, *Lobellius*, and Reinerus Joannis, appointed as judge delegate of the Conservator: cp. p 421.

¹¹⁾ DantE, 444; *GemFrissius*, 411-12; before, p 421.

President of St. Yves' College ¹⁾. On August 31, 1547, he promoted Doctor Vtriusque Juris ²⁾, and was entrusted in 1548 with the primary lecture on Canon Law ³⁾. On account of the excellence of his teaching and of his eloquence, he was sent to attend the session of the Council of Trent in 1552 ⁴⁾, and on his return declined the seat in Mechlin Great Council which the Emperor offered him ⁵⁾. He remained at his work in Louvain, where he was on intimate footing with literators like Peter Nannius ⁶⁾, and was so interested in classic studies that he had gathered a collection of old coins which Hubert Goltzius inspected and recorded ⁷⁾. In the famous controversy about the property of the Lily ⁸⁾, he was elected, on January 21, 1555, with Peter de Vriendt, as arbiter by the Faculty of Arts, whereas John Heems of Armentieres chose as defenders Gabriel Mudæus and John Wames; as no solution was reached, they were allowed on July 24, 1556 to take a fifth jurisprudent as associate ⁹⁾. Still the question was only settled after Heems' death, on July 1, 1560, when an arrangement, proposed by his executors, was corrected according to Bernaert's warning ¹⁰⁾, and finally accepted on August 10 following; a fortnight later the Faculty offered with thanks one Flemish pound 'doctori Wulmaro... pro suis laboribus et molestiis... susceptis, quas partim amore pedagogii, in quo promotus fuerat, subire se fatebatur' ¹¹⁾. He was six times

¹⁾ He was then Licentiate V. J. : VAnd., 296; *ULDoc.*, III, 107.

²⁾ VAnd., 189.

³⁾ VAnd., 155; Vern., 97; he succeeded Dominic Cakaert († June 9, 1548).

⁴⁾ VAnd., 363-64; Paquot, xvi, 307.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xv, 283; on November 22, 1557, Viglius insisted on Bernaert's accepting the seat in Mechlin Council: Hoyneck, II, i, 384-85; Bernaert also was requested by Margaret of Parma to attend a meeting in Brussels on May 25, 1564, about the acceptance of the decrees of Trent, and the remedies against difficulties and disorders: Hoyneck, II, ii, 46; he declined a canonry in Cambrai Cathedral Church offered by Maximilian de Berghes, the Bishop (1556-70): Mol., 548.

⁶⁾ Paquot, xviii, 374, sq. and before, p 421.

⁷⁾ *CollTorr.*, 5.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 94; *ULDoc.*, iv, 178-210; Mol., 631.

⁹⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 195, sq.

¹⁰⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 204.

¹¹⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 209.

Rector ; at his death, on January 13, 1570 ¹⁾, he left a foundation ²⁾ for two scholarships in St. Yves College ³⁾.

C. JOSSE DE DAMHOUDER

Different from the excellent and experienced professor Bernaert, who hardly left any writing, several most interesting works will keep for ever the name of one of his fellow-students, the famous jurisprudent **Josse de Damhouder**, who was also trained in the *Trilingue*. He was born at Bruges on November 25, 1507, from a patrician family : his father Simon was town treasurer, and his mother, Mary de Roode, daughter of an alderman ⁴⁾. He matriculated in Louvain on February 28, 1524, as *dives Liliensis* ⁵⁾, and was trained under the care of Peter de Corte in the humanistic atmosphere ; he attended the lectures of Busleyden College, whilst applying to jurisprudence ⁶⁾. He continued that study in Orleans, and Padua, and returned as D. V. J. by 1532 or 1533, when he became alderman of his native town. He settled there as procurator, and, from 1537, took an active part as pensionary in its management, which he afterwards described most minutely in his *De Magnificentia Politicæ amplissimæ Civitatis Brugarum* ⁷⁾. His ability and effectiveness struck Mary of Hungary on a visit to Flanders ⁸⁾ ; it caused him to be dubbed a knight, and to be appointed as Councillor of Flanders for the Crownlands and, later on, for the Finances. It made him remove to Brussels in January 1552 with his family ; for he had married Louise de Chantraines de Broucsault, daughter of Peter, governor of Quinzy, and of Louise van Stakenburg ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. Mol., 548, 479-80 ; VAnd., 189, 43, 44, 151, 211, 380, 403 ; Vern., 298 ; Paquot, xv, 281-85 ; Hoyneck, i, i, 186, ii, 503 ; *FlandScript.*, 160.

²⁾ His will is dated December 13, 1569 : FUL, 1946 ; VAnd., 297.

³⁾ Paquot, xv, 284-85 (Foppens, ii, 1160) mentions a *De Poentis Canonicis*, a *De Præscriptionibus*, and another small juridical treatise in manuscript which now seem lost.

⁴⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, i, 60, 63 ; *BrugInscr.*, ii, 129-130.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIII*, 313, v.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 148.

⁷⁾ Added to the edition of *Pupillorum Patrocinium* 1564 : cp. Paquot, v, 361.

⁸⁾ She occasionally used him for missions : Henne, v, 38.

⁹⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, ii, 403-4 : she died on June 20, 1575 : *BrugInscr.*, ii, 365-66, 355, 407.

In 1567, he was appointed as Forester of the Downs and as Warden of the Coast, and he settled at Antwerp, where he died on January 22, 1581, leaving his son Louis, councillor of Flanders, to succeed him ¹⁾. In the Church of Our Lady, Bruges, Josse and his wife had founded anniversaries : they were buried there, and as a monument a fine triptych by Peter Pourbus, 1574, was given with their picture and that of their children : it still adorns the church ²⁾.

Although de Damhouder did not advance the science of jurisprudence as his fellow-student Gabriel Mudæus, he rendered an immense service to all the lawyers of his time and to those of the following ages by his most practical handbooks : they give, in a short, clear, and matter-of-fact exposition, the information which, for centuries, had been hidden under the bewildering considerations and comments of the juridical treatises constituting, since long ages, the only authorities in all courts of justice. He first handled the laws of tutors and wardens, *Patrocinium Pupillorum*, 1544 ³⁾, to which he added the *Subhastationum Compendiosa Exegesis*, 1546 ⁴⁾, which contains valuable matter on the history of commerce. The effective utility of those two works was so generally appreciated that he published the far more important *Praxis Rerum Criminalium* ⁵⁾, of which the value can be gauged from the number of reprints and translations ⁶⁾, especially those of the enlarged edition of 1562 ⁷⁾, dedicated to Lamoral, Count of Egmont ; it was followed in 1564 by the new edition of his two other treatises ⁸⁾, together with his

¹⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, I, 63-66 ; his son Louis died a bachelor in 1613 : *Fland-Con.*, 180, 71, 72. Josse left three daughters, Ann, married to Josse van Bracle, Lord of Courtenbois, Flanders Councillor : *Fland-Con.*, 170-71 ; Catherine, wife of John de Schietere ; and Frances, married to James de Facuwez, secretary of the Brabant Council : *BruxBas.*, I, 147.

²⁾ *BrugInscr.*, II, 365 ; b ; *BrugHist.*, 476 ; Weale, 115 : it now hangs near the Gruuthuse gallery. ³⁾ Bruges, Hubert de Croock, 1544.

⁴⁾ Ghent, Erasmus Querceus, 1546.

⁵⁾ It was published first by John Bellerus, Antwerp 1555, being printed in Louvain by Stephen Gualterus and John Bathenius : the permission to print had already been given in 1551.

⁶⁾ Cp. *BB*, D, 30-86.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, John Bellerus, 1562.

⁸⁾ *Pupillorum Patrocinium... denuo vigili cura, & non pœnitendâ accessione locupletatum*, &c : Antwerp, Joann. Bellerus, 1564.

description of the *Politia* of Bruges, and an *In Laudem Hispanicæ Nationis Declamatio*, dedicated to Cardinal de Granvelle and to Viglius ¹⁾. Those works, which are illustrated with most interesting woodcuts, and provided with admirable synopses and tables, show the strong will power and the independent straightforwardness of the author; they testify to a thorough knowledge of jurisprudence and a very rich experience gained, no doubt, as juridical adviser of the Courts of Bruges, which was part of his work as pensionary. He does not discuss, nor even point out, general principles as he is not a professor of laws; he is so much the more practitioner, and gives in supple and graphic Latin the course of a suit, and the analysis of the various crimes and transgressions; he adds his own remarks where he considers them helpful, and quotes readily from his own experience. For the knowledge of sixteenth century life and culture, and for the social standing of this country, his writings are a priceless source of evidence and information.

It is possible that the welcome that greeted Damhouder's books induced those who still kept the manuscript of the works of another great lawyer, Philip Wielant, of Ghent, who died on March 2, 1520, as member of Mechlin Great Council ²⁾, to edit his treatise on feudal law, with those on the practice, and on the way and style of proceeding in justice, 1555-1559 ³⁾; it is possible, too, that they caused Damhouder's admirers to press him for a similar manual. In fact he published his *Praxis Rerum Civilium* in 1567 ⁴⁾, which is again a clear and substantial treatment of the matter. Several chapters are commentaries on Wielant's treatise, of which the traditional

¹⁾ The *Popillorum Patrocinium* is inscribed to Granvelle, the *Subhastatio* to Viglius, and the *Politia* to the Senate of Bruges.

²⁾ Philip Wielant, Knight, Lord of Everbeke, had been Councillor in the Great Council of Mechlin from 1473 until its suppression, when he became Councillor and, in 1488, President of Flanders. When the Great Council was reinstated at Mechlin in 1504, he took place again there until his death: *BibBelg.*, 780; Paquot, xv, 48-57; *MalConR*, 11-13; *FlandCon.*, 121; *Busl.*, 324-26, &c.

³⁾ His *Tractaet vanden Leenrechten* was printed by John de Laet, Antwerp, 1554; his *Practique, Maniere, ende stijl van procederene*, by the same printer, in 1559: *BB*, w, 4-15; Paquot, xv, 55.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, John Bellerus, 1567: *BB*, d, 52-87.

trend and the time-honoured uses, even to the division into ' *decem tempora* ', are reproduced ; still Damhouder indicates with great care what makes the Belgian practice differ from that of Italy or of France. It is one more piece of sound humanistic work, based on common sense and on a nice perception of what is material, and what is only accidental : a result from a thorough comprehension of the subject by study and experience ; with his *Enchiridion Parium aut Similium Vtriusque Juris*, 1568, it was reedited and commented by the jurisprudent Nicolas van Thulden, of Hertogenbosch, in 1601 and 1617 ¹).

4. COUNCILLORS & DIPLOMATISTS

A. THE 'TRES FRATRES BELGÆ'

Like Stercke's ²), Wary's presidency was honoured by the presence in the College of several young men of the nobility of our country who devoted themselves to the study of languages, since they, or rather their parents and friends, realized the vital necessity of a sound knowledge of them for all those who wished to fill a responsible office in the political government of the State, and even of the provinces and their chief towns. It explains the attendance of the celebrated *Tres Fratres Belgæ*, Nicolas Grudius, Adrian Marius and Janus Secundus, the sons of one of the cleverest jurisprudents of his day, Nicolas Everts, Everardi, or of Middelburg, being born at Grijpskerke in 1462 ; he matriculated in Louvain on November 15, 1479 ³). He promoted Master of Arts in 1483, and Doctor of both Laws on June 11, 1493 ⁴), and he taught Civil Law in Louvain from 1492 to 1496 ⁵). He then became

¹) *FlandCon.*, 154 ; *BibBelg.*, 592 ; J. J. Haus, *La Pratique Criminelle de Damhouder et les Ordonnances de Philippe II* : *BullAcBelg.*, 1871 : xxxi, 415, sq, xxxii, 81, sq, 297, sq ; *AnEmBr.*, xlv (1895), 147-221 ; Stintzing, 604-6, 339 ; *GoetLect.*, iv, 57, sq ; *BB*, D, 21-89.

²) Cp. before, pp 123, sq, 145, sq.

³) *LibIntII*, 146, r ; *HEpM*, 36.

⁴) *VAnd.*, 177 : he had been admitted to the Academical Senate on Febr. 28, 1491.

⁵) *Anal.*, xxxix, 275-77 : in 1494 he succeeded Walter de Leeuwe, of Beek (cp. before, I, 362), for the lecture of Civil Law.

the Official in Brussels of the Bishop of Cambrai, Henry de Bergues, Erasmus' patron, which post he filled at least until his master's death in 1502 ¹). During that period he married Elizabeth de Bladel, of Mechlin ²) : his two eldest sons, Peter Jerome Nicolai ³), and Everard Nicolai ⁴), who soon followed their father's profession as lawyers, were born in Brussels. After 1502, he was active for some time in Louvain, where he was elected University Rector on February 28, 1504 ⁵), and probably was juridical assessor to the Academical Courts, which gave him an unequalled experience in matters concerning the rights, the customs and the laws of Louvain University ⁶). In that town was born a third son, Nicolas, who consequently was called *Grudius*, from the name of the tribe that is said to have lived at the confluence of Dyle and Voer ⁷). Nicolas Everts soon was called to take part in the management of his country, and after working for a time at The Hague, he was appointed on May 17, 1505, as a member of

¹) *BelgChron.*, 351-352. — Gestel, II, 14, 53, and *BasBrux.*, II, 9, state that he was Dean of Anderlecht in 1498 and from Nov. 16, 1506, Dean of St. Gudula's; although in the very beginning he may have enjoyed a prebend as *clericus*, it seems impossible to accept his appointment as dean, for he married about 1496 : his eldest son Peter was D. V. J. in 1520, and his second, Everard, was born in 1498 : *Cran.*, 123, a, b, 292, a.

²) Elizabeth de Bladel (or de Blioul) outlived her husband, and died an octogenarian in Brussels : *PoemGrud.* ; Crane, 9.

³) He promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* on May 22, 1520, along with Louis de Schore and Josse Vroeye, and entered the Premonstratensian Order in Middelburg, where he was for a time rector of the Zoetendale nuns before becoming the parish priest of Flushing : *Mol.*, 544, 742 ; *VAnd.*, 182 ; *HEpM*, 29, 37 ; *PF*, 262 ; de Jongh, *21 ; *Cran.*, 123, a, e. His brother Joannes Secundus composed an elegy on him : *JSecOp.*, 220 ; Erasmus had invited him to supper at Antwerp in the spring of 1520 : Allen, IV, 1092, 12-13.

⁴) Everard Nicolai, born in Brussels in 1498, became barrister in Holland Council, and afterwards Councillor of Friesland, 1527, and of Mechlin Great Council, 1533 ; he presided the Friesland Council from 1541 for a short time, until he became Privy Councillor ; in 1557, he was appointed President of Mechlin Council ; he had married Genoveva van der Goes, of the Hague, in 1523, and died at Mechlin on May 10, 1561 : *Cran.*, 292, and the authorities quoted ; *JSecOp.*, 162 ; *MalNDame*, 74 ; *MalInscr.*, 322 ; he left several children : *MalInscr.*, 321, 337 ; Opmeer, I, 460, a ; Allen, VIII, 2261, 80.

⁵) *ULDoc.*, I, 261.

⁶) Vern., 26 ; *VAnd.*, 30, 31, 261, 301.

⁷) *DivAntiq.*, 8.

the Great Council of Mechlin, where was born, on September 8, 1505/9, his fourth son called, after the Saints honoured that day (O. Lady's Nativity), Marius and Adrianus. In 1509, he was sent to The Hague to preside the Holland Council ; there was born, in 1511, the fifth of the sons who reached maturity ¹⁾, and, in memory of a deceased brother, he was called Joannes Secundus ²⁾.

Nicolas Everts gave an excellent education to his children ; he, no doubt, was fully in sympathy with humanism and with the principles of Erasmus ³⁾, whom he certainly had known in Louvain. He entrusted their instruction to James Volcaerd ⁴⁾, a schoolmaster of The Hague, to whom Dean Bernard Bucho, of Aytta ⁵⁾, also had committed the education of his nephew Viglius ⁶⁾. When, in October 1522, the latter went to Louvain, the tutor accompanied him and stayed with him for nearly two years in the Convent of the Beghards ; from Easter 1524 they lived at Giles Vermeulen (a Mola)'s house, on Chapel Hill, until 1525, when Viglius was called back by his uncle, and Volcaerd went to reside and teach at the house of the Frisian Severinus Feyten, a Feyta ⁷⁾. Viglius expressly states that he studied under the same *pædagogus* as Adrian Marius and Joannes Secundus, and that they, as well as Grudius, lived for some time together with him, not

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 13-4 ; in his poem on the death of Marius, Nicolas Grudius states that his parents had had 'bis novem' children of which then, 1568, there were only two alive : *DelPoBel.*, II, 647 ; the other was one of the three sisters who reached mature age : *Cran.*, 123, e.

²⁾ Crane, 9-10.

³⁾ Nicolas Everts was in correspondence with Erasmus, to whom he proved a staunch friend and protector and whom he helped whenever he was applied to for his own or his friends' necessity. On April 17, 1520, the Humanist sent to his patron a leaden cast of the medal which Quintin Metsys had just made : cp. Allen, IV, 1092, 2, 1044, 18, sq. &c ; *KaGNie.*, II, 37 ; *LatCont.*, 389 ; *KAlgL.*, 91 ; *KaErFlug.*, 38 ; *Cran.*, 123, d ; *CantE.*, 17.

⁴⁾ Cp. pp 145-16 ; *Cran.*, 189, 11, 260, 8 ; *MonHL*, 286, 499, 501, 505-6, 668 ; Hoyneck, I, i, 65 ; Paquot, xv, 128, sq. and, of course, the elegy by Secundus ; *JSecOp.*, 213 ; Simonis, 39.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 97-98, and *PoemMar.* — Bernard Bucho was, since 1519, dean of The Hague and member of Holland Council : Allen, IV, 1237.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 146-50, and *PoemMar.*

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 146 ; *MonHL*, 505.

that *pædagogus* ¹⁾). It follows that they were Volcaerd's *convictores*, and not at The Hague, but in Louvain : it is hardly probable that the three brothers should have boarded with their tutor in the very town where their parents lived, and where Viglius himself, most naturally, was his uncle's guest. Volcaerd was not their first instructor : they had been trained by Rombaut Steynemolen, of Mechlin ²⁾, a young Master of Arts ³⁾, whose family Nicolas Everts must have known at the time he was active in the Great Council ⁴⁾, and whom he took into his service at The Hague. Joannes Secundus, who sent to him one of his first poems, mentions that

¹⁾ On March 12, 1536, Viglius wrote to Adrian Marius : *de familiaribus rebus, deque studiis quæ a puero conjuncta, in ulteriorem ætatem proferre mutua communicatione literarum nos addeceat* : Hoynck, II, i, 211. At his death (March, 21, 1568), he wrote to Joachim Hopperus, March 29, 156[8] : *<ejus> mortem non potui non summo mœrore prosequi, quod ab teneris unguiculis in unis ædibus, ac sub eisdem præceptoribus fuerimus educati, ac amicitiam in quinquagesimum annum pene continuaverimus* : *id.*, I, ii, 413, also I, i, 143. On October 14, 1541, Viglius praising Joannes Secundus to John James Fugger, writes : *quocum mihi... sub iisdem magistris, iisdemque in ædibus per multos annos jucundissima consuetudo, studiorumque fida communicatio... intercessit, &c* : *id.*, II, i, 288 — which seems to imply that they had more teachers in common than Volcaerd, and, no doubt, points to the lectures in the *Trilingue* : cp. also where Viglius refers to the *ex studiorum contubernio contracta familiaritas* with Secundus : *id.*, II, i, 78 and 227. — There is an *Epistola* amongst Secundus' poems *Ad Viglium Zuichem'Frisium Jurisconsultum* : *JSecOp.*, 172.

²⁾ Steynemolen belonged to one of the old patrician families of Mechlin : Laenen, I, 107 ; *MalInscr.*, 133, 158 ; he was the son of William and Barbara van der Heyden : G. van Doorslaer, *Notes sur Rombaut van Steynemolen* : Mechlin, 1926 : 5-11.

³⁾ He may have been the '*Rumoldus de Machlinia, camer. dioc.*' who matriculated as *dives porcensis* on February 28, 1515 (*LibIntIII*, 212) : that would imply that he promoted M. A. in 1516 or 1517. The mention of his having been trained in Sponheim Abbey by the famous John Tritheim, which is found in his biographical notices (cp. Doorslaer's *Notes* &c, 11), sounds rather suspicious, considering the dates, as from October 1506 to his death, December 13, 1516, Tritheimius had left Sponheim and was at the head of St. James's Convent of Würzburg : *CeltE*, 144, sq.

⁴⁾ From 1505 to 1509.

he learned from him the rudiments of Latin, and reminds him of the time, 'quum', as he writes,

'imperio tuo sonabam

Parvus carmina renuente lingua' ¹⁾).

Steynemolen was an excellent preceptor, who was gratefully remembered in the poems of his pupils ²⁾, but whom their father could not very well leave in his subordinate position : he caused him to be appointed as secretary, or *ab Actis*, to the Holland Council ³⁾, which procured him a safe existence at The Hague, where, by 1527, he married Lutgardis Sandelyn who bore him several children ⁴⁾.

That promotion of their first instructor was probably the occasion of entrusting the further training of Everardi's sons to Volcaerd, who, in 1522, left for the Brabant University with his pupil Viglius ⁵⁾. Certain it is that the three brothers also went to Louvain, where they enjoyed both his tutoring and his board and lodging, as Viglius apodictically attests ⁶⁾; the preceptor helped Nicolas and Adrian, along with Viglius,

¹⁾ *JSecOp.*, 131 ; Crane, 11-12.

²⁾ Cp. further, pp 437-38 ; at his death, September 9, 1541, Hadrianus Marius composed a *cenotaphium*, inspired by Ovid's verses on Tibullus : *BibBelg.*, 804.

³⁾ Marius, in his *cenotaphium*, refers to it : *Batavi meruit... ab Actis esse Senatus*.

⁴⁾ Lutgardis Sandelyn, daughter of Peter Adriaensz and Mary Cornelis, had eleven children : the first was born on February 25, 1528, and the last a little while before her husband died (September 9, 1541) on a visit to Mechlin, where he was buried in St. Francis' : his tomb was adorned with verses, and Adrian Marius wrote an epitaph on him : *BibBelg.*, 804 ; G. van Doorslaer, *Notes &c.*, 12, 14, with a list of his ancestors and descendants, 5, 15.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 145-46 ; Viglius had been tutored already by Volcaerd in The Hague from the end of 1521 : Hoyneck, I, i, [35].

⁶⁾ On June 22, 1532, Viglius writes to excuse a long silence : *Meminisse... ego debebam... neutiquam mihi esse tales sodales negligendos, quorum amicitia, convictus & tecti communione fundata, mutuaque studiorum puerilium æmulatione, ac omnibus officiis, quæ prima illa ætas ferebat, conglutinata, non exiguo mihi adjumento atque ornameto esse queat. &c.* : Hoyneck, II, i, 78, also 227, and I, ii, 413 ; on October 14, 1541, Viglius again recalls 'sub iisdem magistris iisdemque in ædibus per multos annos jucundissima consuetudo, studiorumque fida communicatio, et ad extremum vitæ spiritum perducta amicitia' with Secundus : Hoyneck, II, i, 288-89 ; Paquot, xv, 129.

in their studies in Arts and, later on, in Laws, of which they took some degrees, and so he did John Secundus, who must have applied himself to Jurisprudence in Louvain, as otherwise he would not have been able to promote in that science in Bourges, where he hardly stayed one year. Being thus at study in Louvain between 1522 and 1528, they regularly attended the lectures of the Institute founded thanks to the inspiration and the protection of their father's eminent friend, Erasmus. It was for a large part the enthusiastic love of languages and literature which knit the three brothers together with Viglius ¹⁾, and their inexperience was most beneficently guarded and guided by their expert tutor Volcaerd ²⁾. They made the acquaintance there of several remarkable young men who became their lifelong friends ³⁾; above all, they gained the hearty affection of their professors, and especially that of Goclenius ⁴⁾, who admired and encouraged their unmistakable propensity for learning and languages; most willingly he assisted them in acquiring and enriching the thorough acquaintance with antiquity and with letters

¹⁾ At Secundus' death, Viglius wrote to Marius (November 20, 1536): cum illo ab teneris unguiculis, — the three brothers were 17, 15 and 11, Viglius 15, in 1522 — & ex studiorum contubernio contracta familiaritas, eo meum animum quotidie magis devinciebat... quo literarum fundamenta, quæ eodem in ludo, sub eodem tecto, eisdemque præceptoribus jeceramus, &c: Hoyne, II, i, 227; on June 22, 1532, he wrote to Secundus: Me... ad te ac fratrem Adrianum amandum extimulavit quoddam... præsagium, fore, ut... eas... literas quarum occasione initio conjuncti sumus, semper amplecteremini: *id.*, 78; and Marius' death, Viglius wrote on March 29, 1567, was most painful 'quod ab teneris unguiculis in unis ædibus, ac sub eisdem præceptoribus fuimus educati': *id.*, I, ii, 413.

²⁾ That Steynemolen should have taught the Three Brothers after Volcaerd, as is generally stated in the biographies, is an untruth.

³⁾ E. g., Charles Sucket, who left Belgium soon after 1525 (Paquot, XIII, 74-75); Joachim Sterck of Ringelberg, who started his journeys abroad in 1527, and yet had a medal made during the few weeks he was in Brabant in 1529: cp. before, pp 193-95; Simonis, 49, sq; further Andrew Resendus (cp. p 398), and probably also P. Nannius: Paquot, XIV, 59.

⁴⁾ *Infra*, pp 448, 452; Busl., 19, sq. In his letter to Dantiscus of Febr. 4, 1535, John Campensis refers to 'Nicolai nostri Præsidis Mechliniensis filii': DantE, 298; Nicolas Grudius wrote some verses on Conrad Goclenius: *PoemGrud.*, 138-39, and *DelPoBel.*, II, 640.

which made the name of the *Tres Fratres* illustrious in literary history.

At Josse Lauwereyns' death (November 6, 1527), Nicolas Everts was appointed, on September 20, 1528, to succeed him as President of the Great Council ¹⁾. With his family he moved to Mechlin, where he lived in a wide mansion, newly enlarged, in red bricks and white stones, with a blue slate roof, covering a group of marble children about a gold-winged *Amor*; it was situated on the hill on which stands Our Lady's Church ²⁾ : there for a time even the meetings of the Great Council were held. Nicolas Grudius describes, not only the picturesqueness, but also the cosy and hearty warmth of that home, which afterwards passed to his brother Everard, and was sold in 1590 by his heirs to the community of *Ter Siecken*, attending lepers, whose convent, just outside the town, had been destroyed in 1578. Except for the foundations, and, possibly, an allusion in the names of the surroundings, perceived only by knowing ones ³⁾, nothing remains of what once was the home of that great and happy family.

By the time Nicolas Everts settled at Mechlin, his two eldest sons Peter and Everard had well started their own career, and the three younger closed their studies to join him. They probably had dispensed with Volcaerd's services some time before his decease ⁴⁾, being taken up with jurisprudence, and were now eager to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the Archduchess's Court and by their father's prominent position. They lived on friendly footing with his

¹⁾ Henne, VII, 222 ; *Cran.*, 74, a.

²⁾ *DelPoBel.*, II, 552 ; *Crane*, 10-11, 80 ; the house was situated in *Rogbroec Street*, as it used to be called after the family Robbroeck that had their estate there : *MalGod.*, 210.

³⁾ The Sisters nursing the patients of *Ter Siecken* or *Ziekelieden* were too poor to transform the mansion acquired from the heirs of Everard Nicolai into a convent before the middle of the XVIIth century ; they were proscribed in 1783, and a military bakery was installed in the buildings, which, from 1802 to 1870, were used as a Charity workshop, and, since then, serve as military store house. The street is still called *Ziekelieden Straat*, *Leper Street*, and the square adjoining the church was called in 1798, *Place de la Montagne* : *MalGod.*, 210-211 (with, on p 189, a view of the old *Ter Siecken* Convent, 1790) ; *Gestel*, I, 83.

⁴⁾ In the beginning of 1528 : cp. before, p 146.

colleagues, amongst whom was Francis de Cranevelt, both excellent lawyer and literator ¹⁾; as well as with the brilliant group of orators and poets at Margaret's Court : Maximilian Transsylvanus ²⁾, Peter Clericus ³⁾, and Francis de Burgundy, of Fallais ⁴⁾. When diplomatic service did not require their presence elsewhere, Cornelius de Schepper ⁵⁾ and John Dantiscus ⁶⁾ resided in the town, where, at any time, most able, though perhaps less brilliant men, such as the instructor Francis de Houwer ⁷⁾, were at their various occupations.

The encouragements of that highly elating atmosphere stimulated the young men to contribute their share to the literary activity : they had translated in verse some of Lucian's dialogues, and as they knew that their former instructor Steynemolen ⁸⁾ had made a Latin version of a treatise by that author, they, no doubt, had it printed at their expense with their own renderings. Thus was realized *Luciani Samosatensis Libellus De Non Credendo Calumniæ... Interprete Rumoldo Stenemola Machiliniensi* : it was dedicated to Nicolas Everardi by a letter *Ex Haga*, Sept. 21, 1529, and printed at Antwerp by Martin de Keyser 'Anno m. ccccc. xxx post Epiphaniæ'. The title also announced 'Dialogi aliquot Lucianici carmine redditi per Nicolaum Grudium, Hadrianum Marium & Joannem Secundum', detailed on the reverse ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ *Cran.*, liii, sq ; *JSecOp.*, 137.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 68, b ; *JSecOp.*, 130.

³⁾ *JSecOp.*, 185, 298 ; *ViglEB*, 5 ; *Cran.*, lvii, 217, 42, 43.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 121, d, 280, 3 ; he added to Nicolas Grudius' *Epigrammata Arcuum Triumphalium* (in Valencia), 1540, an *Epigramma in Statuam Bacchi* : *NijKron.*, II, 3129. Cp. further, Ch. XVIII.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 249, a-e ; *OlaE*, 605, &c ; and before, pp 166-71.

⁶⁾ On December 31, 1530, Secundus writes to Dantiscus, who is in Brussels, expecting to be sent on a mission ; he refers to poems and a carving of Julia different from the one which the ambassador describes : *DantE*, 101. On July 31, 1532, he mentions a lawsuit delayed by his father's illness, as well as Dantiscus' intended leave : *DantE*, 229.

⁷⁾ *JSecOp.*, 123 ; *ClenCorr.*, II, 17, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 433, sq.

⁹⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 1406. The dialogues are *Prometheus & Jupiter*, by Grudius, *Cupid & Jupiter*, *Venus & Luna*, by Marius, *Pan & Mercurius*, *Doris & Galatea*, *Cyclops & Neptunus*, by Secundus ; a rhymed version of *Podagra* by 'quodam Græce Latineque erudito' was also added.

A few recommendatory verses were added by **Joannes Secundus** ¹⁾, whose poetry was highly appreciated : in that same year, John Dantiscus re-published his *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva*, December 9, 1529, addressed to Clement VII and to Charles V ²⁾, and added to it his young friend's *De Pace dudum Cameraci confecta, ac Caroli V. Imp. Coronatione, Carmina* ³⁾.

The stay in Mechlin also gave a mighty impulse to the artistic development of the rising poet, as Margaret's Court was as the meeting place of painters and carvers, like John Gossart de Mabuse ⁴⁾ and Conrad Meyt ⁵⁾, and their generous Maecenases : those enthusiastic admirers of the artistic ideals of Italy fostered, if they did not awaken ⁶⁾, in Secundus his talent as medallist which made him as great as that of poet, if perhaps not as famous ; for he did not destine his works for the general public, and the material he used made the specimens very rare indeed ⁷⁾. That art had been brought to the Court of Burgundy by a disciple of Lysippus the Younger, the Neapolitan Giovanni Candida, who remained in the Netherlands from 1472 to 1479 ⁸⁾ ; his example influenced the numerous carvers of dies for seals and coins at work in the following decades ⁹⁾, which explains the large number of collections recorded by the middle of the sixteenth century ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *JSecOp.*, 127.

²⁾ Antwerp, John Grapheus, 1530 : *NijKron.*, I, 683 ; it had been issued before by J. B. Phaellus, at Bologna, January 1530 ; a second time, at Cracow, February 24, 1530 : cp. *DantCar.*, xi-xii ; Z. Celichowski, *Dantyszka... Sylva* : Posen, 1902 : 7.

³⁾ Viz., Peace of Cambrai, August 5, 1529, and Imperial Coronation at Bologna, February 24, 1530. To those poems was also added Resendius' *Encomium urbis & academïæ Louaniensis* : cp. before, p 395.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, lvi, 10, 13 ; Opmeer, I, 484, b, 450, b ; *Busl.*, 66.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, lvi, 54, 28.

⁶⁾ In his *Epistola* to John Dantiscus, announcing the sending of medals of Charles V, Secundus states : *Ausus ego tentare novas temerarius artes* : *JSecOp.*, 169 ; Crane, 81.

⁷⁾ Judging from the only one preserved, his dies were carved in white Kelheim stone : *Cran.*, xxxiii, and the casts were often executed in a base metal like lead, which did not always do justice to the artist, — and, moreover, exposed them to disregard and destruction.

⁸⁾ Hill, 26-27 ; Simonis, 10-27 ; *Busl.*, 305.

⁹⁾ Henne, v, 97, sq.

¹⁰⁾ *CollTorr.*, 3-7.

The first medal of Secundus, as far as is known, belongs to 1528, and represents his father ¹⁾; the second, dated 1529, is that of his fellow-student Joachim Sterck of Ringelberg ²⁾. In 1530, he made one of his short-lived brother-poet and -artist, son and namesake of Giles de Busleyden ³⁾, in whose family he had become an intimate ⁴⁾; he also carved some portraits of his ardently beloved but irresponsible Julia ⁵⁾. Of the following year, no doubt, date the fine medals of John Dantiscus ⁶⁾ and of Erasmus ⁷⁾, whereas, in the next, were sculptured those of Charles V ⁸⁾, of Cranevelt ⁹⁾ and of Granvelle ¹⁰⁾, besides several others ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ Simonis, 47; a second medal was carved in 1531: *id.*, 48-49.

²⁾ Simonis, 49, *sq*; cp. before, pp 192-95.

³⁾ Simonis, 59, *sq*; *Busl.*, 27-28.

⁴⁾ *Busl.*, 19-20.

⁵⁾ Simonis, 70: judging from the medal represented there on Pl. IV, there must have been a good difference in the age, for Secundus was only nineteen; he wrote to Dantiscus on December 31, 1530, that he doubted whether Julia's *sculptura* had reached him: he had represented her veiled, since he did not want to show her *in apertum* to the public; the other portrait, with an unveiled head, was that of a different person: *nobilis quædam et dives & alterius farinæ virgo est*: DantE, 101: apparently the medal meant for Julia was different from that reproduced by Simonis, — if it is authentic.

⁶⁾ Simonis, 55, *sq*; *DantCop.*, xxv.

⁷⁾ Simonis, 83, *sq*.

⁸⁾ Simonis, 70, *sq*.

⁹⁾ Simonis, 67, *sq*; *Cran.*, xxxiii.

¹⁰⁾ Simonis, 76, *sq*.

¹¹⁾ Simonis, 76-87. — Another medal, which evidently was carved by Secundus, represents his friend, the recently appointed member of the Great Council, Gerard Mulaert, Mulert: *Cran.*, 274, 3; it belonged to a Louvain antiquarian, V. de Munter, who bequeathed it to the Museum of that town. That Gerard Mulert, a native of Utrecht, had studied laws, in which he promoted licentiate; he published in Paris, in 1509, *Additiones in Flores Ultimatum Rolandini Bononiensis*, viz., Rolandinus de Passageriis, the author of the *Summa Artis Notariæ*, who died about 1300: Stintzing, 579. He became Councillor for Holland, and was most active about the peace with Gelderland, March-April 1519: Henne, II, 276; Bergh, II, 207, 213, and for the submission of Friesland, June 1524: Henne, III, 244, 251. On account of his services and his acquaintance with jurisprudence, he was appointed, in 1527, as successor of Peter Tayspil in the Great Council of Mechlin: on December 7, 1527, he was at work at the cession of the secular dominion of Utrecht and the *Oversticht*: Hoyneck, III, i, 5-8; in 1528-29 at arranging of payments due in Holland: Bergh, II, 248; Henne, IV, 212; in March 1534 he took part in the Congress of Hamburg: *AltRel.*, 229, *sq*; Henne, v, 56; he replaced occasionally Governor Schenck in Friesland. He was

Those 'monimenta... per orbem Plurima', as Hadrian Marius describes his brother's works of art ¹⁾, are intimately connected with Secundus' poems. He had been excellently trained in the *Trilingue*, where he had gained an admirable command of the language and an intimate acquaintance with several of the great masters of literature. He was not attracted by the sound arguing power of the orators, nor by the calm narrative of the historians; the stern Juvenal and the erudite Virgil seem to have left him cold, whereas the witty and delicate poems of Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, in their elaborate form and supple language, with the sincere expression as well of the rapture of pleasure as of the obsessing gloom, and of all the constantly varying moods of the mind, seemed to have filled him with enthusiasm: his poetry, consequently is chiefly lyrical, emotional and individual, and amongst his various kinds, his elegies and *Funera* form, with the epigrams, the most important contributions to Literature. He may have been influenced by the contemporary Italian literators, slavishly imitating the old Classics, and, amongst the recent finds, the 'Ανθολογία Διαφόρων Ἐπιγραμμάτων, edited by Maximus Planudes, in 1494 ²⁾; yet he always proves a real nursling of the *Trilingue*, where he learned the unmitigated value of the proper sources, as well as the seasonable use of moderation and common sense: he never makes an exaggerated appeal to classic figures nor to mythology, and the idealistic tendency of his models is tempered by the spontaneous sympathy with the things, and especially with the people, in whose midst he lives. He is as a magnificent instance of the all vivifying spirit of Humanism ³⁾: he evokes

a protector of Viglius, who dedicated to him his *Commentaria... de Testamentis*, 1533, and kept a regular correspondence with him: Hoyneck, I, i, 93, 114, 116, 118, 129; to Cranevelt he was as Pylades to Orestes. He had married Cornelia Poth; probably in 1538, Nicolas Olah, who left this country in 1538 or 1539, composed an epitaph: Hoyneck, I, i, 14, 113-15, 127, II, i, 177; OlaE, 412-14, 443, 447, 452; Henne, VII, 146, 268; OlaCar., 24; Mol., 554; *BibBelg.*, 282; Matthieu, 294.

¹⁾ In his poems on his deceased brother.

²⁾ The Anthology was first printed by Janus Lascaris at Florence in 1494: Sandys, II, 79, 97, 104, 468; Schroeter, 173, sq.

³⁾ Amongst his poems there is, e. g., an epigram *Ad Gemmam Phrisium Mathematicum*, and another *In Libellum Joach. Rolandi Mechliniensis*

his home and its surroundings, resuscitates towns, like old Mechlin and Bourges ¹⁾, just like he provides unique sketches of the life on the roads and in the countries through which his inimitable *Itineraria* lead him ²⁾. He revives the brilliant world in which he lives, with its rich variety of personages : as well the gracious and stately Margaret ³⁾ as the winsome Francisca de Haro ⁴⁾, the kind and fatherly Cranevelt ⁵⁾, and the witty, good-humoured and world-wise Dantiscus ⁶⁾, the restless rival poet Clericus ⁷⁾ and the elusive, nymph-like Julia ⁸⁾, and many others ⁹⁾. He introduces, with all that, a new, modern spirit. It is a fact, Paquot declares, that on this side the Alps, no poet did rise above mediocrity before Secundus ¹⁰⁾; even long after him, New-Latin poetry remained mostly an elaborate and painstaking, yet utterly useless, pastime, except for the flimsy reputation of the authors : they spilled their efforts on fantastic considerations, or on irrational arguments, not any more interesting to the reader than the rivalry of Marius and Sylla, or Alexander's tactics. Here was a poet concerned with real interests of his time : fully alive to the disquieting enmity between Francis I and Charles V,

Medici de Morbo Sudoris (1530) : *JSecOp.*, 131, 138 ; cp. further, Ch. XIII ; Paquot, xii, 54-55 ; Daxhelet, 256.

¹⁾ Crane, 10, sq, 81, 82.

²⁾ Crane, 14, sq.

³⁾ *JSecOp.*, 212 ; to his brother Grudius' *Carmen Sepulchrale Margaritæ Archiducis* (cp. p 451), he contributed a *Lugubre Carmen in eandem Principem iamiam morituram*, as well as an *Epitaphium* : NijKron., 1, 1029 ; DantE, 288.

⁴⁾ She was the wife of Maximilian Transsylvanus, whose fine house in Brussels is described : *JSecOp.*, 223, 130 ; *Cran.*, lvii, 68, b, 194, 21.

⁵⁾ *JSecOp.*, 137 ; *Cran.*, xxxiii, lvii, &c.

⁶⁾ *JSecOp.*, 56, 169 ; Crane, 81.

⁷⁾ Peter Leclerc : *JSecOp.*, 18, 185, 298-300.

⁸⁾ *JSecOp.*, 1-18 ; Crane, 12, sq : from DantE, 101, it results that in 1530 Secundus fell in love with Julia, whose picture he made and sent to the Polish ambassador ; as the 'veiled' portrait did not reach him, Joannes promised on Dec. 31 to dispatch a copy by Hilary Bertulphus or bring it himself. The young lady probably married in May 1531 ; on that day he went to Brussels with his brothers, not to witness the sad event, of which he afterwards recalled the memory on the anniversaries by *Elegiæ Solemnēs*.

⁹⁾ E. g., Giles de Busleyden and his sons Nicolas and Giles, Maximilian Transsylvanus, John van Schoorl : *JSecOp.*, 149, 154, 189, 130, 128, 193.

¹⁰⁾ Paquot, xi, 48-49.

to the enigmatic policy of Henry VIII, to the growing danger from the lurking Sultan ¹⁾, and the attempt at extirpating the Tunis piracy ²⁾. He feels the anxiety caused by public events to the hearts of his fellow-men and he is stirred up to almost unutterable indignation by the fate of Thomas More ³⁾. With due allowance for the poet's youth and youthful aspirations, his poetry is inspired by the sincere desire to help his fellow-men to solve the problems of life and times as rationally and as satisfactorily as is possible, and he gives everywhere the proof of his earnest wish to make his readers, and, through them, humanity at large, benefit by his knowledge, by his talents and by the most favourable circumstances that fell to his lot. It explains why, amongst the writers of his century, he stands out 'as a figure of singular vitality' ⁴⁾, in so far that it has been said that 'the revival of Latin verse on classical models during the Renaissance produced one genius and one genius alone, Joannes Secundus. And Joannes in himself is a sufficient answer to those who decry the whole movement as artificial and worthless' ⁵⁾.

The time spent in Mechlin was mostly devoted to art and poetry : yet only few verses were edited : those at the death of Margaret of Austria in his brother Nicolas Grudius' *Carmen Sepulchrale* ⁶⁾. For he did not neglect his preparation as lawyer, and gained some experience in jurisprudence for which his father's position offered ample opportunity. When, in March 1532, his brother Marius went to continue his studies of Law in Bourges ⁷⁾ under Andrew Alciati ⁸⁾, he

¹⁾ Cp. for the Peace of Cambrai and Charles V's coronation : p 438.

²⁾ *De Bello Tunetano*, a fragment, and the epigram, *In Carolum V. Imp. F. P. A. cum in Africa pugnaret*.

³⁾ *JSecOp.*, 230-36 ; *ActaMori*, 198, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Crane, 37.

⁵⁾ F. A. Wright, *The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus* : London, 1930 : 24.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, p 451.

⁷⁾ Secundus wrote from there to Viglius, who replied on June 22, 1532 from Pavia, recommending his young friend to join the practice of law to theoretical study : Hoyneck, II, i, 77-81.

⁸⁾ From Avignon, where he had been teaching since 1527, Andrew Alciati (May 8, 1492-January 12, 1550) was invited in 1529 by Archbishop Francis of Tournon, to come and lecture in Bourges for two years ; he accepted, although he was looking out for a chair in Italy : he only succeeded in 1533 to be appointed in Pavia : Allen, IV, 1250, *pr.*

accompanied him. It first occasioned the writing of one of the *Itineraria* ¹⁾, that most pleasing mixture of striking realism and ever vivid idealism, in a peculiarly outspoken and rich impressionability. It further brought a most intimate connection with Alciati, whose medal he carved ²⁾, and to whom were composed several poems ³⁾; the great jurisprudent had published only recently his famous *Emblemata* ⁴⁾, largely based on Planudes' *Anthologia*; if his influence on their common friend Charles Suckert had been chiefly scientific ⁵⁾, that on Secundus was nearly exclusively poetical ⁶⁾. It was probably through him that Julia's admirer made a more intimate acquaintance with several of the recent Italian literators: with Pietro Bembo and his *Galatea*, his *Galeso et Maximo* and his elegies ⁷⁾, as well as with the imitator of Catullus, Michael Tarchaniota Marullus ⁸⁾, whose influence on the *Basia* was considerable ⁹⁾. Still the studies were not

¹⁾ The *Itineraria* describe the journey from Mechlin to Bourges, that from Bourges to Mechlin, and the one from Mechlin to Balaguer in Spain. On the first, Secundus met in Paris three 'Trilinguans', Baltasar de Künring, Joachim Polites and Bartholomew Latomus, as well as the sculptor John Swerts: he also saw there Splinter van Hargen and William de Zaghere: *ClenCorr.*, II, 101, 103; *JSecIt.*, 18; cp. before, pp 383, 384; G. Prévot, *Les 'Itinera' de Jean Second*: Lille, 1923.

²⁾ Simonis, 74.

³⁾ *JSecOp.*, 65, 111, 121, 284; he added an *Epigramma* to the *Basia*: cp. Crane, 15.

⁴⁾ The first edition of Alciati's *Emblematum Liber*, dedicated to Conrad Peutinger was published on February 28, 1531, at Augsburg by Henry Steyner: George Duplessis, *Les Emblèmes d'Alciat*: Paris, 1884: 9, sq.

⁵⁾ Charles Suckert had been Alciati's favourite disciple at Bourges, where he came in August 1529 with Erasmus' recommendation: he was so proficient in his studies that, at once, he was offered a public lecture at Turin in 1531; he died there on November 3, 1532, and was celebrated by Secundus in two *Epistolæ* and one of the *Næniæ*: *JSecOp.*, 168, 194-98, 224-27; *DelPoBel.*, IV, 225, sq, 274, 294; Crane, 81, and pp 153-54.

⁶⁾ Cp. Schroeter, 180-84, 193, 211-213.

⁷⁾ Those early elegiac verses by Bembo were mainly modelled on Tibullus, Ovid and Martial; he imitated Catullus' hexameters in *Benacus*; his best poem is the eulogy of Poliziano: Sandys, II, 114-15.

⁸⁾ Sandys, II, 87: he was a disciple of Poliziano, and died in 1500 in the waters of the Cecina near Volterra.

⁹⁾ Through that imitator of Catullus, Tibullus and Horace, Secundus was introduced into their poetry; in an *Epigramma ad Franciscum*

neglected all together, and when, in the beginning of March 1533, an epidemy drove the two brothers home, both of them had promoted in jurisprudence.

During their stay in France, their father Nicolas Everardi had died at Mechlin in his family mansion on August 9, 1532, and had been buried in the neighbouring church of Our Lady ¹⁾. He left a fame of admirable integrity and of an ample experience ²⁾, part of which he had consigned in the practical judgments and comments on special cases published in his *Topicorum seu de Locis Legalibus Liber*, in February 1516 ³⁾; another part was edited by his sons Everard, Nicolas and Adrian in the *Consilia sive Responsa Juris*, 1554, and the *Nomenclatura Legum, item Ordo Studii Iuris Civilis*, 1551 ⁴⁾: they greatly helped toward the establishing of national jurisprudence, and were consulted and reprinted during the next centuries ⁵⁾. Joannes Secundus consecrated a long funeral elegy with the accent of deep sorrow to his memory ⁶⁾.

Hoverium pro Marullo Poeta commodato (*JSecOp.*, 123), he enthusiastically praised that author, whose twenty poems, entitled *De Neæra* or *Ad Neæram*, amongst his *Epigrammata* are most similar to the *Basia*, and suggested the name of the object of Secundus' love and final hatred : Crane, 37; *EliCritEss.*, II, 447-48. ¹⁾ *MalNDame.*, 79.

²⁾ *MalGrCons.*, n° 145 : 408-9; *Mol.*, 540, 742; *Guicc.*, 221; *Opmeer*, I, 460, a (with portrait); *JSecOp.*, *pr*, 134, 203; *BatawMart.*, 72, 95; *Miræus*, II, 23; *Vern.*, 291; *VAnd.*, 177; *BibBelg.*, 685; *Hoyneck*, II, I, 80, I, I, 143; *MalConB*, 3, 6; *MalConM*, 3, 54, 367 (with portrait); *MalConF*, 3, 43 (*id.*); *Foppens*, 907 (*id.*); *MalConC*, 2, 9; *ConPri.*, I, 109; *ConPriT*, 87; *PF*, 255-57; *BaxH*, IV, 567; *Stintzing*, I, 118-20; *Allen*, IV, 1092, *pr*, 1044, 18-22; *Cran.*, 123, *a-e*; *Simonis*, 47, *sq*; *Crane*, 9, *sq*, 16, *sq*.

³⁾ Louvain, Th. Martens, February 1516 : it was dedicated to John le Sauvage, Lord of 'Scaubeke', Chancellor; recommended by an *Epigramma* of John de Munter, of Ghent, and praised by an old pupil, Remacle d'Ardenne : *NijKron.*, I, 911; *Iseghem*, 258; *Brants*, 86-87; *CantE*, 17; *Busl.*, 218. — They were reprinted at Bologna, 1528, and re-edited by his sons : Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1552.

⁴⁾ Louvain, Martin Rotarius; cp. *PF*, 256; *BibBelg.*, 686.

⁵⁾ *Stintzing*, I, 118-20, 121, 124, &c. — Nicolas Everts shows in his books that he is conscient of the necessity of a reform in juridical studies, but is not able to realize it : he gathers material and puts it in order, but does not bring any change in the method, nor in the theory; the collection of cases, however, is very rich, and must have been most useful as practical jurisprudence. Cp. *Dekkers*, 1-36.

⁶⁾ *JSecOp.*, 203; *Crane*, 16, *sq*; *Viglius* refers to an elegy written

Joannes Secundus' stay in Brabant did not last very long, as he was asked to rejoin his brother Nicolas, who had been appointed imperial secretary as successor to Al. de Valdes ¹⁾. With his sister-in-law Anna Cobella ²⁾ and her younger brother Francis, he set out on May 28, 1533 for Spain ³⁾, where, for nearly a year, he journeyed about, and wrote several poems, in particular the *Basia* and the *Reginæ Pecuniæ Regia* ⁴⁾, until, in June 1534, he was appointed secretary

whilst Secundus was at Bourges and sent to him, in his letter to Adrian Marius, Speyer, November 20, 1536; he had written to Marius from Pavia, Dec. 23, 1532, on hearing of their father's death: Hoyneck, I, i, 143-44, II, i, 228. On April 28, 1534, Grudius sent from Toledo to Dantiscus his brother's *querelam de optimi patris... morte* (DantE, 288), and praised him, as also Marius did: cp. *DelPoBel.*, II, 630, 646, 647.

¹⁾ OlaE, 330 (March 29, 1533): 'cum Nicolaum filium præfecti Mecliniensis successorem Valdesii cognouerim mihi esse amicissimum...' Possibly in the letter of March 17, 1533, the sentence: 'longe ante autumnum præfectus Mechliniensis profectus est ad cæsarem' is meant for the 'filius præfecti', viz., Nicolas Nicolai, as no President of the Great Council went at that time to Spain: OlaE, 323.

²⁾ Anna Cobella, or Cobela, Cobel, or Cuebel, of The Hague, first wife of Nicolas Grudius, was the sister of Arnold, Receiver-general for Holland, and of Philip *Cobelius*, who after having been assessor in the Imperial Chamber at Speyer, became a councillor who was continually sent on missions and died in the latter end of November or in the beginning of December 1566 at Treves on a legation: Guicc. 200; Hoyneck, I, ii, 359-60, 365, 369. — Anna, who wished to rejoin her husband, died at Madrid without leaving children: Secundus had made a medal of her and her husband; Grudius and Marius wrote verses about her: Crane, 18, 21, 85; *DelPoBel.*, II, 622; *PoemGrud.*; *PoemMar.*; Simonis, 74-75.

³⁾ That journey is the third of the *Itineraria* which, before leaving, Secundus had dedicated to his Utrecht friend John van Schoorl, from Mechlin on May 8, 1533. On arriving in Spain, he was greeted by the Court physician Nicolas Erco, or Herco, Florenas (*Cran.*, 154, a, b), who had expected to find his wife in his company. The *Itineraria* were, it seems, confided to him for an edition on his return to the Netherlands: *JSecIt.*, *3, v.*4, v, 68. The famous little masterpiece, no doubt, circulated amongst friends and acquaintances in Spain, and was, for certain, the model and the inspiration for similar sketches of people and things met on the road, which made Cleuardus' name famous.

⁴⁾ On April 28, 1534, Secundus wrote to Dantiscus, sending him poems and Grudius' medal, and inquired about the arrival of a 'statua, quam ex luto [illi, Dantisco] finxera[t]'; his brother sent a letter on the same

to Cardinal Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo ¹⁾. Nicolas Grudius, who, at Charles V's Court, seconded Olah's efforts to make Erasmus return to the Netherlands ²⁾, lost his wife Anna Cobella in Madrid ³⁾ : ill health soon compelled him to leave Spain for Brabant, where, eventually, he married Joanna Moysia, of Antwerp ⁴⁾. Joannes Secundus remained by himself in Spain, the climate of which did not at all agree with him ⁵⁾ : neither the presence of friends like de Schepper, Ericksen ⁶⁾, and his old fellow-student Honoratus Joannius ⁷⁾, nor the gentle kindness of his master, who at first had roused the most sanguine hope on brilliant prospects ⁸⁾, could reconcile him with the country, any more than the alluring Neæra of the *Basia* or the 'tertius ignis', Venerilla ⁹⁾. In the spring of 1535, he felt too poorly to follow Charles V by Rome to Africa on his expedition to Tunis, as Cardinal Tavera had planned ¹⁰⁾. In the beginning of 1536, he left Spain tortured by fever : he had to break his journey, and to rest two months at Poitiers from the exhausting travelling as the

date and also some poems : DantE, 287, 288. Cp. Crane, 18-21, 26, *sq.*, 85. Grudius recalls those months and their journeyings in the *Nænia* on his brother's death : *PoemGrud.*, 120, *sq.*

¹⁾ He was the President of the Council of Spain : the *Reginæ Pecuniæ Regia* was dedicated to him : cp. Crane, 19-21, 84.

²⁾ In reply to Olah's letter of March 28, 1533, about Erasmus' return to Brabant, Grudius answered from Barcelona, April 27, 1533, promising his collaboration ; on May 4, he announced that Charles V had written about it to Mary of Hungary, to Granvelle and to the Archbishop of Palermo : OlaE, 354-55, 361-62. Secundus wrote an *Elegia in Reditum Erasmi Roterodami ad Belgas, sed falso nunciatum* ; at his death, he composed a *Nænia* : *JSecOp.*, 57, *sq.*, 227 ; so did Marius : *PoemMar.*, 54.

³⁾ Crane, 18, 21, 85.

⁴⁾ Secundus composed a poem *De Secundis Nuptiis Nicolai Grudii Fratris* : *JSecOp.*, 48, *sq.* ; Crane, 21. On June 22, 1542, Viglius, writing to Nicolas, sends his greetings to his father-in-law D. Fabius : VigIEB, 37.

⁵⁾ On September 16, 1535, Cornelius de Schepper announced the return of the Grudii fratres, since they were unable to bear the climate : DantE, 310 ; Dantiscus refers to them in his reply of December 23, 1535 : DantE, 317.

⁶⁾ DantE, 287, 296 ; Crane., 67, *a.*

⁷⁾ *JSecOp.*, ***5, *v.* ; and before, *p.* 407.

⁸⁾ As Tavera was a probable candidate for the Papacy, Secundus hoped that he and Grudius might become secretaries to the two greatest powers on earth : Crane, 20, 83-5, 93.

⁹⁾ *DelPoBel.*, III, 174 ; Crane, 21-22, 85.

¹⁰⁾ Crane, 23.

guest of the poet Cornelius Musius ¹⁾, where he met Joachim Polites ²⁾, Julian de Havre ³⁾, and Peter John Olivarius ⁴⁾. Happily he arrived home safely, and speedily recovered. Unfortunately he accepted too quickly the place of secretary to George of Egmont, Bishop of Utrecht and Abbot of St. Amand's ⁵⁾. It occasioned a welcome meeting at Utrecht with the canon John van Schoorl, Scorelus, who painted him in two pictures ⁶⁾. Most sanguine expectations were further caused by Nicolas Perrenot of Granvelle's invitation to become Charles V's private secretary ⁷⁾, when, on September 4, 1536, after four days of illness, he breathed his last in the Abbey of St. Amand, where his mortal remains were laid to rest ⁸⁾.

The untimely death of the wonderful youth was lamented by his brothers ⁹⁾ and their grief was shared by all lovers of literature. Circumstances compelled Nicolas Grudius and Marius to vindicate the authorship of some poems which Secundus had allowed to circulate in manuscript. A few

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 198-99.

²⁾ Cp. further, sect. 5, A.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 198; Paquot, XII, 363-65.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 199; *Gran.*, 86, a, 142, c; Secundus wrote an epigram on him and his work: *JSecOp.*, 136: possibly also 112.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 123-25; *MonHL*, 477-78, 475, 483, and the references; Secundus' old mother and the family were displeased at his taking up the work at once: *DelPoBel.*, III, 475-76; Crane, 25, 86; *MonHL*, 478-79.

⁶⁾ John van Schoorl, Scorelus, a canon of Utrecht, was one of the most famous painters of his time: he painted Adrian VI's portrait. Secundus wrote for him a *Propempticon* and two *Epistolæ*, one dedicating to him the *Itineraria*: *JSecOp.*, 128, 193, 295; *JSecIt.*, *3, v-4, v; Adrian Marius celebrated his memory by an epitaph: Paquot, xv, 67-69; *DelPoBel.*, IV, 124, sq; ValE, 6, 7; *BatawMart.*, 157; Simonis, 40, 64, sq; Crane, 25; *LibIntIV*, 288, r: Joannes Jordani Scorelius: May 1553.

⁷⁾ On Charles V's behalf Nicolas Perrenot of Granvelle wrote to Secundus: *DelPoBel.*, III, 476.

⁸⁾ Guicc., 200, 221; Miræus, II, 33; Opmeer, I, 460, b, 478, b (with portrait); *ConPriT*, 185; *BibBelg.*, 561; *JSecOp.*, ***5, v, sq; Simonis, 35, sq; *Gran.*, 280, I, 123, e; Crane, 9-27, 86; Schroeter, 165-222.

⁹⁾ *JSecOp.*, **1, sq, **3-8; *DelPoBel.*, III, 476; *PoemGrud.*, 60; *PoemMar.*, [4], 120-25; Opmeer, I, 478, b (epitaph by Alciati); cp. Schroeter, 169-222; Crane, 28-41; &c. Viglius wrote from Speyer, November 20, 1536, a condoling letter to Adrian Marius: Hoynck, II, i, 227-28; on September 11, 1537, Fabianus Dameraw referred to the decease writing to Dantiscus: DantE, 363.

weeks after his death, Goclenius pointed out to Marius that John's *Epitaphium* and his *Nænia* on Thomas More, dating from 1535, had been edited at Hagenau in September 1536 by the *ludimagister* of that place, Jerome Gebwiler, and attributed to Erasmus; in a second edition, the *Nænia* was still ascribed to Erasmus, but the 'Io. S.', indicated as author of the *Epitaphium*, was expanded into : Ioannes Sapidus. Goclenius had recognized the style of his old student, and sensed evident depravations. Consequently in December 1536 those poems were edited and ascribed to Joannes Secundus ¹). In 1541, the surviving *Fratres Belgæ* brought out a comparatively complete edition of their brother's writings ²), which were reedited in 1619 by Peter Scriverius ³), and in 1821 by Peter Bosscha, with Peter Burman's notes ⁴).

Secundus' works, which according to Peter de Nolhac, that most erudite literary historian, were 'les délices du siècle' ⁵), have left many traces on the poetry of the subsequent times ⁶), which have highly appreciated them, except where they themselves prove 'untuneful', as a poet says, namely when so disposed that 'only coin can ring' for them ⁷). The young

¹) *Nænia in Mortem Clariss. Viri Thomæ Mori*, Autore Ioanne Secundo, Nicolai F. Hagieñ. falso antehac D. Erasmo Rot. adscripta, ac deprauatissima edita : Louvain, Servatius Zassenus Diestensis, December 1536 : it starts with a letter of 'Hadrianus Marius Nicolai f. Maclinien.' to the printer, explaining the occasion of the edition : *Nijkron.*, I, 1227. Cp. *JSecOp.*, ****8, v, sq ; *ActaMori*, 196-204.

²) *Joannis Secundi Hagiensis Opera*. Nunc primum in Lucem edita. Utrecht, Herman Borculous, 1541 : cp. Crane, 28-41, and 94-96 : in that edition the poems on Thomas More and Queen Catherine were left out. — On March 2, 1543, Viglius sent, from Nuremberg, Secundus' poems to Jerome Froben and Nicolas Episcopus, recommending them for a reprint : Hoynck, II, I, 301-303.

³) Viz., *JSecOp.*

⁴) Leyden, 1821 : cp. Crane, 94-95.

⁵) *Ronsard et l'Humanisme* : Paris, 1924 : 14 ; Thibaut, 29, 124-25.

⁶) Crane, 42-79 ; Janus Lernetius, in *DelPoBel.*, III, 225 ; George Puttenham, *Of Poets and Poesy* : 'I. S. passeth any of the auncient or moderne Poetes in my judgment' : *EluCritEss.*, II, 55, 412 ; *CHEL*, VII, 83 ; W. Bang, *Pleasant Dialogues von Heywood (Mat., III)* : 351 ; Simpson, *School of Shakespeare* : London, 1878 : II, 161 ; K. P. Harrington, *Mediaeval Latin* : Boston, 1905 : 625, sq ; A. Bartels, *Einführung in die Weltliteratur* : Munich, 1913 : I, 247 ; G. Lanson, *Hist. de la Littérature Française* : Paris, 1902 : 275 ; &c.

⁷) Crane, 78-79.

poet's renown rests chiefly on the *Basia* and on the *Julia*-idyll. The latter may well be an imitation of the great examples of the Renaissance : Dante and Beatrice Portinari, Petrarch and Laura de Noves, Pietro Bembo and Lucrezia Borgia ¹⁾. It was, after all, probably only an ideal treatment of the perennial love theme : it is particularly remarkable that, in that heyday of brilliant life, neither her name nor that of her husband is recorded ²⁾. Even the *Basia* were perhaps no more than a literary exercise on the genre made famous by Tibullus, Catullus and Anacreon. The subject has been labelled as lascivious, and the poems of the young man severely censured by the stern moralists of following centuries ³⁾, whereas pretendedly broad-minded men have even connected them with his untimely death ⁴⁾. Quite different is the judgment which his old friend and 'convictor', the by no means frivolous Viglius, brought out about the *Basia* on March 12, 1536 : 'Basia fratris tui magna cum voluptate legi, miratusque in eis maxime sum cum copiam inventionemque, tum venustatem atque ipsam Venerem, quam ille profecto bene propitiam habere debuit, ut tantam & tam suavem ei basiandi materiam suggereret' ⁵⁾. Nor does that judgment

¹⁾ On completing his education, Bembo rejoined his father at the brilliant Court of the Duke of Ferrara ; at the arrival there of Lucrezia Borgia in 1502, he sang the praise of all she was and did, in imitation of Tibullus : he wrote an epigram on the golden serpent she wore as bracelet, and dedicated to her a dialogue on Platonic love, *Gli Asolani*, 1504, considered as the most graceful and genial of his Italian works. As memorial of their friendship, Lucrezia's letters and a tress of her long yellow golden hair are still preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, and the 'Quarto Volume' *Delle Lettere di M. Pietro Bembo* (Venice, 1552 : 1-31) contains 25 'A Mad. Lucretia Borgia Duchessa di Ferrara', ranging from August 2, 1503 to October 13, 1517 : Symonds, 410-411 ; Sandys, II, 112-13.

²⁾ Judging from Secundus' reply to a letter from Dantiscus about the poems on, and a medal of, Julia, that great man did not at all censure his young friend, but seems to have praised and encouraged him : December 31, 1530 : DantE, 101 ; Crane, 12-14.

³⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 212. It occasioned the lines :

Non bene Johannem sequeris, lascive Secunde !

Tu ventris cultor, Virginis ille fuit.

⁴⁾ Simonis, 43 ; cp. further, p 450.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 212.

seem based only on one or two poems copied out, for five years later, on October 14, 1541 ¹⁾, the same Viglius recommends and sends to John James Fugger the poems by Secundus : 'monumenta' he says, 'in quibus cum plane divina quædam ingenii vis appareat, tum nihil nostro sæculo eo in genere suavius editum legi. Quod etsi proprium sit basiorum epitheton (unde et ipsa videlicet suaviola, suaviationesque dixisse veteres videntur) hujus tamen mihi melliflua carmina quædam dulcedinis gratia ipsa cum re certare videntur, dubium uti existat, verbane rei an res verbis suavitatem addant' ²⁾. No doubt, those and similar judgments brought out by an upright man, corroborated by the esteem shown, not merely by an Imperial Chancellor, but by a Bishop and a Cardinal, urge that due account should be taken of the moral estimation of actions and facts of times that are not ours, and, above all, of circumstances of which we are apt to ignore some important elements at so many centuries' distance ³⁾. Indeed, it is only after studying most thoroughly the conditions of those days that one gauges the range of the two verses which Secundus wrote on that head :

Carmina cur spargam cunctis lasciva libellis,
Quæritis ? insulsos arceo Grammaticos ⁴⁾.

However that may be, most certain it is that the poet's premature decease — which most uncharitably and illogically has been connected with the subject of some of his writings ⁵⁾, — prevented him to come to that ripeness of which he gave the most evident promises in his last years' poems, such as

¹⁾ The *Basia, et alia Quædam* had then been printed in 1539 at Lyons by Seb. Gryphius, and the complete edition by the two brothers of Secundus, at Utrecht, 1541, probably had been published : cp. Crane, 94.

²⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 288-89 : Viglius requests his friend to read the *libellum*, 'vel mea, he writes, vel illius, vel tua ipsius causa', assuring him he will not regret it, but complain with him of the iniquitous fate 'quod tantum ingenium adeo præmature e vivis... sustulerit'.

³⁾ Cp. even Baumgartner, 610.

⁴⁾ Crane, 79.

⁵⁾ The frankness of Secundus' expansions seems to imply the contrary of perverseness ; if his short life is used as argument against him, it also brings under suspicion Anna Cobella, and even her husband, who had to leave Spain ; that suspicion might extend to his brother Peter, the canon, whose epitaph he composed (*JSecOp.*, 220), and to ten of his seventeen brothers and sisters, who did not reach mature age.

those on Thomas More and the events in England ; as late as 1551, his brother Nicolas expressed his deep regret on that account, and even for the very sake of religion ¹⁾).

Meanwhile Nicolas Grudius had been appointed on September 11, 1538, to succeed William Pensart as Secretary of the Privy and of the State Council ²⁾ ; and on October 27, 1540, he had been adjoined to Laurent du Blioul as 'ab actis' and *quæstor* of the Order of the Golden Fleece with right of succession ³⁾. He did his best in 1542 to make Viglius accept the position of Privy Councillor which had been offered to him ⁴⁾. Nicolas always remained a great favourer of literature, and was, as such, praised as a 'bonus Orator, melior Poeta' by Nannius in his *Miscellanea* ⁵⁾. Besides his *Carmen Sepulchrale* on Margaret of Austria ⁶⁾, he wrote and published a series of epigrams celebrating Charles V's entry in Valencia ⁷⁾, an *Apotheosis* of Maximilian of Egmont, Count of Buren ⁸⁾

¹⁾ In a letter to Jerome Vida, he is sorry to state that, beyond certain *juvenilia*, John left scarcely anything of a serious nature : N. Grudius, *Piorum Poematum* : Antwerp, 1566 : 139 ; Crane, 28.

²⁾ *ConPri.*, 1, 143 ; *ConPriT.*, 184, 265 ; cp. Hoyneck, 1, i, 143, mixing him up erroneously with Everard as a member of the Great Council, being replaced by his brother on June 22, 1541 : cp. before, p 431.

³⁾ ValE, 167. Nicolaus Grudius translated from French into Latin the *Constitutiones Ordinis Velleris Aurei*, printed in 1558, and in 1560.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, 1, i, 20, 139-141 and 144-45 (with extracts from letters) ; VigIEB, 19, and 37 (when Nicolas and his wife had arrived at Ingolstadt : June 22, 1542) ; Gabbema, 550.

⁵⁾ In the dedicatory letter to Henry de Weze, June 1548, in which he praised him and compared him to Pomponius Atticus : Polet, 301, 17, 151, 249 ; *BibBelg.*, 694. Nicolas Grudius was well acquainted with Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, to whom he sent his poems to be corrected, and whose censure he requested for books dedicated to him, as results from a letter to him of <May-June 1551> : ValE, 167 : also 23 (June-July 1548 : Valerius sends him his own writings) ; ValCar., 6, 8, 9.

⁶⁾ *Carmen Sepulchrale*, in *Fonus... Dominae Margaretae, Archiducis Austriae...* with a commendatory poem by Francis de Cranevelt (*Gran.*, lxxv), a *Lugubre Carmen* and an *Epithaphium* by his brother Secundus : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, May, 1532 : NijKron., 1, 1029 ; *supra*, p 442.

⁷⁾ *Epigrammata Arcvom Triumphalium, in aduentu Caroli V... in orbem Valentianas* : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, 1540 : the letter of Grudius to the printer is dated Brussels, Febr. 4, 1540 : NijKron., 11, 3129.

⁸⁾ *Apotheosis in obitum Maximiliani ab Egmonda, Comitiss Burani, &c.* : Louvain, Eg. of Diest, 1549 ; *supra*, 1, 485-8 ; pp 125-6 ; & Ch. XVII.

and the *Poemata Pia*, which he called *Negotia* ¹⁾; several other poems were edited after his death ²⁾: in one of them he gratefully remembers Goclenius ³⁾. He died in Venice in 1571, where he had been sent to on a mission ⁴⁾.

His brother **Adrian Marius** had been appointed member of the Great Council of Mechlin on June 22, 1541 ⁵⁾, and in 1547 he was promoted as Chancellor of Gelderland and Zutphen ⁶⁾. He had married Elizabeth Blocx van Duvenede ⁷⁾, and, like his brothers, he continued writing poems, amongst which there are *Elegiæ*, *Epigrammata*, *Epistolæ* and a *Satyra* ⁸⁾, besides the *Nænia* on the death of Joannes Secundus ⁹⁾. He was enjoined to seat in the Council of Troubles in 1567 ¹⁰⁾, and soon afterwards died in Brussels on March 21, 1568 ¹¹⁾,

¹⁾ *Poematum Piorum Libri duo (Negotia)*: Antwerp, G. Silvius, 1566; the book is dedicated to Cardinal Gerard de Groesbeeck, Bishop of Liège; it has an epigram on the Martyr John Fisher: cp. *Fisher*, 14.

²⁾ Amongst them *Otia, sive Poemata Profana; Elegiarum Libri Duo; Epigrammatum Libri Tres; Hendecasyllaborum Liber Unus; Funerum Libri duo; Silvæ et Epistolæ*. — They were printed as *Poemata* with those of Marius by Jo. Patius, Leyden, in 1609. Grudius criticizes the poetry of Jaspar Jespersen in one of his epigrams: cp. further, Ch. XVII.

³⁾ *PoemGrudi.*, 138-39; *DelPoBel.*, II, 640.

⁴⁾ Guicc., 221; Opmeer, I, 640 (with portrait); *BataoMart.*, 72, 95; *ConPriT*, 184, 265; Miræus, II, 34; Hoyneck, I, i, 144; *BibBelg.*, 694; *MalConF*, 5; *Cran.*, 123, e, 95, f; Simonis, 41, 44, 46, 66, sq (with medal). — Several of Grudius' letters were edited in 1727: Burman, II, 205-16; writing to him, Nuremberg, March 1, 1543, Viglius mentions his memoir against the Duke of Cleves and a possible reprint of Secundus' poems at Basle: Hoyneck, II, i, 302-3.

⁵⁾ *MalConB*, 11; *MalConC*, 32; *MalConM*, 96; *MalConF*, 84; Hoyneck, I, i, 143: he succeeded his brother Everard: *Cran.*, 292, a.

⁶⁾ Gabbema, 549; Hoyneck, II, i, 359: letter of Viglius, April 14, 1552.

⁷⁾ She died on October 23, 1579: *MalInscr.*, 322; *MalNDame*, 76; they left no children: Hoyneck, I, ii, 413.

⁸⁾ *Elegiarum Libri II, Epigrammatum Liber Unus, Epistolarum Liber Unus, Satyra Una*: *BibBelg.*, 13; cp. Hoyneck, I, i, 57.

⁹⁾ *JSecOp.*, **3, r-6, r; *PoemMar.*, 60-61; *DelPoBel.*, III, 476.

¹⁰⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 190.

¹¹⁾ Joannes Secundus had celebrated him in an *Epistola*, dated *Secovia*, June 3, 1534: *JSecOp.*, 297. Cp. Guicc., 221; Miræus, II, 34; *BibBelg.*, 13; Hoyneck, I, i, 143-144, ii, 411, 413; *Cran.*, 123, e; Simonis, 65-67. In a letter of Viglius to Adrian Marius, Speyer, March 12, 1536, he praises Secundus' *Basia*; in one from Speyer, November 20, 1536, he condolees for Secundus' death: Hoyneck, II, i, 211-13, 227-28; in a third

being buried in the family vault of Our Lady's in Mechlin ¹). In the *Elegia* written on his death, Nicolas Grudius states that, of a family of eighteen children, only he and a sister remained, his brother Everard having died in 1561 ²). Of the poems of the *Tres Fratres Belgæ* joint editions appeared in 1609 and 1612 ³).

B. FRIENDS OF VIGLIUS

From at least the spring of 1528 there was amongst the students of the *Trilingue* the Frisian noble youth Aesgon, **Ausonius**, of **Hoxwyer**, **Hoxvirius**. His brother Hector, Councillor at Franeker ⁴), had written to his friend and favourite old professor Goclenius to recommend his younger brother. On May 11, 1528, his former master replied, referring to their most agreeable connection, based on mutual esteem and a common love of study, and mentioning the affection already conceived for the new pupil. He readily promised him every assistance, — no doubt, private lessons, such as Hector had enjoyed himself some months before ⁵). After a few years in Louvain, Ausonius went to Bourges, where he met

(VigIEB, 36), Ingolstadt, July 30, 1538, he thanks him for an epitaph on his uncle Bernard Bucho. Corn. Valerius wrote and dedicated some poems to him : *ValCar.*, 6, 8, 23, 56, 69. ¹) *MalNDame*, 74, 76, 79.

²) To one of his sisters, the richly talented Elizabeth, or Isabella, nun in Delft Convent, Secundus wrote an *Epistola* : *JSecOp.*, 167 ; for Cornelius Musius she copied a manuscript : *BatawMart.*, 72 ; cp. p. 201. Another sister Catherine, married the secretary for Holland, Peter van Sinte Peter : *AltRel.*, 223 ; *FUL*, 633 ; Hoynck, III, i, 8 ; the third, Helen, Henry Ameyden, advocate in the Brabant Council : she died on Febr. 6, 1561 : *BruxBas.*, II, 97 ; *Cran*, 123, e. On May 27, 1551, the widow of President Nicolas Everardi and her daughter gave power of attorney for the recovery of a debt : *FUL*, 633.

³) *Nicolai Grudii Nicolai, et Hadriani Marti Nicolai, Equitum &c. Fratrum Joannis Secundi Hagiensis Poemata* : Leyden, Joannes Patius, 1609 : that edition, by Bonaventura Vulcanius, was reprinted there by Louis Elzevier in 1612 : Secundus' poems were added and, moreover, a preface and poems by Bon. Vulcanius Brugensis, fine portraits of the *Tres Fratres*, the poem *Reginæ Pecuniæ Regia*, as well as prefatory matter by Antonius Luschus and Dominicus Lampsonius. Most of those poems are connected with personages of their acquaintance, which was as brilliant as it was widespread.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 163-65.

⁵) Gabbema, 517-519.

Viglius by May 1531. A great affection sprung up between the two countrymen : writing to Hector of Hoxvier on June 6, 1531, Viglius praises his brother's zeal, and expresses his ideal of what the study and the teaching of law should be ¹⁾. Hector felt grateful for the interest taken in his brother ²⁾ : he attended Alciati's lectures, and, on his return home ³⁾, gave such an enthusiastic account of the Italian jurisprudent and his brilliant teaching, that Hector decided, in 1534, to go and hear him ⁴⁾. Ausonius settled at Mantgum, near Leeuwarden, and married ; on March 1, 1535, Viglius mentioned that event as a probable excuse for his silence, and sent him letters directed to his brother in Italy, together with some to Alciati and to Renick ⁵⁾, which he himself, at Dülmen, could not conveniently forward on account of the trouble caused by the Anabaptists ⁶⁾. On September 8, 1535, Viglius wrote from Speyer about his new situation as Councillor of the Imperial Court ⁷⁾, and, on July 15, 1536, about some hostile acts of Gelderland in Friesland, which made Hector's returning from Italy 'non satis opportune'. In that same letter he gives the glad news that Erasmus' health has finally improved a little, whereas actually he had died four days before ⁸⁾. Of three letters from Hector, then Councillor at Leeuwarden, to Ausonius, one, March 9, 1539, refers to the suitability of a youth as husband for their sister's daughter Catherine, and to Viglius' messages ⁹⁾ ; a second, August 14, 1541, to the disfavour incurred by the Duke of Cleves ¹⁰⁾ ; a third, dated on St. Catherine's day, November 25, <1539>.

¹⁾ Gabbema, 521-525 ; on January 4, 1542, he expressed to Ausonius his staunch affection dating from their University days : *HEpL*, 125, a, b.

²⁾ Hector Hoxvirus to Erasmus, March 16, 1532 : Allen, ix, 2624, 70-74.

³⁾ Ausonius is mentioned for his greeting in a letter of Goclenius to Hector of Hoxvier, February 4, 1533, as well as Haio Cammingha and Herman Hompen, Frisian Councillor : Gabbema, 519.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 164.

⁵⁾ Namely Viglius' *consobrinus* Dr. Irenicus, or Renick, Burmania, *Gritmannus Leovardiensis* : Hoyneck, i, i, 275, ii, i, 26 ; *HEpL*, 116, b ; FG, 375 ; he visited Erasmus in September 1535 and took letters to the Netherlands : Allen, xi, 3022, 54, 3060, 2.

⁶⁾ Gabbema, 530-532.

⁷⁾ A fragment of that letter is quoted in the notes on Viglius' biography : Hoyneck, i, i, 126.

⁸⁾ Gabbema, 533-534.

⁹⁾ Gabbema, 180-182.

¹⁰⁾ Gabbema, 182-83.

mentions a favour which the President of his Council — no doubt George Schenck van Tautenburg ¹⁾, — had asked Hector to request from their uncle, although, up to then, he had scornfully despised the Hoxvier family ²⁾. On September 16, 1539, Viglius, at his father's home, apologized for not calling on Ausonius before his return to Speyer, and pleaded poor health ³⁾. Although not filling an official position, Ausonius took an effective part in the management and in the affairs of his country : a letter of his friend Haio Cammingha, Louvain, June 4, 1541 ⁴⁾, addresses him as a member of a commission of four *legati Phrysiorum* who had to safeguard the freedom and all privileges secured, his three colleagues being the famous Syds Tjaerdo, or Sixtus Tzyarda ⁵⁾, Sibrand of Roerda and a 'D. Georgius' ⁶⁾. They had come to the Court in Brabant, and Ausonius had intended visiting Louvain as Roerda did : urgent business prevented him from going to see his nephew Ausonius, then living in the same house as Cammingha ⁷⁾. From Viglius letter of Ingolstadt, January 4, 1542, which refers to their old friendship, it follows that Ausonius was greatly interested in Frisian history ⁸⁾. Of his further career no record seems to be left ⁹⁾.

In the just mentioned letter of June 4, 1541, to Ausonius of Hoxvier, Haio Cammingha expresses his disappointment at hearing from the Frisian messenger Paul van Veer ¹⁰⁾, Veriensis, that his old friend was not coming to Louvain where, several years earlier, they had started their acquaintance ¹¹⁾. That Haio Cammingha, born about 1510 from a noble Frisian family had studied there, and met there his old acquaintance Viglius, as well as Ausonius' brother Hector ¹²⁾ ;

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 165.

²⁾ Gabbema, 183-84.

³⁾ ViglEA, 31.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, p 459.

⁵⁾ Theissen, 287-300, & *passim* ; NBW.

⁶⁾ NBW.

⁷⁾ Gabbema, 537-40 ; Theissen, 286-87, 367, &c.

⁸⁾ HEpL, 124, a, b.

⁹⁾ FG, 373-74.

¹⁰⁾ Gabbema, 537, 519.

¹¹⁾ Pergratum mihi fuit aliquando ex Paulo discere... quod te hic intra paucos dies futurum professus eras. Qua re cum nihil mihi magis in votis fuit, quam te coram videre, magnaque voluptate ob id delibutus fui, hoc tamen majore, plenioreque voluptate afficiebar, quod hic, ubi veterem consuetudinem multis retro annis auximus, eam etsi immortalem, refractione tamen renovaremus : Gabbema, 537.

¹²⁾ Cp. before, pp 163-66.

he was quite familiar with Goclenius and Rescius ¹⁾, from which it is evident that he was a regular attendant of the lectures in the *Trilingue*. He lived and boarded at the same house as Maximilian of Burgundy ²⁾ and his preceptor John Becker ³⁾. The latter requested him to take to Erasmus his letter dated March 25, 1528 ⁴⁾, since he intended passing by Basle on his way to Dole in Burgundy ; he reached that town on May 1, and met Viglius, who, on May 9, wrote to his uncle Bernard Bucho, of The Hague, that Cammingha, who had arrived there, found the town too dull, and the University too thinly attended, — especially if compared with Louvain, — and had consequently already left ⁵⁾. In the autumn of that year he requested Erasmus to receive him as boarder. The Humanist, who only knew him 'ex brevi colloquio' — no doubt when he came to hand Becker's letter, — granted his demand on November 12, 1528 ⁶⁾, on account of his family and his quality of Frisian, and described to him the frugal, but instructive, life of his ὁμοτραπέζων, which he connected with the aim for which Haio had gone to the University ⁷⁾. In answer to that letter, the young man accepted, and entered the Basle household in the beginning of 1529 : on Febr. 25, Erasmus mentions to Haio Herman Hompen ⁸⁾, that there is with him a young 'Phrysius <eum> et nomine et adnomine <viz., Haio & Phrysius> referens, nisi quod gentili cognomento est Caminga' : he consequently advises him also to add a family name to distinguish him from others ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 298-302, IX, 2413, 28-31, 2587, 45-55, &c, and X, 2866, 5, 6 ; FG, 228, 24, 316.

²⁾ Cp. further, pp 461-64.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 201, 256-67.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1984, 33-37 : Cammingha is called only *Phrysius*, and is described as 'noster pridem conuictor, nostri amantissimus nec minus nobis quoque charus'.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 6 : vix a nobis retineri potuit, ob solitudinem hujus oppidi, & Scholasticorum non ita magnum numerum, si cum Lovanio conferre lubet.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 2073.

⁷⁾ Meministi nimirum eo te profectum ad academiam, vt velut e diuite quodam emporio preciosissimis bonarum literarum mercibus locuples redeas domum, ornaturus... generis tui stemmata, plusque lucis additurus quam ab illis accipis : Allen, VII, 2073, 61-65.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 393-94.

⁹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2108, 10-12.

A few weeks later, on March 23, Viglius wrote from Dole : 'Haionis nostri maiorem in modum fœlicitati gratulor, cui quotidiana consuetudine tua frui contigit'¹⁾; on the same date, the fugitive *amanuensis* Felix Konings sent to him, as well as to Quirinus Talesius and Nicolas Canne²⁾, his greetings from Speyer. When, in April 1529, Erasmus took refuge in Freiburg, Cammingha accompanied him ; he did not, however, realize Viglius' advice to try and deserve for a longish period by his work and zeal, the great advantage of the Master's company, for already in January 1530, he left for home, being recalled by a special messenger³⁾ : he promised to come back by May, and left a debt of sixty crowns⁴⁾. On reaching Louvain, however, he did not continue his journey to the north, but went to Italy, taking with him not only the letters to Haio Herman Hompen and to Hector Hoxvirius' father-in-law, Gerard of Herema, of January 31, 1530⁵⁾, but even one to Goclenius. Returning to Louvain about the end of May, he delivered the letter to Goclenius, and studied under his direction, not breathing a word, however, of his debt⁶⁾. Informed about it by a letter which reached Louvain through Martin Slap on May 31⁷⁾, Goclenius reminded him of it, and the young man asserted that he had settled the account long ago by bankers⁸⁾.

Erasmus tried to get paid through Goclenius and Schets, wishing to treat Cammingha prudently, so as to prevent that he should pretend to fly into a passion and not give any-

¹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2129, 36-40.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2130, 124-25 : salutabis... dominum Hayonem conuiuatuum ac M. Quirinum et M. Nicolaum ceterosque collegas meos.

³⁾ Paulo ante Cannium reliquit nos Caminga ; nam amici in hoc ipsum miserant nuncium proprium : letter to Viglius & Sucket, July 31, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2356, 42-43 : cp. however, 2261, 76-77.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2356, 42-45 : 26 gold florins were due for board and lodging, and Erasmus had advanced 40 *coronati aurei* : *id.*, VIII, 2325, 1-6.

⁵⁾ Allen, VIII, 2261 and 2262. Gerard de Herema, or Herama (cp. before, p 164) may be the father of Viglius' friend Theophilus de Herema, Cubicularius of the Pope, to whom there is a letter in Gabbema, 184-85, of April 24, 1558 ; cp. *SonRyth.*, 17.

⁶⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 298-302, 376.

⁷⁾ Allen, VIII, 2351, 111 ; cp. before, pp 393-95.

⁸⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 300-302.

thing ¹⁾; he thus found out to his regret that he had been greatly mistaken in the young man, about whom he had written a perfect eulogy on January 31, 1530, not only to Herman Hompen, but also to Gerard of Herema : stating that for years he had not derived more pleasure from anybody else, he praised him for his courteousness and his constant observance, adding that, as they had lived as ἱσόψυχοι, the young man knew not only his patently public affairs and his studies, but even his most private ones, to his very decisions and his thoughts ²⁾. The flattering portrait, published in the *Epistolæ Floridæ*, Sept. 1531 ³⁾, may have highly gratified the original : it soon started annoying Erasmus ; on December 14, 1531, he wrote to Goclenius : Nihil vnquam vidi illo iuuene vanius aut morosius... ⁴⁾. No wonder that the letters in which that honouring mention was contained, were left out in all subsequent editions. It mortified Cammingha ; he bitterly complained about it after the appearance of Erasmus' *Opera Omnia* of 1540/41, to Viglius, who tried to pacify him, suggesting that the letters in question may have contained too many ἀνεμώλια, referring also to the prohibiting of writings by the town authorities, and to the negligence of the printers ⁵⁾.

Still Viglius knew better : from Pavia, April 17, 1533, he wrote that Cammingha blamed him for not having recommended him sufficiently to Erasmus whilst he lived with

¹⁾ Letter to Schets of October 30, 1530 : Allen, ix, 2403, 35-41. He had informed Schets of the debt on June 1, 1530, and the banker, consequently, advised the family in Friesland, August 13, 1530 ; on December 18, 1530, he wrote to Erasmus that his debtor was in Louvain : Hunc sollicitat Goclenius, quantum potest, pro tua pecunia, sed verberat aerem : Allen, ix, 2364, 11-14, 2413, 28-30. In the autumn of 1531, Erasmus asked Schets to inquire about what payments Goclenius had received : on November 23, the latter announced that he managed to have some instalments paid, though unwillingly : Camynga misit ad superiorem summam quatuor aureos : sed iratus, vt opinor, nam redditi sunt sine vllis literis : Allen, ix, 2552, 10-12, 2573, 66-67.

²⁾ Allen, viii, 2261, 1-15 ; a similar good report of Cammingha was written in the letter to Gerard of Herema : Allen, viii, 2262, 7-13.

³⁾ Basle, J. Herwagen : p 129.

⁴⁾ Allen, ix, 2587, 45-55.

⁵⁾ MS II, 1040² : 36, in the Royal Library, Brussels : Viglius also mentions the absence of the epitaph on Volcaerd : cp. before, p 146 ; Hoyneck, II, i, 139, n 3.

him ¹⁾; the Humanist replied on May 14, 1533, that nothing was more difficult than keeping in friendship with Haio : 'Nihil illo vafrius, verbulo simpliciter dicto grauiter offenditur'; besides, no praise was sufficient to him; he was angry at not being mentioned in prefaces and epistles, and it was only to avoid trouble that he had been referred to in [Hompen's and] Herema's letters : his praise, therefore, was taken out, and replaced by that of Viglius ²⁾. Cammingha did what he could to make up for the breach he sensed very well, as results from his flattering letter of excuses and protestations of innocence, February 15, 1533 ³⁾; on Sept. 2, 1533, he wrote that just when he wanted to send his servant to Goclenius to enquire about the Great Man's health, he received a letter from Rescius announcing the contemplated return to Brabant ⁴⁾. He promises to make good for the past, and asks the Master's advice about staying once more in his company, or going to Italy; he even offers to Erasmus the use of his house and his gardens at Ameland, near Leeuwarden, from where he writes, sending the greetings of the Friesland Councillor William de Zaghere ⁵⁾.

The move does not seem to have had much effect, for Viglius writes to Erasmus from Dülmen, August 12, 1534, that Cammingha had been pestering him on his visit to Friesland for help to bring about a reconciliation; he mentions it only so as to avoid displeasure, since he does not want his nation, so devoted to Erasmus, to be stained by any black name in his album ⁶⁾. Of Cammingha's further life little is known : on June 4, 1541, he was in Louvain, probably studying law, when he wrote to Ausonius of Hoxvler, then on a mission at the Court : he mentions Cornelius de Schepper's interference ⁷⁾ in favour of Goffa Roerda, an old friend of his family and his own ⁸⁾. On February 25, 1542, Viglius thanks him for condoling with him for his mother's death, recalling old family ties, and encouraging him in the study of jurisprudence; he mentions that a new edition of Erasmus' works

¹⁾ Hoynck, II, i, 139. ²⁾ Allen, x, 2810, 27-34. ³⁾ Allen, x, 2766.

⁴⁾ FG, 228-29; Allen, x, 2866. On July 26, 1533, Goclenius sent, amongst others, a letter of Cammingha to Erasmus : Allen, x, 2851, 43.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 147, a, b; Daxhelet, 300; and before, I, 234, sq.

⁶⁾ ViglEB, 12. ⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 166-71. ⁸⁾ Gabbema, 537-540.

is announced, and that he expects a possible interview with Froben ¹⁾; on August 13, he imparts pecuniary help and advice about the journey Haio projected to Artois, in order to redeem an imprisoned relative ²⁾. A letter from Cammingha to Hector of Hoxvier, then President of Utrecht, dated from an estate at Lomme, near Lille, October 18, 1544, implores assistance in a lawsuit, and inquires which men might be gained by some present, so as to bring about a solution that allows him to make good a past error, which now causes him to roam about and waste his time in inactivity; he wishes, and yet fears, the home-coming, and refers to lost opportunities of managing his affairs and his married life. He confides in the help promised by de Schepper and by President Louis de Schore ³⁾, and, in case of failure, he intends returning to France as soon as peace will allow ⁴⁾. By 1555, he was involved in a lawsuit against the Lord of Egmont, for which he applied to Joachim Hopper's experience and influence: two letters of that great statesman, dated from Mechin, June 10, 1555 and July 19, 1556 ⁵⁾, are preserved, with the greetings of his wife Christina Bertholff, daughter of Gregory, the President of the Frisian Senate ⁶⁾. Still Cammingha, Lord of Amnia, does not appear to have been happy in his life, to which he put a violent end in 1558 ⁷⁾.

C. FRIENDS OF ERASMUS

In the same boarding house as Haio Cammingha, — no doubt that of Robert Viruli ⁸⁾, — there lived for some time, with his tutor John Becker, a son of one of the great noble families of

¹⁾ Gabbema, 552-54; *HEpL*, 126, b-127, a.

²⁾ *HEpL*, 127, a, b.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 110, c-f; *MonHL*, 35; &c; he was then President of the Privy Council, 1540-1548: Alexandre, 395; Matthieu, 219.

⁴⁾ Gabbema, 540-543.

⁵⁾ Gabbema, 818-820: he is called in those letters Lord of Amnia, probably as his brother is mentioned in the first as deceased: the lawsuit seems to be about some hereditary rights.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, II, ii, 8.

⁷⁾ *LatCont.*, 377; *FG*, 316; Allen, VII, 2073, *pr*; *NBW*. There are 15 letters addressed to him: some in the Archives of the Realm, The Hague, and others in the Provincial Library at Zwolle.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 94, &c; *Busl.*, 337-38, 343; Allen, VI, 1787, 46-47.

Zeeland, Maximilian of Burgundy, Lord of Beveren ¹⁾). His father, Adolphus of Burgundy, Lord of Beveren and Veere (c 1490-December 7, 1540) ²⁾, had been James Batt's pupil, and had married Anna de Berghes on June 18, 1509; succeeding his uncle Philip of Burgundy, created Bishop of Utrecht ³⁾, he became, in 1517, Admiral of Flanders, and one of the leading councillors of Charles of Austria. In 1518, he appointed to the deanery of Veere John Becker, of Borselen ⁴⁾, who, although glad to be freed from the necessity of teaching, even in the *Trilingue* ⁵⁾, had to accept the request of his patron, and accompany his elder son Philip to Louvain in September 1522 ⁶⁾, after having tutored him at least since the summer of 1519 ⁷⁾. By 1523, the second son, Maximilian, was added to his care: he was born on July 28, 1514 ⁸⁾; a few

¹⁾ There was then also another, different Maximilian of Burgundy, the Abbot of Our Lady's, at Middelburg: *Cran.*, 121, b-d; Allen, iv, 1164, 46.

²⁾ Adolphus' father, Philip of Burgundy, son of Antony, was councillor and Admiral of Flanders: he died on July 4, 1498: Allen, i, 93, *pr*; *Cran.*, 54, 14, 209; Fruin, 116, 450, 466, 484, 488.

³⁾ Philip of Burgundy, natural son of Philip the Good (c 1464-April 7, 1524), was valiant as captain and, since 1500, as Admiral of Flanders: his grand-nephew Adolphus had entered his service in 1513, and he himself accepted the see of Utrecht, chiefly to prevent that the diocese and Overijssel should become a prey to Charles of Gelderland, on account of the weak bishops, unable to protect the secular dominion of those parts against the intrigues and incitements of their scheming neighbour: *Cran.*, 10, a, b, &c; Allen, iii, 603, *pr*; *GeldColl.*, 223-248; *MatthAnal.*, 142-229.

⁴⁾ Cp. *bef.*, I, 201, 256-57, 263, *sq*; *Busl.*, 341-45, 393-95; Daxhelet, 238-40.

⁵⁾ Being the cleverest of the Latinists in the Netherlands, and a particular friend of the Founder, whose nephews he had tutored, Becker had been appointed as the first Latin professor: cp. before, I, 256-62; yet he preferred accepting the offer of Adolphus of Beveren: cp. before, I, 262-64.

⁶⁾ On December 4, 1522, matriculated 'Generosus iuuenis philippus de beueris nobilis et iurauit pro eo Mattheus de creppi eius seruator': *Excerpta*, 103; cp. Becker's letter, November 23, 1522: Allen, v, 1321, 27-32; cp. before, I, 264.

⁷⁾ On August 10, 1519, when writing to Peter Zuelpene, Adolphus of Burgundy's juridical adviser, Erasmus stated that Becker had been entrusted with the instruction of the Admiral's *filium*: Allen, iv, 1005, 43-46; cp. before, I, 264.

⁸⁾ J. Ermerins, *Zeeuwscbe Oudheden*: 1786: iii, 132, iv, 33, 70-115, states that Philip was born on October 1, 1512, and Maximilian on

days after his birth, Erasmus, on a visit at Bergen-op-Zoom, saw him, for he was well known to the father, and had been for some time the *protégé* of his mother, Ann de Borssele, Lady of Veere ¹). Philip was of poor health, and died about 1525; consequently the presumptive heir of the title was called home, and did not return before February 1527 to Louvain ²), where he was to remain two years ³).

The young man attended the lectures of the great College which nearly had had his tutor as first professor; it was, no doubt, the reason of his stay in the University, as it seems hardly likely that he would have been dispatched to Brabant with Becker, if the latter had been the only one to take in hand his instruction. He was far too young to study philosophy, which explains the absence of his name on the matriculation registers, where his kinsman, probably his godfather, Maximilian de Berghes, is duly inscribed ⁴). He addressed a letter to Erasmus, mentioning his and his father's affection for the Great Erudite, who, at Becker's request, wrote, on August 23, 1527, a complimentary and encouraging reply ⁵), although he was not quite certain of the boy's identity ⁶). His letter, referring to the *Lucubrationes* which had pleased Maximilian, unfortunately went astray; it greatly disap-

July 28, 1514 (here the mention 'op een dingsdag' was added afterwards mistakenly, according to the Gregorian calendar: according to the Julian calendar that day was a Friday: Allen, vii, 1859, *pr*).

¹) Letter of Erasmus to William Blount, August 30, 1514: Allen, ii, 301, 41-42.

²) Letter of John Becker, Louvain, February 27, 1527: Allen, vi, 1787, 46-48: *Ego viuo iam Louanii apud M. Robertum Virulum, vna cum primogenito, vt nuper, domini de Beueris: abfui tamen, postquam primum ante quadriennium huc commigrassemus, sesquiannum.*

³) Letter of John Becker, July 28, 1527: Allen, vii, 1851, 36-37; the name 'primogenitus D. de Beueris' is evidently meant as heir presumptive.

⁴) 'Maximilianus de bergis nobilis' matriculated 'initio mart.' 1498: *Excerpts*, 92. That Maximilian de Berghes, Lord of Zevenbergen, Noordeloos & Heemskerk, a kinsman, no doubt, of Ann, Adolphus of Burgundy's wife, was one of the most important of Charles of Austria's councillors: he helped his Prince with his influence on the Swiss: he was created Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1516, and married Ann van der Gracht, Lady of Lauwerghem and Stavele, viscountess of Furnes: Henne, ii, 279-280; Walther, 211.

⁵) Allen, vii, 1859.

⁶) Letter to John Becker, August 24, 1527: Allen, vii, 1860, 5-7.

pointed the youth, whom Becker, on November 6, 1527, described as the thirteen years old son of Adolphus, Lord of Veere, whom he had already instructed during five years, and who was intended to enter the Court of Erard de la Marck before the end of that year ¹). In order to make up for the lost letter, Erasmus wrote another on January 4, 1528 ²), and in February 1528, he dedicated to him his treatise *De Recta Latini Græcique Sermonis Pronuntiatione Dialogus* ³). On July 23, 1529, Erasmus wrote to advise him, at the end of his training, never to abandon studies, but to continue them, even at Court. He also strongly recommended Quirinus Talesius, requesting him to ask his father for the promised help to some benefice ⁴). Already in 1530 Maximilian took service in the Fleet, and succeeded his father as Lord of Beveren, Veere & Flushing, and as Admiral of Flanders in 1542 ⁵); he was appointed Stadhouder of Holland and Zeeland on February 22, 1547, dubbed Knight of the Golden Fleece in January 1546, and, in return for his 25 years' service, created Marquis of Veere on October 21, 1555 ⁶). His Louvain training was not lost on him, for he remained a favourer of learning and of erudites : Jaso Pratensis dedicated to him *De Tuenda Sanitate* ⁷); John Reygersberch, his *Cronycke van Zeelandt* ⁸); and Cornelius van Auwater, on the eve of becoming *Trilingue* professor, his *In bene Dicendi Rationem Tabula* ⁹); from 1542, he was one of Livinus Ammonius' chief friends ¹⁰). In

¹) Allen, VII, 1898, 7-25 : on account of circumstances, the boy did not go to the Cardinal's Court.

²) Allen, VII, 1927.

³) Basle, Froben, March 1528. It was handed to him, with a letter, in Louvain 'Sub Idus Martias', by Quirinus Talesius : Allen, VII, 1984, 1-6. Cp. further, sect. 5, c.

⁴) Allen, VIII, 2200 : Erasmus also announces the reprinting of 'the boy's' *De Pronuntiatione*.

⁵) His father died on December 7, 1540.

⁶) Henne, VIII, 340, x, 254 ; ViglEL, 32 ; OlaE, 314 ; Fruin, 494, 517, &c ; he is mentioned in a letter of Corn. de Schepper to Viglius, end of June 1553 : ViglEA, 22.

⁷) Antwerp, M. Hillen, October 1530 : NijKron., I, 1723.

⁸) Antwerp, 1551.

⁹) Dated Louvain, September 1, 1556.

¹⁰) Besançon MS 599 : 360, 569, 582, 589, 594-97 : he contributed a cask of wine to Ammonius' jubilee in 1556.

that year he had married Louise of Croy ¹⁾; in 1556, he tried to have his son appointed as *coadjutor* to the Abbot of St. Bavo's, Ghent ²⁾; unfortunately he died prematurely on June 4, 1558 ³⁾.

Noble families, — like the one at Veere, protecting Erasmus, Becker, Barlandus ⁴⁾ and other chief Humanists, and, in return, honoured by the dedication of most remarkable writings, — far from constituting exceptions, were becoming numerous indeed in the first half of the xvith century. They gave life and vigour to the appreciative and creative spirit of Humanism, and helped the erudites to expand throughout all the layers of the population a generous love of truth and knowledge; by an example of moderation and common sense in judgments, and of a restless reach for intellectual development, they greatly improved conditions of life and mutual understanding, of general well-being and progress, — except

¹⁾ The 'Maximilianus Bourgonge a Middelburghe, dives, Falconis', who matriculated in Louvain on August 30, 1542, *LibIntIV*, 158, can hardly have been their child, as 'the father' would only have been twenty-eight in that year, and the 'son' is not mentioned as *minorenis*; it is more likely that he was a natural child to the Abbot of Middelburg, Maximilian of Burgundy, Lord of Fromont, who died in 1535 (Fruin, 480-81), but who, at his appointment in 1518, was a 'iuuenis ex aula subito translatus ad monasterium', as Erasmus said: cp. *Cran.*, 121, *b-d*; Allen, vi, 1563, 31, iv, 1164, 46; Bergh, II, 137-139 (by which Charles of Austria, on December 30, 1517, dissuades his aunt Margaret from obtruding Maximilian to the Abbot of Middelburg as monk and coadjutor). Maximilian restored and adorned his Abbey; to him Barlandus dedicated in 1524 and 1529 his *Jocorum Veterum ac Recentium Libri*: Daxhelet, 296, sq, 147-49, 313, sq.

²⁾ That dignity, with the right of succession as 'Provost', was given to Viglius, who thus succeeded the Abbot Lucas Munich: Hoyneck, I, i, 31, 169-170.

³⁾ Allen, vii, 1859, *pr*; J. Ermerius, *Zeeuwsche Oudheden*, 1786: III, 132, iv, 33, 70-115; SonnE, 85 (mentioning that the Marquis's creditors had his goods confiscated and started selling them by auction in the summer of 1563).

⁴⁾ On January 13, 1520, Adrian Barlandus inscribed to Adolphus of Burgundy his biography of *Carolus Burgundus*, his great-uncle, published in the *Libelli Tres*, printed by M. Hillen, Antwerp, in January 1520: NijKron., I, 232, after having read his praise in a recent letter from John Becker: Daxhelet, 104, 281-82: it secured him his friendship and protection, as well as that of Peter Zuetpene, of Cassel, juridical councillor of the family: Daxhelet, 19-20, 289, sq.

for a few rare cases, in which excessive zeal and lack of judicious moderation in handling unavoidable opposition, led to exaggeration and ruin.

Such was that of Charles van Uutenhove. He was one of the sons of the President of Flanders, Nicolas, Lord of Marckeghem ¹⁾, whom Erasmus highly appreciated from personal acquaintance for his learning and his virtue, as well as for the prudent ability with which he conducted the affairs of his native town Ghent and, after 1520 ²⁾, those of the whole region of Flanders. He had taken upon him the care of the children of his brother Antony, Voogd, or Provost, of Ypres ³⁾, who died in 1524, and whose two sons, Nicolas and Judocus, studying in Louvain ⁴⁾, boarded there with Louis de Schore ⁵⁾, and were taught by John Corneput ⁶⁾; President Nicolas' own sons, Nicolas and Charles ⁷⁾, sent to Louvain after June

¹⁾ Nicolas van Uutenhove, son of Nicolas, and of Isabella de Gruutere, had as grand-parents Richard van Uutenhove and Jossyne van de Woestyne, as well as Livinus de Gruutere and Catherine van de Waele d'Axpoele, which made him a relation of the Suckets : cp. before, p 153; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 476-77, III, 234, IV, 296. — Nicolas, councillor for Flanders, had succeeded Richard Reinigheer, Reinger, as President; he had married Agnes van der Varent († April 23, 1530), and left several children at his death, on February 11, 1527 : cp. further, pp 466, 470; *Cran.*, 110, h; *FlandIII.*, I, 170, 372, II, 30; *FlandCon.*, 63; *BelgDom.*, 40; *Gand-ErVir.*, 103; Henne, II, 126, v, 38.

²⁾ *FlandCon.*, 63, states that Nicolas was President only three years, and makes him begin in 1524; in the list of Bruges authorities, he is mentioned for 1520 as *Præses* : *FlandIII.*, 30, b.

³⁾ Antony van Uutenhove was appointed on May 16, 1516 as controller of the sources of revenue; he was provost of Ypres since 1517, and had married Adriana de Baenst, Lady of Santvelde : he died at Ypres in the beginning of 1524 : *Cran.*, 110, g-h, 11-18; *Brug&Fr.*, III, 79, 83; Henne, II, 127.

⁴⁾ They matriculated on April 8, 1521 : Nicholaus... Judocus, f. anthonij vut den houe, de ypris, morinen. dyoc., nobiles, minorennnes; iuravit pro eis hospes Mich. van den Doerne <cp. before, p 146> : *Lib-IntIII*, 275, r.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXI; *Cran.*, 110, c-f.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 110, a-b, 10-18 : June 16/17, 1524.

⁷⁾ They seem to have been the only boys of the family, in which there were at least two girls : the Jodoca mentioned in Charles's letter to Dantiscus of Jan. 19, 1532 : *DantE*, 187; and Catherine, who married Arnould de St. Genois, Lord of la Deuse and Hembiese : *Brug&Fr.*, IV, 296.

1524, also resided in a private house. Nicolas did not live very long ¹⁾; Charles, for certain, attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and acquired there a certain familiarity with Latin, with Roman literature, and even with Greek ²⁾).

After his training under Goclenius and Rescius, he wished to perfect himself under the direction of the great friend of his father, who meanwhile had died; on the recommendation of Omer of Edingen, Lord of Op-Hasselt, procurator from 1511, and, since 1525, *ab actis*, of Flanders Council ³⁾, son of Barbara van Uutenhove, and thus, most probably, a near relative ⁴⁾, he was admitted in Erasmus' household. On June 24, 1528, Erasmus Schets entrusted to him a letter for the great Humanist ⁵⁾, who, on July 30, announced in reply that 'Carolus Vtenhouenus... iuuenis moribus compositissimis', was living with him ⁶⁾. In that centre of studies, he found several eager youths : Daniel Stibarus ⁷⁾, Andrew Zebrzydowski ⁸⁾, and Philip Montanus ⁹⁾ : when Stibarus and Mon-

¹⁾ Nicolas — no doubt the elder boy, having the father's name, — probably died very young, as the title of Lord of Marckeghem is always given to his brother Charles. The mention of Nicolas U. married with Quintina de Gruutere, in *Brug&Fr.*, II, 279 (& 55), seems to refer to an ancestor : the name Uutenhove and that of de Gruutere indicate numerous family branches : cp. *Brug&Fr.*; Guicc., 235; Gramaye, *Teneramunda* : 43-4, 81, &c; VulcE, 197.

²⁾ Erasmus dedicated to him the Greek text of *Chrysostomi Opuscula*, and wrote an epitaph for his father in that language : cp. further, p 467.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 189-90, 191-92.

⁴⁾ It would explain how the estate and the title of Marckeghem passed to Peter, the son of Omer's daughter Agnes, married to Philip van Steelant : *Brug&Fr.*, 136-37 : as several of the Uutenhove's had become Protestants, they either left the country or were deprived of their possessions.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 2001, 26.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 2015, 14-15; on October 2, that same praise is communicated to Livinus Ammonius, who probably had recommended him : *id.*, 2062, 35-37. As Charles only reached Basle in the summer of 1528, he cannot have accompanied John a Laski on his visit to Italy in 1525 : *Lasco*, 123-24; the amanuensis of Erasmus must have been either John van Hove, *Hovius* (which probably caused the mistake), or Livinus Algoet : cp. before, pp 137, 321.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 394.

⁹⁾ Philip de la Montaigne, of Armentières (1495/6-May 22, 1576), served Erasmus for a time, and returned to study in Paris, from where, in 1562, he was appointed as head of Queen's College in the recently erected University of Douai, where he died : *ActaMori*, 61-71, 85, 105, 142.

tanus left for Paris, on September 10, 1528 ¹⁾, Uutenhove with the *Polonus* escorted them to near Thann; on Sept. 21, when, in his turn, Zebrzydowski went to Paris, Charles accompanied him, and made there the acquaintance of Louis Berquin ²⁾, to whom Erasmus expresses his delight, on December 23, 1528, in having him as *convictor* ³⁾.

Charles left in February ⁴⁾ for Padua, with recommendations to Peter Bembo ⁵⁾ and Baptista Egnatius ⁶⁾, as well as with the dedicatory letter of February 1, to *Chrysostomi Opuscula*, comprising letters, homilies and other writings in the original Greek: to which were added two epitaphs, one in Latin, and one in Greek, on his father ⁷⁾, who is praised exceedingly for devoting all his leisure, and even part of his nights, to the study of the Sacred Books ⁸⁾. The young man remained in Italy ⁹⁾ until, in April 1531, at his mother's decease, he returned to Ghent; he does not seem to have followed his father's example, as Erasmus, at whose recommendation Peter Bembo had heartily welcomed him, mentioned his lack of zeal and even his aversion from study on July 5, 1532 ¹⁰⁾: introducing Viglius to Bembo on that day, he uttered frank disappointment in Uutenhove: '*litterarum nec admodum diuitem nec valde cupidum*' ¹¹⁾, complaining, no doubt, of his defective style; in fact Uutenhove's later writings offer

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 2065, 21, 2069, 12, sq.

²⁾ The French Reformer: cp. Allen, III, 925, 13; Delisle, 24, sq, 80; Imbart, III, 196-99, &c.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 2077, 66.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2117, 1; Herminjard, I, 388.

⁵⁾ Allen, VIII, 2106, 15, sq (February 22, 1529), 2144, 48, sq (April 4, 1529), 2290, 70 (March 25, 1530).

⁶⁾ Allen, VIII, 2105, 1, sq: February 21, 1529.

⁷⁾ Allen, VIII, 2093, 115-134; at the end of the *Summa Linguae Graecae* (Paris, Chr. Wechel, 1538) by Arnold Oridryus (cp. before, pp 189-92), printed under the supervision of Dominic Sylvius (p 192), there are three epitaphs on Nic. Utenhovius, one by Erasmus, a second and a third by Oridryus and Livinus Ammonius, his friends: Paquot, VII, 133.

⁸⁾ Allen, VIII, 2093 (February 1, 1529), 30-40, &c.

⁹⁾ Erasmus wrote to him when he was at Padua, July 1, 1529: Allen, VIII, 2188; Herminjard, II, 183.

¹⁰⁾ In his letter to Viglius, c July 5, 1532, Erasmus wrote: *Petro Bembo... commendaueram C. Vtenhouium iuuenem bene natum, sed parum eruditum, ac ne studiosum quidem*: Allen, X, 2682, 55-57.

¹¹⁾ Allen, X, 2681, 4-5.

frequent examples of carelessness ¹⁾. Maybe Erasmus also felt displeased with his character, and showed a coolness. At any rate, in the *Colloquium* 'Ἀστραγαλισμός, he sketched him as a vain boaster, contrasting with the modest and zealous Talesius ²⁾.

On his return to Ghent, Utenhove made the acquaintance of Dantiscus, who resided there in 1531 with the Court; it occasioned a few letters ³⁾, which do not exactly strike as a proof that their interviews had been chiefly erudite or even intellectual ⁴⁾. Charles seems to have intended taking employ in the diplomatic service as an ambassador to Turkey ⁵⁾, which may have led to some connection with the Court. In 1532, he was thinking of marriage, and, probably in order to further his prospects, he wanted to revive the acquaintance with Erasmus, who, on August 9, 1532, replied to his '*literas... mire querulas atque etiam iurgatrices*' by a long letter in which he advises him not to marry only by the eyes, but also by the ears; he further expands on the degenerated spirit in some members of the Franciscan Order, whom Utenhove had criticized ⁶⁾. Although Erasmus wrote again afterwards ⁷⁾, the relations became slack ⁸⁾, and were painful

¹⁾ There are many peculiarities of spelling in the letters reproduced in Hessels, II, 162-164, 205-207.

²⁾ EOO, I, 838, A, sq : cp. further, sect. 5, c.

³⁾ Utenhove wrote to Dantiscus on August 25, 1531, and, in reply to a letter received, on November 28; that message had been sent to Tournai, but as it appeared that Dantiscus had not followed the Court, but had remained in Brussels, a second was written to make sure; in answer to Dantiscus' reply, Utenhove wrote on January 19, 1532 : DantE, 156, 179, 187.

⁴⁾ Utenhove offers the greetings, not only of his sister Jodoca, but also those of the two daughters of the Ghent Prætor, or *Baljuw*, Jodoca and Livina; he announces a letter from his servant, James Robbius, who, writing '*ex ædibus Vtovianis*', refers chiefly, if not exclusively, to drinking bouts and jokes : cp. Robbius' letters : DantE, 180 (end of November 1531), 198 (February 23, 1532).

⁵⁾ DantE, 156 : August 25, 1531.

⁶⁾ Allen, x, 2700, 153, 19, sq.

⁷⁾ Erasmus wrote to him in April 1533, explaining his silence and thanking him for some silk; he refers to several friends : Allen, x, 2799; *Erasmiana*, II, 606, 607; *LatCont.*, 380.

⁸⁾ On May 21, 1535, he wrote to Damian a Goes that he had sent letters through his servant to Schets and Utenhove, although he doubted their having been delivered : Allen, XI, 3019, 8-9.

even, in a way, by 1535 ¹⁾. Uutenhove lived at Ghent on friendly footing with Omer of Edingen, William de Waele, Livinus Ammonius ²⁾, with James de Blasere and Gerard Rym ³⁾. He married a niece of William de Waele by 1532 ⁴⁾, and, having become alderman in 1539, he played a conspicuous part in the tumultuous affairs of Ghent during the ominous years of the revolt against Mary of Hungary, and the severe repression by Charles V ⁵⁾. He afterwards retired from public life, having, no doubt, spoilt his chances for any promotion in Court; he often resided at Marckeghem with his family, which, by 1546, when he wrote once more to Dantiscus, counted six sons and one daughter ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ On September 2, 1535, he confides to Conrad Goclenius with reference to Quirinus Hagius: *Suspitor quod et Gandaui Carolum Utenhodium alienarit. Nihil enim scribit, solitus crebro me litteris appellare*: Allen, xi, 3052, 9-11.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 190-92. Those friends lived either at Ghent or in the neighbourhood of Grammont: they probably went occasionally to Marckeghem, Uutenhove's estate; they are referred to in the latter's letters to Dantiscus: DantE, 187, 475; on March 17, 1534, Livinus Ammonius wrote to Olah that he had been honoured by the visit of several friends, 'quorum nemo non eruditissimus erat et Erasmo nostro addictus, inter quos tamen primas egere partes Gulielmus a Vala, Edingus et Carolus Utenhouius': OlaE, 479; on July 15, 1529, he had referred to Uutenhove in a letter to Erasmus: Allen, viii, 2197, 19, sq. Cp. *GandErVir.*, 17, 24, 50, 92; *BrugErVir.*, 18.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 190, 160-63.

⁴⁾ On September 12, 1546, Charles Uutenhove announced to Erasmus that he had married the *neptis* of William de Waele, Lord of Axpoele, Councillor for Flanders, who meanwhile had died. He added that he had several children: DantE, 475, and before, pp 154, 190-2: that is the only reliable information as to his wife; the genealogical notes in *Brug&Fr.*, ii, 279, i, 132, are contradictory and inconclusive, considering the very numerous Uutenhove's and Gruutere's, — a Quintina de Gruutere being named as his and Nicolas's wife. Cp. p 466.

⁵⁾ Charles was the first 'Echevin des Parchons' in 1539: Hoyneck, iii, ii, 354, 355, 390; Henne, vi, 299, 344, vii, 34.

⁶⁾ Letter of September 12, 1546: his sons were, by 1560, Richard, Charles, the poet, Nicolas, John and James: Hessels, ii, 164, 220, 241-42. — Uutenhove, from Ghent, mentions the explosion of the Mechlin 'Zandpoort' during a storm, August 7, 1546 (*ChronMét.*, 123); also all the old acquaintances of their days at Ghent: DantE, 475. Cornelius de Schepper, in his letter to Dantiscus, Binche, June 12, 1546, names Uutenhove amongst their friends at Ghent: DantE, 471.

By that time Charles had become connected with the leaders of the Reformation movement, chief of whom was his *consanguineus*, or *agnatus*, John van Uutenhove, or Jacobsz.¹⁾, and consequently not a son of Antony, Provost of Ypres²⁾. In 1544, that John left for Cologne with James of Burgundy, Lord of Fallais³⁾; in January 1546, he was with him at Strassburg, and by 1548, he was organizing Walloon and Flemish Congregations at Canterbury, London and Glastonbury⁴⁾ with John a Laski⁵⁾. He retired with him to Emden and Poland under Mary I, to return, at Elizabeth's accession,

¹⁾ John, the Reformer, called Jacobsz., viz., son of Jacob (cp. van der Aa's *Biogr. Woordenboek* : Hessels, II, 3), was neither a brother, nor a step-brother to Charles, as has been suggested through a mixing up of Charles's father Nicolas, married to Agnes van der Varent, and of his grandfather, also a Nicolas, husband of Isabeau de Gruutere : cp. before, p 465 ; Hessels, II, 3, 9, 57, 220. They call each other in their letters : *consanguineus*, *propinquus*, *agnatus* (viz., related through their fathers) and explicitly : *amore frater* : Hessels, II, 162, 163, 205, 206, 207, &c ; so did their friends, e. g., Corn. Wouters : Hessels, II, 57, and Francis Bok, who, in the same letter, mentions a *Nicolaus Vtenhouius, tuus frater*, writing to John, and *Carolus cognatum*, making a decided distinction : Hessels, II, 9. The *Franciscus Vtenouens consanguineus* of Charles, who took his letter of January 19, 1532 to Dantiscus, and wished for an office in Poland, if there was no room in his own *familia* (DantE, 187), may have been John's brother.

²⁾ Antony, married to Adriana de Baenst, left a son Nicolas, who succeeded him as Provost of Ypres ; he was Flanders Councillor, and, on June 30, 1547, appointed member of Mechlin Great Council : *Fland-III.*, II, 277, sq ; *MalConB*, 12 ; *MalConF*, 92 ; *MalConC*, 49 ; *MalConM*, 104. He died on August 19, 1549, and his widow, Mary Haudion de Gyberchies, afterwards married John de Griboval : *Brug&Fr.*, I, 472 ; *Cran.*, 110, g. He had a brother Judocus (cp. before, p 465), and, for certain, two sisters : Antoinette, who married Charles Triest, and died on October 27, 1581 ; and Ann, wife of Josse Triest, Lord of Buusere : *Brug&Fr.*, III, 79, 83.

³⁾ Hessels, II, 6 : he was the son of Charles, Lord of Fallais, and had married Yolande de Brederode : DantE, 471 ; he was related to Francis de Fallais of Burgundy, the poet : *Cran.*, 121, d, 280, 3.

⁴⁾ Cp. John van Uutenhove, *Narratio Belgarum Peregrinorum in Anglia Ecclesia* : Basle, 1560 ; Strype, II, 390, sq, 415, III, 56, 205 ; *Lasco*, 261, 326-45, 424-39, 483-527 ; *Cranmer*, I, 335-53, II, 878, sq, 887 ; Blunt, II, 162, sq ; *PollCranm.*, 268, sq ; Gough, 772 ; Hessels, II, 1-6, 36-117 ; de Jongh, 265 ; Constant, II, 245-61, 292, 408, 411 ; *Lasciana*, 332, 451, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

to London where he died in 1565 ¹⁾. Charles was in frequent communication with him ²⁾, as well as with Bartholomew Baten ³⁾, Albert Rizæus, of Hardenberg ⁴⁾, Francis Bok, *Boccius*, Gerard Mortaigne ⁵⁾ and other Reformers ⁶⁾, in so far that, in the autumn of 1556, he fled with his children to France ⁷⁾ at the imprisonment of the Ghent teacher Stephen Mierbeke, a priest ⁸⁾; when the latter was liberated after some weeks, Charles returned to Ghent on February 10, 1557 ⁹⁾, and was welcomed by the *advocatus fiscalis* Gerard Rym ¹⁰⁾, and by James Hessels, or Hessele, procurator general ¹¹⁾. He became,

¹⁾ DNB; *GandErVir.*, 78; Allen, vi, 1727, *pr*; Hessels, II, 3-5, 1-245 (letters); Henne, v, 44; Fr. Pijper, *Jan Utenhove*: Leyden, 1883; NBW; S. Ruytinx, *Gesch. der Nederlandsche Natie in Engelant*; J. Southerden, *History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees*: 38, *sq*; E. Cunitz & E. Reuss, *Thesaurus Epistolicus Calvinianus*: Brunswick, 1873; cp. Gough, 772; *Lasco*, 124, 345, 424-28, 439, 483, 515, 527; *Lasciana*, 332, 451. — A letter of John Uut. to Francisco de Enzinas, preserved at Strassburg, *MS Epist. Varior.* ix, 143: 1548, has been edited in *Span-Ref.*, I, 161-62.

²⁾ It results from Hessels, II, 162-64, 205-7.

³⁾ Born about 1514 at Alost, he died a refugee at Rostock in 1558: Hessels, II, 9.

⁴⁾ Albert Rizæus, of Hardenberg, monk of Adwert Abbey, turned Reformer: from 1544 to 1547, he was preacher at the Court of Herman de Wied; later on, minister at Kampen and Emden, where he died in 1574: Hessels, II, 3-8; RhenE, 528; Gropper, 102.

⁵⁾ Hessels, II, 8-9, 52, 59-60, 62: Mortaigne, refugee from the Netherlands, became an Elder of the Reformed Church, England; he married a niece of John Utenhove, who appointed him his heir; that gift was revoked, when, in 1558, he himself married Ann de Grutere de Lanoy.

⁶⁾ He knew, e. g., Peter Deelen, *Delenus*, Giacomo Contio, *Acontius*, and other leading men in the Foreign Congregations of England: Hessels, II, 164, 207.

⁷⁾ On April 4, 1557, Cornelius Wouters and George Cassander wrote to John van Utenhove: *Propinquum tuum ex Galliis quo cum filiis suis superiore autumno profectus fuerat, et totam hyemem Lutecie egerat, Gandauum 10 Februarij reuersum... intelleximus*: Hessels, II, 57.

⁸⁾ Hessels, II, 58, 62. ⁹⁾ Hessels, II, 57. ¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, pp 160-62.

¹¹⁾ James Hessels, Knight, Lord of ter Caemere, was a friend of Charles van Utenhove and Omer of Edingen, as results from his letter to Erasmus of July 12, 1533: he was a lawyer and a member of Flanders Council, of which he became procurator general on June 28, 1554. In 1567, he was appointed member of the Council of Troubles, and as he had to take a great share in the condemnations, such as that of Egmont and Hoorn, he was the object of popular hatred. On October 28, 1577, he was apprehended by the Ghent rabble, who kept him in prison,

in 1561, the defender of Adrian Haemstede, excommunicated by the Anglicans ¹⁾ ; from the letters signed as K. Οὐθεν-δ-βίος, it follows that his son Charles, already then famous as poet, was in England ²⁾ ; from others, that his daughter had died in exile at Cleves ³⁾, and that he himself was consoled by his second wife, although she wanted money and a pedigree ⁴⁾.

until, on October 4, 1578, he was hanged outside the town without any suit or sentence by the order of John d'Hembyze. His body was found intact on October 3, 1585, at the place where it had been buried after the unrighteous execution, and placed in St. Michael's, where he had put to rest his first wife Isabella Monicx, his second, Jetzia de Hoytema, niece of Viglius, and widow of the Holland Councillor Franck van den Berge, whom he married in 1560, and who died on May 24, 1572; as well as the last of his eight children, Francis, Holland Councillor, who died at Pisa on November 19, 1569: Hessels, II, 57; Allen, x, 2843; *FlandCon.*, 40, 148-51; Hoynck, I, i, 170-72, 190, ii, 436; Henne, VII, 50, VIII, 199.

¹⁾ Haemstede, who had been minister at Antwerp and Aix, went to England, where he was excommunicated for his opinions, John van Uutenhove being his chief opponent; he recanted, but not willing to accept the creed imposed, was ordered to leave the country on August 19, 1562: he died that year in Friesland: Hessels, II, 129, 142-46, 149-53, 163-68, 201-6, &c.

²⁾ Charles van Uutenhove, born at Ghent in 1536, was instructed there, and, amongst other matters, studied a hymn by Callimachus in 1554 with his brothers and with Bonaventura Vulcanius (VulcE, 197), whom he may have accompanied to Louvain in that same year. From 1560, he was forced to reside in France and England, and became familiarly acquainted with Adrian Turnebus, Denis Lambinus and John Dorat, probably his masters. He was an able poet. He settled at Cologne, married the daughter of the Lord of Daelenbroeck, Duchy of Jülich, and devoted his time to study and writing poetry, of which he edited some under his Greek anagram. He died without offspring on August 1, 1600 at Cologne. Poems and letters are preserved in *CollUff-Wolf*.: *Utenhoven*, & xxix, 46; *BbBasle*, G I, 22, G² I, 16, 18, 20^b, 30, G² II, 37, 39; *CollRhed.*, 5329-34. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 129-30; Hessels, II, 220, 238-41, I, 360; *GandErVir.*, 30-31; VulcE, 97, 153, 299, 312; *PoemBuch.*, *passim*; AschE, 399; *Hierogl.*, β 4, v; Gabbema, 787; Heresbach, 149 (makes him, unrightly, John's son); Paquot, xvi, 226.

³⁾ On May 16, 1561, Charles wrote to his *cognato... amico ac consanguineo* John, from Antwerp, that his daughter and son-in-law had just left for Cleves (Hessels, II, 164); on September 4, 1562, he thanks him for condoling with him for the sad 'Mortem filie', who had shared his exile and his affliction: Hessels, II, 206.

⁴⁾ In the letter of September 4, 1562, Charles writes from *Vrimursum*, sending the greetings of his wife, whom John never had seen, to him

It further appears from documents of that period that Charles had become completely absorbed in religious questions : he corresponded with Melanchthon ¹⁾, and incurred the grievous penalty of the Placards : no doubt, he forfeited his estate, as was insinuated to Viglius by Tapper already on March 17, 1558 ²⁾. Of his last years, which were spent abroad, nothing seems to be known, except that they were far from sunny : for he was probably identical with the 'Chas. Vtenhove, l'aveugle', who, on September 10, 1577, signed a secretary's letter with a faltering hand ³⁾.

5. SECRETARIES AND ERUDITES

A. FRIENDS OF CLENARDUS

If the *Trilingue* thus became the haunt of the sons of the leading classes of the nation, eager to gain the mastery of languages and literature, young men of less wealthy families were so much the keener in their study there, as they considered it as a way to secure an enviable career. Since their means did not allow them as lengthy a stay as some of their fellow-hearers, they worked the harder, and, if necessary, applied to the help of an older student, or of a tutor, such as Nicolas Clenardus ⁴⁾, to learn the rudiments, or whatever was required to follow at once the lectures at the College to full advantage. One of the boys thus tutored by that able

and to his own wife : *agnate nostræ* ; he adds : 'Nihil sane in ea possim desiderare, præter fortassis maiores opes et clarius stemma', — meaning evidently his second wife : Hessels, II, 206.

¹⁾ MelE, 3038, 4227.

²⁾ Tapper advised Viglius to found a College in Louvain 'quando occurreret aliqua confiscatio : quam fortasse fieri oportebit circa bona Wtenhouij : Et&Aud., 1177'. The fact that, by 1610, Peter van Steelant, whose mother was Agnes, daughter of Omer of Edingen, a relation of the Uutenhove's, bore the title of Lord of Marckeeghem and passed it on to his children (*Brug&Fr.*, I, 137), implies that the confiscation had actually taken place.

³⁾ *BbBasle*, MS Ki. Ar. 18^a : 402. — Cp. *Cran.*, 110, h ; *Erasmiana*, II, 606, sq ; Allen, VIII, 2093, pr ; FG, 437 ; Guicc., 235 ; &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 220, sq, 223-24.

linguist was John Was, Vasæus ¹⁾). He was born at Bruges, and matriculated in the Brabant University on August 31, 1527, amongst the *studiosi pauperes* of the Castle ²⁾). He was greatly interested in the study of languages, and applied himself to Greek under Rescius' lead, whereas Clenardus taught him at least the first notions of Hebrew : all the time he was studying law, which he had chosen for his life's career. Having promoted M. A., in 1530 or 1531, he accepted, along with Nicolas Beken, the offer made, in October 1531, by Don Fernand Colon to accompany him to Spain, and enter his service for three years ³⁾. He consequently left the country with his new master, and reached Spain on November 12 or 13, 1531 ; he assisted him in his work at Medina del Campo, at the chancery of the Vice-Queen of the East Indies, Mary of Toledo, widow of Diego Colon, at Queen Isabella's Court, whilst taking care of the famous and very rich *Bibliotheca Colombina*, at Sevilla ⁴⁾. When his term of service was over, Vasæus went to continue his studies of law at the University of Salamanca, and served as tutor to the son of Francesco de Vaylle, or del Vaglio, a rich financier and *ammanus* of Antwerp ⁵⁾, who was Prior of the church of Salamanca at the age of fifteen. The young Prior died one year afterwards, which compelled Vasæus to become professor of languages in one of the schools connected with the University : in 1537, he married a young lady of Segovia ; through Clenard, who helped him constantly, he was appointed, in 1538, as the head of the school which the Cardinal Infante Don Henrique had founded at Braga ⁶⁾. He afterwards taught at Evora,

¹⁾ Possibly he was related to the John van Waes <or Was>, mentioned in the records of Our Lady's, Bruges, in 1536 : *BrugInscr.*, II, xxxiii ; *MonHL*, 623.

²⁾ 'Joannes was de Brugis' : *LibIntIII*, 343, v. — Paquot, xvii, 419, spells his name 'Vaes' : still the inscription in the Matriculation Register seems conclusive.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 418-19. They had as a third companion John Antony Hammonius, of Fontanet, in Burgundy, doctor of Laws, who died at Sevilla in the summer of 1534 : *ClenCorr.*, II, 37.

⁴⁾ *ClenCorr.*, II, 34-35 ; Cerejeira, 39, sq ; Lomeier, 321.

⁵⁾ He had married Mary, daughter of Nicolas van Rechterghem, Antwerp merchant : Goris, 374, 399, 400, 550 ; *ErasPort.*, 56, sq ; Allen, VI, 1541, 32-45 ; *FugZAlt.*, I, 356, sq, 366, II, 37, sq, 41, sq.

⁶⁾ Cerejeira, 120-23, 126.

from where he wrote to Damian a Goes about his own works on October 18, 1541; on July 14, 1550, he was recalled to Salamanca, where he was the professor of the 'prima de gramática' until his death, on October 21, 1561 ¹⁾. He made his lectures famous throughout his adoptive country, of which he wrote a most remarkable history ²⁾. It was thanks to his son Agostin that Charles de l'Escluse found the precious autograph letters which more than doubled the *Epistolæ Clenardi* ³⁾.

Another of Beken's friends was Joachim Borgher(s), Burgher(s), Polites, a native of Ter-Goes, in Zeeland, who came to study in Louvain, and boarded in Rescius' house ⁴⁾. He zealously pursued languages at the *Trilingue*, until, by the flood of 1530 in his native country ⁵⁾, he saw himself compelled to earn his bread by private teaching. In July 1531, he went to Paris, probably to Lisieux College, making a living by his lessons, and was on friendly footing with Bartholomew Latomus ⁶⁾ and Balt. de Künring ⁷⁾, whom he had known in the *Trilingue*; also with the carver John Swerts ⁸⁾. In March 1532 and, again in 1533, when Janus Secundus passed through the French capital on his way to, and on his return from, Bourges, he and his friends heartily welcomed the young poet ⁹⁾, who honoured him with an *Epistola Ad Joachimum Politem Medicum et Poetam* ¹⁰⁾. Polites had already a name as poet, and he was studying medicine ¹¹⁾; still, he soon aban-

¹⁾ GoesOp, i 4, r-k 2, v; *ClenCorr.*, II, 35, sq, 73-74, & *passim*; Opmeer, I, 482, a; *MonHL*, 623; Cerejeira, 41, 240-43, &c; *HumLov.*, III, 79-96.

²⁾ His works are described in *HB*, v, 317-22; Cerejeira, 240-43.

³⁾ *Nic. Clenardi Epistolarum Libri Duo, Quorum Posterior, iam primum in lucem prodit*: Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1566; *ClenCorr.*, I, 252-55, II, 161-64; Paquot, xvii, 419; Cerejeira, 17-18.

⁴⁾ *ClenCorr.*, I, 30, 45.

⁵⁾ *ClenCorr.*, I, 21, 13, 86, 170-71. — *ChronMét.*, 119; Torfs, I, 290. Janus Secundus wrote on the occasion of that disaster an *Expostulatio cum Neptuno in Diluvio... Anno 1530: Joannis Secundi Hagiensis Opera*: Utrecht, 1541: R4.

⁶⁾ Cp. Ch. XIII, 3.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 383-85.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 384, 443.

⁹⁾ *JSecIt.*, 18; there is a letter of Secundus, dated Paris, March 12, 1532, to Nicolas Gru dius, published by G. Prévot in the *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.*, ix, 1930: 354, sq.

¹⁰⁾ *JSecOp.*, 177, sq.

¹¹⁾ Paquot, vii, 193.

done that science, having accepted John de Tartas' ¹⁾ offer to accompany him with Andrew de Gouvea ²⁾, and eighteen others to Bordeaux ³⁾ to start the newly founded *Collège de Guyenne*, as results from one of the letters of Beken, who frequently wrote to him ⁴⁾.

Polites taught there from the spring of 1533 up to July 1535. He then left for Poitiers, where he resumed law, and met Julian Aurelius de Havré, Cornelius Musius and Janus Secundus, returning from Spain ⁵⁾. He went to continue his studies at Padua, from where, on December 1, 1539, he sent a poem to Damian a Goes ⁶⁾, with whom he shared a great interest in music, and to whom he had already addressed a *Figmentum, ex caelo Empyreo, 12 Aprilis Anno 1538* ⁷⁾: 'Mercurius Deus immortalis Damiano suo mortali S. D.'. He returned to his native town, and sent from there, on December 11, [1540], a heart-rending description of Zeeland to Goes ⁸⁾. Helped by him and their friend Nannius ⁹⁾, or their interference, he was appointed *Graphiarius* of Antwerp in 1541. He married

¹⁾ Polet, 240-42; *ClenCorr.*, I, 30, 44-52.

²⁾ M. Bataillon, *Sur André de Gouvêa, Principal du Collège de Guyenne (O Instituto, 78)*: Coimbra, 1929. ³⁾ Cp. Imbart, III, 359; Ribeiro, ix.

⁴⁾ The first of the four letters that have survived, is dated August 23, 1531, the last July 8, 1537: *ClenCorr.*, I, 21, 81, 97, 116; Cerejeira, 79.

⁵⁾ Cp. Lucas ab Opmeer's biography of Cornelius Musius in his edition of that poet's *Horæ Precationum*: Leyden, 1583: 35, sq; cp. pp 198, sq.

⁶⁾ GoesOp, m 2, v-m 3, v: it congratulates Goes on his relation of the wars in India, probably the first draft of *Bellum Cambaicum*.

⁷⁾ GoesOp, m 1, r-m 2, v: it expresses the sadness of the friends in Padua now deprived of their leader, who left recently; it mentions Splinter, probably van Hargen, just recovered from fever (cp. *MonHL*, 689); Villingerus, probably related to the Imperial treasurer James Villinger (Allen, IV, 1149, pr; *WimpfLeb.*, 309, sq), a *Christophorus* and a *Paludanus*.

⁸⁾ 'Ex Goessa undecimo die Decembris': GoesO, m 4, v-n 1, r.

⁹⁾ The copy of Peter Nannius' *Catonis et Phocionis Vitæ ex Plutarcho* (R. Rescius, Louvain, 'Mense Junio, 1540'), in the Royal Library, Brussels, has the autograph inscription: *D. Doctori Jachimo Polite, moribus / et linguarum peritile politissimo / petrus Nannius D. D.* Together with that book is bound his *Dialogismi Heroinarum*: Louvain, 1541, with this dedication on the title-page: *D. Joachimo polite Graphiario antwerpiano / viro in literis et moribus eximie humanitatis petrus Nannius / D D*: Polet, 99: that copy has the name of a former owner: 'Fratr Daniel Bassery. Augustinien. Bruxellis': Paquot, XVIII, 84.

Margaret Coppier of Calslagen, who brought him an ample fortune ¹⁾. Still his fame rests less on his splendid home at Antwerp ²⁾ and on his famous country-seat at Beerschot, than on his great aptitude in his work, which secured him the esteem and the friendship of Cardinal Granvelle ³⁾, as well as on his accomplishments in poetry ⁴⁾ and his bent for music. He died in 1569 ⁵⁾.

B. SARTORIUS AND JUNIUS

It is most likely about Wary's time, that there was, amongst the hearers of the *Trilingue*, John Snijders, Sartorius, of Amsterdam. He was born there in the last years of the xvth, or the first of the xvith, century, and already in the latter twenties he gave unequivocal proofs of a thorough

¹⁾ Margaret Coppier (1516-1597) daughter of James Coppier, Lord of Calslagen; she afterwards married William Martini, also town secretary of Antwerp, and with him she mixed up with the religious movement, becoming a decided adept of the Prince of Orange and of Protestantism: she died at Breda. There is a fine medal of her by John Symons, of Antwerp, 1559, described by V. Tourneur in *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1925: 45, sq.

²⁾ He rebuilt a large house, bought from James de Vocht, gauger (cp. *Busl.*, 323), situated in 'New Church Street', on what used to be the Augustinian Convent, near St. Andrew's Church (Dec. 23, 1545), and enriched it with treasures of art, and especially with a collection of medals praised by Hubert Goltzius in his edition of Julius Cæsar's Commentaries: Bruges, 1562: aa 2, v; *CollTorr.*, 4; as well as with a rich collection of books: Lomeier, 295.

³⁾ Paquot, vii, 194.

⁴⁾ Valerius Andreas mentions an edition of his *Poemata*, printed at Antwerp, in 8°, in 1548: *BibBelg.*, 446; besides his poems to Damian a Goes, he wrote some verses for George Rataller's translation of the *Tragediæ Sophoclis* (Antwerp, 1586), for *Alexandri ab Alexandro Genialium Dierum Libri Sex* (Paris, 1532) and for James Jespersen's *Encomium Angliæ* (Antwerp, 1546: BB, i, 30, 1).

⁵⁾ *SweABelg.*, 386; Guicc., 225; *BibBelg.*, 446; *AntvDiercx.*, iv, 115; Paquot, vii, 192-94; *MonHL*, 619, 457, 618, 620 (mistakenly); Clénard, 183; J. Nève, *Une Lettre autographe inédite de Nicolas Clénard* (introducing Polites to John Tartesius, President of Lisieux College, Paris, dated from Louvain, July 18, 1531), in *Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.*, 1930: ix, 887-896; F. Donnet, *La Maison des Dames d'Honneur de Marie Stuart* (that of Polites): Antwerp, 1902: 5-16; Cerejeira, 231, &c; *Clen-Corr.*, ii, 32-33, & *passim*.

acquaintance with Latin and Greek, and, to some extent, even with Hebrew, as well as with the culture of Antiquity. He taught in his native town, and gained such renown that on July 23, 1529, William Gnapheus ¹⁾, — possibly a fellow-student of the Louvain days ²⁾, — dedicated to him his famous *Acolastus* ³⁾, adding that he might perfect it, and have it acted, which he himself was prevented to do ⁴⁾. His name appeared on a pamphlet favouring Reform, the *De Fide Justificante*, which Cornelius Crocus attacked as early as 1531 ⁵⁾; still there may have been already then a contemporary of the same name who wrote some heterodox works on the Gospels and the Bible ⁶⁾, just as afterwards there was a John Sartorius, chiefly erudite linguist and pedagogue, and another, a zealous Reformer, who was active up to 1570 ⁷⁾.

Sartorius, the Amsterdam schoolmaster, composed a *Centuria Syntaxeōn, in decades distincta*, stated by Paquot to have been published at Antwerp by Martinus Cæsar, 1530 ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII : William de Volder (= fuller) *Fullonius*, *Gnapheus*, or van de Voldersgraft, who was schoolmaster in his native town The Hague, wrote by 1525 *Acolastus* : Bahlmann, II, 39, sq ; Creizenach, II, 75, sq, III, 334, sq.

²⁾ *Acolast.*, xi, sq : it would explain the friendship with Sartorius, especially since he had to leave The Hague in 1528 and settled in 1531 at Elbing.

³⁾ *Acolast.*, 1, sq ; it was issued at Antwerp by Godfridus Dumæus (van der Haghen), July 23, 1529, and reprinted by Mich. Hillen in August 1530, June 1532, July 1533, August 1535 and 1540 ; by Will. Vorsterman, in March 1535 ; and by Gregory de Bonte, 1539 : *Nijkron.*, I, 1007-8, II, 3102-7.

⁴⁾ *Acolast.*, 2-3 : Gnapheus had been imprisoned in 1525, and had to flee in 1528 on account of his religious opinions : in his preface, he expresses the wish to hear, about his drama, the judgment of his friends Sartorius and William Niveldius, 'ut alios præteream (he says) mihi non perinde notos'.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 205.

⁶⁾ It would not be an exceptional fact that a zealot should try and escape pursuit by using a most common name and surname, especially if he could help the sale by the rising fame of a homonym : a similar trick was used a few years before to the prejudice of Wessel Gansfoort's renown : cp. before, I, 142, sq ; and further, p 482.

⁷⁾ The existence of that double of Sartorius, who, certainly after 1530, seems to have kept aloof from all theological controversies, as well as the strange freedom taken with dates by biographers, explain the astonishing controversy about the year of his death : Paquot, XVIII, 194 ; *BB*, E, 206, 4-12.

⁸⁾ Paquot, XVIII, 195.

A Latin Grammar was certainly printed at Antwerp in 1533, and dedicated to William Gnapheus ¹⁾; it was improved, and reprinted with *Centuria Syntaxeon*, and with a translation from Plutarch, and other additional matter ²⁾, which was dedicated to Peter Nannius on April 2, 1536 ³⁾. Sartorius still dated that letter 'Ex nostro Musæo Amsterodami'; he, however, soon left his native town and settled at Noordwijk, where he taught the three languages with great success, so that many foreigners even resorted there. He also worked at his translation of the *Adagia*, although all kinds of adversity, — no doubt, his wife's illness and death, and his own infirmities, — delayed its completion ⁴⁾. He was generously helped and encouraged by Nannius, to whom he submitted his manuscript of the Proverbs, at which he had been toiling since 1527: he received in reply a letter dated January 13, 1557, highly praising his work and urging him to have it printed ⁵⁾. He actually took the necessary measures to publish it: unfortunately he died, probably at Noordwijk, in the course of that same year ⁶⁾. Nannius' decease happened on June 17, 1557 ⁷⁾, but his successor, Cornelius van Auwater ⁸⁾, who had been replacing him, paid in his place a grateful tribute to the memory of the highly meritorious Noordwijk master:

¹⁾ Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1533: NijKron., I, 1859.

²⁾ Antwerp, Mich. Hillen, 1540: NijKron., II, 3848: *Grammatica Vna Cvm... Centuria Syntaxeon &c.*

³⁾ The dedicatory letter has only as date 'Postridie Calendas Aprilis': as Nannius is called 'domus Hieronimianæ moderatori apud Louanios', viz., St. Jerome's College, where he resided and tutored from the last months of 1535 till the middle of 1536 (Polet, 9), that letter belongs to 1536, and should take rank as '9bis' in Polet's list of correspondence: Polet: 250.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, p. 480.

⁵⁾ Polet, 326.

⁶⁾ There can hardly be any doubt possible about 1557 being the year of Sartorius' death: in his *Adagia* of 1561, it is distinctly mentioned that his daughter Joanna and her husband Henry Junius Goudanus intend the book as a monument to the memory of their father; moreover the distich added at the end of the book

roELIX sartorI fraglLI qVI Carne soLVtVs

qVa ChrIstVs LVCe MortVVs astra petIs.

is chronogrammatic; there are, moreover, several passages in the book itself and in the verses added, clearly attesting that, in 1561, the author was not any longer alive: *BB*, E, 206, 9-12.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIV.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

IN OBITUM IOANNIS SARTORIJ

Quod mortale fuit, tumulo Sartorius isto
 Deposuit corpus, sidera mente petens,
 Victurus meliore sui per secula parte
 Donec et hoc olim depositum repetat :
 Ingenio quoque victurus, dum fixa manebunt
 Astra polo, Batauæ gloria gentis erit.
 Ille tibi vitam fert Amsterodama receptam
 Vrbs opibus florens grataque Mercurio ;
 Illi post patriam grates Nortvica secundas
 Te quoniam coluit, tu quoque grata refer :
 Tu linguam Hebream, Græcam Latiamque docentem
 Audisti ; visit te extera turba frequens.
 Non potuisse dolent docti, quod cæperat, illum
 Perficere et summa reddere culta manu :
 Mors properata virum studio pietatis et omni
 Doctrina ornatum sustulit ingenua ;
 Nec grauibus passa est ærumnis longius æuum
 Ducere, sed miseris liberat illa malis :
 Defunctus tandem cura duroque labore
 Et tristi morbo, desijt esse miser ¹⁾.
 Cælicolis nunc lætus adest, nunc denique viuit,
 Muneribus vitæ præmia digna ferens.
 Viuent ingenij monumenta hominisque disert
 Scripta, quibus vita est : cetera mortis erunt ²⁾.

Since the printer, to whom Sartorius had entrusted his selection of *Adagia* with their interpretation and rendering, delayed taking it in hand, his daughter and her husband

¹⁾ Sartorius seems to have had to contend with hard trials : as already suggested, he had lost his wife, for only a daughter was left : his family may have been sorely visited by illness, before he himself became a victim of the *tristis morbus*, — maybe the attacks of insanity, implied by Opmeer, I, 506, b, — which was no doubt the more dangerous as he was exhausted by his work.

²⁾ The poem is transcribed from the original in the author's hand ; it is part of a bundle of small leaves and scraps of paper which belonged to the Louvain professor, and of which the larger part is unedited : it occupies page 76 of the *codex* in which they have been gathered, and mostly stuck, by the present owner, the writer of this *History* (Val-Car., 76).

secured the manuscript, and saw themselves to the editing of the life-work of their father; it testifies not only to a rich and discriminating mastery of his mother tongue, but also to an intimate knowledge of the literature and of the civilization and intellectual development of the Greeks and the Romans, which suggests his *Trilingue* training, and allowed him to deal to perfection almost with the sayings and proverbs of generations long past. That accurate translation and remarkable comparative study, in the succinct comments, between the old adages and the contemporary Dutch, was ready, in the autumn of 1550, at least for a large part, which was submitted to Cornelius van Auwater, in Louvain: on October 20, 1550 ¹⁾, the latter fully approved of the work, of which, he said, he had formerly used the preliminary instalments, the *Centuria*, in his lessons at Utrecht, proposing the author's study and industry as an example to his *tirones* ²⁾; he insistently requested Sartorius to continue: the part submitted was returned, and cordially recommended to a common friend, the pedagogue Otto Hack, on Oct. 23, 1550 ³⁾, who, on May 7, 1551, announced that Sartorius, who had been interrupted in his activity by illness, was recovering ⁴⁾.

The year 1561, finally, saw the publishing of *Adagiorvm Chiliades Tres*, Qvæ Joannes Sartorius in Batavicvm Sermonem proprie ac eleganter conuertit, & breui ac perspicua interpretatione illustrauit ⁵⁾. That collection, which, in a final distich announces the death of the author in 1557 ⁶⁾, was warmly recommended by many literators besides Cornelius Valerius, and honoured by verses such as these, by Cornelius Musius ⁷⁾:

¹⁾ ValE, 128.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

³⁾ ValE, 129. In the following month of December, Cornelius van Auwater sent to Hack and to Sartorius each two copies of his *Tabulæ Dialectices* and of his *Grammaticæ Institutiones*, reprinted and issued in Paris by Michael Vascosanus in 1550: ValE, 134.

⁴⁾ ValE, 159.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, John Loëus, 1561: cp. Paquot, xviii, 199; BB, E, 206; it was reprinted in Leyden, 1656, and at Amsterdam, 1670: BB, E, 207-8.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 479; BB, E, 206, 9.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 196-202.

Multa quidem magnus Proverbia scripsit Erasmus,
 Quo non utilius condidit alter opus.
 Si tamen in Batavam voluisset vertere linguam
 Fructus haud dubie plus pariturus erat.
 Quod tibi cum pulchre præstet Sartorius usum
 Rara Teutonicum dexteritate docens :
 Illi quid debes, quid & huic, æquissime Lector,
 Expende ; & laudem divide cuique suam.

Sartorius' work of over thirty years — the announcement having been given as early as 1530 by his list of *Centuria Syntaxeon*, — no doubt saved him from the danger of meddling with religious questions, which he had not been trained for ¹⁾; it also brought to a large number of readers the inestimable benefit of Erasmus' *Adagia*, from which he carefully omitted what might have been found objectionable²⁾; and he rendered an immense service to his native language by his magnificent example, as well as by disclosing all its treasures, and fitly recommending it as equal to Greek and Latin in riches and elegance ³⁾.

¹⁾ In his judgment on Sartorius — whom he wrongly states to have died 'Delphis quinto Kalendas Aprilis ipso die Parasceves', Opmeer, I, 506, b, contends that nobody was ever better acquainted with the *lingua Batavica*, and regrets that instead of finishing his work, he was 'occupatus alijs edendis, quibus cognomen adscribere erubescibat, quod ei magis imputatum fuisset, nisi mentis alienationi, qua subinde laborabat, fuisset indultum'. The mistake about his death makes the information about the 'edendis' suspicious, whereas the praise by Nannius, Auwater and Musius sounds unequivocal, and, since it was spontaneous, it testifies, at least, to the benevolent esteem in which Sartorius was held by those three near countrymen, fellow-erudites and most zealous Catholic priests.

²⁾ When, on Oct. 23, 1550, Cornelius Valerius van Auwater returned Sartorius' manuscript of part of his *Adagia*, in which he had made a few corrections, and which he considered ready to be printed, he asked their common friend Otto Hack to tell the author that the repeating of some of Erasmus' judicious remarks, although most beneficent for the common wealth, would not be agreeable *principibus et ecclesiasticis* nor to the *censura libraria*, in what he, Cornelius, called 'hoc tam exulcerato seculo': ValE, 129; no doubt the advice was followed, and the words of the too outspoken advocate of truth and reason were left out.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 558-59; Opmeer, I, 606, b; Paquot, XVIII, 193-200 (except for the mixing up of life and works with the Reformed minister); *HEpH*, 101; *BB*, E, 206-208. — A study by J. Wittebols is preparing.

If the book that Sartorius left to posterity is remarkable for its depth and judiciousness, the legacy of his countryman, and probably his fellow-student at the *Trilingue*, **Adrian de Jonghe, Junius**, is characterized by its vastness and its diversity. He was the son of Peter de Jonghe, mayor of Hoorn, in which town he was born on July 1, 1512. He was very precocious, and his tutor Nicolas Galius trained especially his memory, for which he himself excelled ¹⁾. He studied in Louvain, where Goclenius had a great influence on his formation, as he stated himself in after life, in so far that he pronounced him far superior to Nannius, whose eloquence and literary erudition, however, he highly valued ²⁾. He was greatly interested in history and philosophy, and he attended the lectures of the medical Faculty. He journeyed in France and Italy, studying in Paris and Bologna, where he promoted doctor of medicine. He also visited several German towns, and crossed over to England, where he, for a time, served as home physician to the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard ³⁾, who, after having rendered most signal services to Henry VIII ⁴⁾, was ousted from favour by Lord Hertford : he was even condemned to death in the last days of the King's reign, whose decease, January 28, 1547, saved him ⁵⁾ ; he was kept

¹⁾ *OpMBoek*, 303, mentions also the grammarian James Hejerd, whose teaching Junius enjoyed at Hoorn, along with John Smenius, Nicolas Balling and his brothers Dirk and John.

²⁾ Paquot, xiv, 62 ; Polet, 11, 26.

³⁾ Thomas II Howard, Earl of Surrey and third Duke of Norfolk (1473-1554), Lord Admiral, Earl-Marshal and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland : *DNB*.

⁴⁾ He had vanquished the Scots, 1523, and the French, 1544 ; repressed the Suffolk insurrection, 1525, and the *Pilgrimage of Grace*, 1536 ; helped to the fall of Wolsey, 1529, and to that of Cromwell, 1540, besides acquiescing in the execution of Ann Boleyn, his niece, 1536 : *DNB*.

⁵⁾ Thomas Howard, who was at the head of the reaction party, was ousted from the King's favour in the last weeks of his reign, and from all hope on having any influence during the regency : the Earl of Hertford, leader of the Seymour party, managed to have Thomas's son, Henry, Earl of Surrey, the poet, arrested on December 12, 1546, with his father : the son was condemned on January 13, 1547, on the frivolous charge of treasonably quartering royal arms, and of advising his sister to become the King's mistress : he was executed a week later. His father was charged with having connived at his son's treachery, and condemned to death on January 27 : during the night Henry VIII died,

a prisoner in the Tower during the reign of Edward VI ¹⁾, whereas Junius was retained in his quality of physician by a great lady. He had continued his studies and written several works. One of them, a Greek and Latin lexicon ²⁾, was dedicated in 1548 to Edward VI, whom he called King, possibly in order to help his former master in his sad plight. The move was badly interpreted, and seems to have made him considered as a Calvinist and as an 'auctor damnatæ memoriæ'; it probably explains how in Queen Mary's reign, when Howard was released ³⁾, he published in 1554 the *Philippæis, seu Carmen Heroicum in Nuptias Philippi II ac Mariæ Reginæ Angliæ* as protest ⁴⁾.

As conditions of life in England had become difficult, he left Britain, and settled at Haarlem, where he had married : for a time he was physician to the King of Denmark, of which country he neither liked the climate nor the people, which caused an abrupt leave in 1564. He returned to his medical practice and his study at Haarlem, and was for several years one of the most productive of the authors who worked for Christopher Plantin's press ⁵⁾ : a few letters to the Antwerp printer are preserved : on March 16, 1572, he promises a visit as he intends taking his son from Haarlem to Louvain in the following May for his studies ⁶⁾ ; another letter is dated from Zeeland, 1574, where he had resorted to after his house at Haarlem had been ruined at the siege and fall of the town in 1573 ⁷⁾. In a last letter he wishes that a reprint of his *Nomenclator* might afford him some profit, for he still hopes on a

and the sentence, decided on for the morning of January 28, was not executed : *PollHen.*, 422-24 ; *DNB* ; Froude, iv, 216-28 ; Gairdner, 240-42 ; Constant, II, 26, 30, 37-43.

¹⁾ Froude, v, 173 ; Stone, 218.

²⁾ Basle, 1548.

³⁾ On July 21, 1553, the old Duke of Norfolk was released, and on August 3, he, with 'Mary's prisoners', welcomed her, kneeling at the Tower gates : Froude, v, 220, 225 ; Stone, 231, 234, 261, 271, 281-82.

⁴⁾ London, 1554.

⁵⁾ Cp. PlantE, I, 178, 282, III, 6-8 (1565 : he offers to buy manuscripts and books), 17 (May 15, 1567 : *Nomenclator*), 22-23 (August 9, 1567 : Martial, Eunapius), 30 (1567 : Martial).

⁶⁾ PlantE, III, 93-94 : reference is made to Hesychius, as well as to the common friends Arias Montanus and Goropius.

⁷⁾ PlantE, IV, 214-15 ; a short letter, Haarlem, April 23, 1572, is quoted, also with greetings to Arias Montanus.

recovery from the painful destitution after the storm, leaving him 'tanquam alterum quendam Ulyssem... a fortunis, et, qui vita potiores jucundioresque erant, libris nudum' ¹⁾). He died at Arnemuïden, near Middelburg, on June 16, 1575 ²⁾).

Although the destruction of his Haarlem home entailed the loss of many writings which Junius was making ready for the press, the number of books published during his life or soon after, is remarkably large : they are as erudite as they are witty, and extend over a great variety of subjects : he wrote on the calendar and on the way to wear the *coma* ³⁾ ; he treated the medical questions of *Cassius Iatrosophista* ⁴⁾, and sketched the history of his country, *Batavia*, from the earliest times to his days ⁵⁾. He compiled eight centuries of *Adagia* ⁶⁾ ; collected Ravisius Textor's *Epitheta* ⁷⁾ ; also various *Emblemata* and *Ænigmata* ⁸⁾ ; edited the series of biographies of erudite men by Hesychius, and the *Vita Philosophorum* by Eunapius ⁹⁾ ; and composed, besides the *Lexicon Græcolatinum*, a *Nomenclator* in eight languages ¹⁰⁾. Still a large share is allotted to his studies on literature and languages : the seed sown by the professors of the *Trilingue* had found a most fertile soil. He wrote several poems ¹¹⁾, and devoted much time to his commentaries on Homer after Eustathius ;

¹⁾ PlantE, iv, 291-92.

²⁾ He was buried at Middelburg, where his son Peter, also a physician, erected a monument with an inscription reproduced in Opmeer, II, 26, b, 32, a.

³⁾ Paquot, I, 425, XII, 207.

⁴⁾ Paris, Chr. Wechel, 1541 : with emendations of the Greek text.

⁵⁾ Leyden, 1588 : it brings an amount of information of various value, as at his death it was not ready for publication : e. g., the invention of printing by Laurent Coster ; the excellence of Goclenius as professor, and of John Scorelus as poet ; &c : Paquot, VII, 66, XIV, 62, XV, 68 ; A. Roersch, *La Bibliothèque de Fr. Modius et de Rich. de Pan* : St.-Omer, 1900 : 6, 12, 16 ; Kuiper, 160 ; Polet, 11, 26.

⁶⁾ PlantE, III, 10.

⁷⁾ PlantE, I, 178.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1565 : PlantE, I, 173, 178, &c, III, 6, 8, &c ; it was translated in French and Flemish : cp. *ShakEmbl.*, 86, 303, 314 (poem to Victor Ghiselinus), 395, 446 ; G. Duplessis, *Les Emblèmes d'Alciat* : Paris, 1884 : 4-5 ; &c.

⁹⁾ PlantE, I, 178, 227, III, 23, 93 ; MasE, 492.

¹⁰⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1567 : PlantE, I, 62, 86, 178, &c ; Paquot, VIII, 109, XIII, 306.

¹¹⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1599 : Paquot, XVI, 214.

to the various readings of the Classics ¹⁾; to the explanations on Plutarch, Martial, Seneca and Plautus; and to the careful and critical edition of rare texts, like Planciades Fulgentius ²⁾, and especially Nonius Marcellus ³⁾, which he was the first to comment.

Many of those writings may have been superseded by later research, they largely contributed in their day to propagate learning and study, and it was not without reason that he was considered as one of the most erudite men of his time ⁴⁾. He counted many conspicuous friends, Arias Montanus, Cardinal Granvelle, Stephen Pighius, Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, amongst them ⁵⁾. Unfortunately his name was entered on the *Index*, through which his influence was, to a certain extent, necessarily hemmed in. On February 5, 1567, soon after that *Index* had been published, the English erudite refugee Alan Cope, late fellow of Magdalen's, Oxford ⁶⁾, wrote

¹⁾ Viz., the *Animadversionum Libri VI omnigenæ lectionis Thesaurum* : J. Gruter, *Lampas, sive Fax Critica* (Frankfurt, 1602), iv, 482-552; Paquot, xi, 159, xii, 60, xiv, 231.

²⁾ Sandys, i, 242, 634; Manitijs, i, 350 : Antwerp, Plantin, 1565.

³⁾ Sandys, i, 220, 218, 228, ii, 216, 103, 210; Manitijs, i, 476, 478.

⁴⁾ Cp. *BibBelg.*, 12-13; Sandys, ii, 216; Guicc., 194; *SaxOnom.*, 234; *VulcE*, 444; *NèveRen.*, 367; &c.

⁵⁾ Cp. *PlantE*, iii, 94, iv, 215; *PigE*, 35, 130, 194; Kuiper, 162; *Gab-bema*, 639; Paquot, xiv, 185, xvi, 246, &c.

⁶⁾ On May 4, 1563, matriculated in Louvain 'M. Alanus Copus, Londiniensis art. mag. anglus, gratis quia pauper' : *LibIntIV*, 391. He had studied in Oxford, applying himself to Civil Law; in 1549, he became fellow of Magdalen College, M. A. in 1552, and, in 1558, Senior Proctor of the University. In the first years of Elizabeth he left for the continent and worked in Louvain; he edited *Dialogi Sex contra Summum Pontificatus Oppugnatores*, especially those of Magdeburg, written by the Canterbury prebendary Nicolas Harpsfield, who was a prisoner in the Fleet at least since 1562, and whose authorship was not revealed for fear of reprisals : *MoreHarp.*, exc, sq. They were finely printed by Plantin in 1566, and again in 1573, and they occasioned a regular business correspondence, which was continued when, in the spring of 1572, Cope left for Rome : he entered the *familia* of Cardinal Hosius, became *beneficiatus* of St. Peter's, and helped the Antwerp printer to obtain manuscripts, besides grants and approvals for his Bibles and missals. He died in Rome between 1580, and May 1582, when Plantin booked the balance which was still due to Cope for his manuscripts : *Wood*, i, 157, 715; *PlantE*, i, 108, sq, and *passim* to v, 124 (1576); *Harding*, 241;

from Louvain to Maximilian Morillon, Provost of Aire and Vicar General at Mechlin ¹⁾, about a poem which Junius, in his *Animadversiones*, had been able to ascribe to Lucan instead of to Ovid, thanks to a copy from the rich collection of Bishop Granvelle, received through the 'humanissimus doctissimus Morillonus' ²⁾; having addressed that praise to Maximilian, Copus was informed that not he, but his brother Antony, had helped the erudite; to which Cope replies that unfortunately he knows Junius, 'homo licet egregie excultus', only 'ex eruditis eius monumentis'; and he adds, *obiter*, that he greatly wonders what caused Junius' name to be entered on the list of prohibited authors, 'cum', he declares, 'quantum audio, de religione bene sentiat, & in eius scriptis, quæ mihi hactenus videre licuit, multa sane & recondita eruditione refertis, nihil unquam me legisse meminerim, quod cum Ecclesiæ decretis discrepet, aut bonis moribus adversetur : quodsi alius quispiam forte fuerit Hadrianus ille Junius, qui est in catalogum relatus, id quod ego in primis cupio, optandum quidem esset ut aliquo discrimine secernerentur, ne ex hac nominis ambiguitate vel potius similitudine insons pariter cum sonte eadem sententia damnatus esse videatur' ³⁾. If the English erudite knew of Junius' dedicatory letter to Edward VI, which seems quite probable, he evidently did not think that it deserved the ruthless prohibition; even Louvain professors are said to have tried to have it withdrawn through the interference of his own friends Cardinal Granvelle and Arias Montanus ⁴⁾.

DNB; Sander, 700; Bridgewater, 412, b, 413, a. — Wood attributes to him *Historiæ Evangelicæ Veritas*, which he states to have been printed in Louvain in 1572.

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

²⁾ Cp. *PigE*, 84, 283, 522, *sq*; *MasE*, 406-7, 492, &c.

³⁾ Letter of Copus to Maximilian Morillon, Louvain, February 5, 1567: *PigE*, 228.

⁴⁾ Opmeer, II, 26; *BibBelg.*, 11-13; Gabbema, 639 (Letter to Philip Morus, canon of Utrecht: Haarlem, November 26, 1569); Paquot, XIV, 185, 231, XVI, 214, 246; *HEpH*, 139, a; Guicc., 194; *SaxOnom.*, 234-35, 628; PlantE, I, 178; Scheltema, *Life* (Amsterdam, 1836), and *Hadriani Junii Epistolæ Selectæ* (Amsterdam, 1839); &c.

C. QUIRINUS TALESIUS

One of Goclenius most zealous students has gained renown as the favourite amongst Erasmus' amanuenses, **Quirinus Talesius**. He was born on December 21, 1505 ¹⁾, at Haarlem, where his father Thierry, or Dirk, van Lisper, son of Peter, was a prosperous cloth-maker; his mother, Mary Jansz, belonged to the Toornenburg family ²⁾; either of them was a relation of Meinard Man, the Abbot of Egmond ³⁾. After his schooling he went to Cologne, where he matriculated for the *Artes* in the autumn of 1523. No mention is made of any test, let alone promotion ⁴⁾: which implies that his sojourn there was very short, no doubt since the studies of languages were far behind those of Louvain ⁵⁾, whereto he soon resorted. He there became most intimate with Goclenius, who developed in him the knowledge of Latin which enabled him to enter Erasmus' household on his professor's recommendation ⁶⁾. He reached Basle to replace Livinus Algoet already in 1524 ⁷⁾, and gained at once the Great Erudite's profound esteem, as well as his surname *Talesius*, in addition to that of Dirksz van Lisper; for noticing his master's admiration for a few ells of black Haarlem cloth sent by his father, he offered them to him, explaining the origin: on which Erasmus remarked: 'Igitur et tu merito nobis posthac *Talesius* vocaberis' ⁸⁾. In one of his *Colloquia*, he went even further in his playful allusion, introducing him as Quirinus with Carolus, evidently

¹⁾ *BataoMart.*, 102: 'civ 19v, 12 Calendas Januarii, duabus circiter horis antequam sol oriretur'.

²⁾ *BataoMart.*, 102: 'Toornenburgorum familia' (OpMBoek, 173: Toornenburg), bearing a *rota candens* (transl., red grate) in their crest.

³⁾ *BataoMart.*, 106; *MonHL*, 69, 64, sq.

⁴⁾ Keussen, 540, 25: 'Quirinus Harlem', between October 8 and December 19, 1523; *BataoMart.*, 102, adds that he studied in the *Bursa Montana*.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 40, 347.

⁶⁾ Thorough acquaintance with Latin was indispensable for whoever wanted to enter Erasmus' service.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 136-39: by 1524, Algoet was very irregular in his duties, staying out much longer than the journey required; he left in 1525, although he still occasionally carried letters, e. g., the one to the Datary John Matthew Giberti, May 21, 1526: Allen, vi, 1716.

⁸⁾ *BataoMart.*, 102: from *τελάρια*, wool working, or *τελάσιος*, connected with wool working.

van Uutenhove ¹⁾), in the 'Ἀστραγαλισμός; sive Talorum Lusus ²⁾), and representing him as a most modest and zealous, eager and earnest worker, contrasted with the vain and pompously boasting collocutor ³⁾). In fact Talesius was a faithful and painstaking servant, whose duty lay chiefly in the exact copying of Latin texts, whereas Nicolas Cannius ⁴⁾ was particularly busy with Greek. In several of his letters Erasmus mentions his careful activity : *Ad studiorum labores prorsus adamantinus* : which made his visitor Hubert Barlandus call him *mulum Marianum* ⁵⁾). He is referred to for the first time ⁶⁾ as the carrier of a letter to Richard Pace, February 20, 1528, and recommended less as a servant than as a tenderly beloved son ⁷⁾ : he was sent to England soon after March 1, 1528, being entrusted with a letter to More of February 29 ⁸⁾ ; he called on John of Vlatten, at Speyer, by March 6 ⁹⁾, reaching Louvain about the 15th of that month ¹⁰⁾, and Antwerp early in April ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 465-73 : he was Erasmus' guest from the summer of 1528 to February 1529. ²⁾ EOO, I, 838, A, sq.

³⁾ By mistake, apparently, Carolus calls his collocutor *Talesi* instead of *Quirine* : EOO, I, 838, F ; cp. before, p 468.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 139-42 : Talesius was nearly six years in Erasmus' service with Cannius, who left in January 1530.

⁵⁾ Letter to Maximilian of Burgundy, July 23, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2200, 29-31, referring to the *Adagia* : ErAdag., 1042, c-f. — Hubert Barlandus is dealt with in Ch. XIII, 1.

⁶⁾ There is a letter of Erasmus to Goclenius, wrongly dated 'Louanii Id. Oct. 1527', in which a *Quirinus* is mentioned, who '*propemodum decreuerat* <something> *in miseros suos*', — which Allen, VII, 1890, 8, explains as Quirinus Talesius, who intended returning home to *miseros suos*, the Dutchmen. Another explanation is proposed (before, pp 171-72, 308-10), which takes the *Quirinus* referred to, as Clement VII, 'the great Roman', and the *miseros*, as the poor Louvain scholars, in danger of being deprived of a beneficent privilege : it would advance the date to October 15, 1524. — As examples of that special meaning of *Quirinus*, may be quoted, e. g., two contemporary verses by Dantiscus : in *De Protectione Sigismundi*, the 'Cardinalis Gircensis' is addressed : *tibi inquam, Qui fidei et decus es Romani dulce Quirini* ; in *Carmen Ricardo Bartholino* : *Adiunctis belli sociis, qui templa Quirini Romani obli...* : *DantCar.*, 68, 116, 80, 153. ⁷⁾ Allen, VII, 1955, 5, sq. ⁸⁾ Allen, VII, 1959.

⁹⁾ Letter of Vlatten, Speyer, March 8, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1964.

¹⁰⁾ Talesius handed in Louvain to Becker a letter 'Sub Idus Martias' and one to Maximilian of Burgundy, with the *De Recta Sermonis... Pronunciatione*, dedicated to him : Allen, VII, 1984, 1-6 ; cp. before, p 463.

¹¹⁾ Letter of Erasmus Schets, May 4, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1993, 1-2.

He also carried a letter to Queen Catherine ¹⁾, and called in London on Zacharias Deiotarus ²⁾ before staying with William Blount, whom he greatly pleased ³⁾. He delivered his various messages and saw to a difficulty with an 'impostor' ⁴⁾, besides gathering what information he could about the suitability of his master's sheltering in England, since his residence at Basle was getting more and more irksome ⁵⁾. On his return he found

¹⁾ March 1, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1960.

²⁾ Letter to Erasmus, April 20, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1990 ; *LatCont.*, 384-85.

³⁾ *Famulum tuum... gratius accepi, cum quod doctum, modestum ac prudentem iuuenem sum expertus, tum quod tibi tam charum* : William Blount to Erasmus, 'ex aula Britannica xxvii^o kalendas maii' : Allen, VII, 1816, 17-19, 53, reads that date as : May 1, 1527, which is an evident mistake : indeed, Lord Mountjoy apologizes for not having sent a letter by *Caninus*, no doubt, Cannius, who left Dover much sooner than he had prepared a message : Allen, VII, 1816, 11-13. It is a fact that the first — and last — visit paid by Cannius to England, started from Basle on May 27, 1527, as clearly results from a letter which his master wrote on May 29, 1527, and which, with another to Bishop Warham, of the same date, was entrusted to a messenger who was to overtake the *βοαδέως σπούδων* : Allen, VII, 1831, 1832, 7, 24-45, 46, *sq.*, 51, *sq.*, 61, *sq.* For his return, Cannius availed himself of the legation of Cardinal Wolsey to France (*Gran.*, 241, 22, 243, 16), journeying in his train with Thomas More, who, on July 14, wrote a letter to recommend him to Cranevelt from Calais : *Gran.*, 242 ; on July 21, he was at Bruges with de Fevyn : *Gran.*, 243, 15-19. It follows that Mountjoy's letter referring to Cannius' leaving Dover, cannot have been written on May 1, 1527, as Allen dates it : that letter may have been even a fortnight older, if, namely, the mistake in the date, 'xxvii^o kalendas maii', does not consist in the dropping of an 'i' for 'xxviii^o', but in the adding of a superfluous 'x' : 'xvii^o kalendas maii', 15 April, without year date, which seems implied by *kalendas*, instead of *kalendis* ; Mountjoy's letter, consequently should be placed in Allen's collection as 1992^{bis}, if not as 1988^{bis} : cp. *LatCont.*, 387. The year date 1528 is corroborated by the mention of Henry VIII's invitation to Erasmus : 'qui (quantum accepi) te suis inuitavit literis' (Allen, VII, 1816, 35, *sq.*), which letter was only written on September 18, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1878. The 'Famulum ad me missum', evidently different from the *Canino* named a few lines before, is, no doubt, Quirinus, sent to England in February about the *migratio* and the difficulties with *Franciscum Bryckmanum*, as results from the letters to Pace and More and that from Deiotarus : Allen, VII, 1816, 17, *sq.*, 22-25, *sq.*, 1955, 5, *sq.*, 1959, 4, *sq.*, 1990, 7, *sq.*

⁴⁾ No doubt Francis Byrckman or Berckman, in league with Peter Weldanck : Allen, VII, 1804, 294, 1816, 22-24, 1931, 16, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, VII, 1955, 5, *sq.*, 1998, 28, *sq.* ; *LatCont.*, 388.

waiting at Mark Laurin's, Bruges, a letter of March 12, 1528¹⁾, by which Erasmus urged him to return to his work, dissuading him from visiting Holland, but requesting him to call on his way on his oldest acquaintance Antony Colve, *Clava*, of Ghent²⁾, on his most trustful William de Waele, *a Vala*, of Hansbeke³⁾, and on his most powerful protector Louis de Praet, Lord of Flanders⁴⁾, unless he had met him already in England⁵⁾. By June 1, Quirinus had rejoined his master in Basle⁶⁾, bringing several letters, amongst which those from William Blount, April 15-May 1, 1528, and from Deiotarus, April 20⁷⁾, from Erasmus Schets, May 4⁸⁾, and from Gerard Morinck and Goclenius, May 8 and 10⁹⁾, are extant¹⁰⁾. On account of ailings, which had started soon after Talesius had left, the scheme of the removing to England was abandoned¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1966, 9-12, refers to Mountjoy's obtrusive hospitality.

²⁾ Allen, I, 175, 10, VIII, 2260, 39, IX, 2485, 7; he was Councillor since 1514, and had married Catherine Boreels; he died on May 31, 1529 : *FlandCon.*, 131-32, 65; *Cran.*, 58, a, 159, d, 291, a; and before, p 138.

³⁾ Allen, II, 301, 37; cp. before, p 190.

⁴⁾ He calls him *Jacobus* by mistake : *Cran.*, 150, a-d; Allen, IV, 1191, pr; AgripE, 318; Gabbema, 546.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1966, 9-23.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1998, 29-34.

⁷⁾ Allen, VII, 1816, 1990.

⁸⁾ Allen, VII, 1993; cp. 2001, 1-2.

⁹⁾ Allen, VII, 1994, 1994a, especially 59-60.

¹⁰⁾ There were, besides, 2 letters from John Longlond, to which he replied on September 1, 1528 : Allen, VII, 2037, 1-2.

¹¹⁾ Cp. his letter to Henry VIII, June 1, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1998, 28-38, by which he thanks the King for his kind invitation, but announces with regret that he had fallen very ill after Talesius' departure, and, although he is recovering, the state of Germany does not allow any journeying. No doubt Talesius had brought the discouraging news of the contemplated royal divorce, for which Vives and Inigo de Mendoza were put into confinement, and, after a few weeks, sent out of the country in the beginning of April 1528 : *Cran.*, 261, a. On January 3, 1528, Erasmus did not think that he would accept Henry VIII's invitation of September 18, 1527, seconded by that of Warham (Allen, VII, 1861 [August 24], 1878), as he wrote to Herman of Neuenahr : inuitor in Angliam. Sed illic non video mihi sedem commodam (*id.* 1926, 13-14); yet he dispatches Talesius to inquire about it amongst the friends, on March 1, 1528; a fortnight later he is preparing his luggage (letter to John Maldonatus (March 15 : *id.*, 1971, 12), whereas on March 18, he confides to Francis van der Dylft that he waits for Talesius' return to start the journey (*id.*, 1972, 10). Evidently the news of the ominous royal dissension, which probably already then was dividing his friends

Quirinus resumed his work ¹⁾, and was so highly esteemed that his master made a bequest to him in his will of January 22, 1527 ²⁾, and that, already on March 6, 1529, he wrote out the attestation of a gift of one hundred and fifty 'coronati solati' for the case he was leaving his service ³⁾, in consideration of his faithful ministry : *pro fideli ministerio compluribus annis... præstito* ⁴⁾. Nor was he less valued by Erasmus' friends, in so far that on March 13, 1529, John Cochläeus

into 'Mores' and 'Paces', made him decide on not putting his head into that hornets' nest : he, at once, pretexted bad health and the troubled state of the country, writing to the King on June 1, 1528 (*id.*, 1998), and similarly apologizing to Archbishop Warham on November 30, 1528, and, by a duplicate, on January 4, 1529 (*id.* 1965, 1-3), to which Warham replied on March 8, most likely, not 1528, as Allen suggests (*id.* 1965), but 1529, since Erasmus took his decision only after Talesius' return. If already on November 30, 1527, he had decided 'neque per corpusculi... valetudinem neque rerum... conditionem posse in Angliam commigrare' (*id.* 1965, 4-5), there was no need to send Talesius 'vt dispiciat cum amicis an id <viz., the accepting of Henry VIII's and Warham's invitation> commodè fieri possit', as he wrote to Pace (*id.*, 1955, 10). Nor was it necessary to endeavour 'vt sceleratissimi impostoris rapinis aliquando fin<is> impona<tur>', if the unreliableness of the middlemen for the sending of pensions and payments to Antwerp had already been found out, and remedied by Warham, at least for Peter Weldanck : *id.*, 1955, 6-8, 1965, 30, *sq.* It is only on July 27, 1528 that Schets insists on employing the sole Louis a Castro for the transfer of money, and Warham accepts him, since Erasmus prefers him, on March 8, evidently 1529 : *id.*, 1965, 43, 2014, 10-10, 12, 2487, 30.

¹⁾ Talesius did not journey to the Netherlands in the summer of 1528, although the banker Schets mentions him as the bearer of a letter on July 27 : he makes a mistake, since Cannius had brought it, and left Louvain about August 16 to return to Basle : Allen, vii, 1999, *pr.* 2014, 65-66, 2015, 16, 2024, 3-5, 2025, 1-2, 2026, 1, 2039, 6, 2063, 33-34.

²⁾ Allen, vi, p 506, 124-25 : Quirino famulo, si adfuerit morienti, dari volo florenos ducentos aureos pro fideli diutinoque ministerio.

³⁾ Talesius stayed with Erasmus till April 1531 : *cp.* p 497.

⁴⁾ The document was copied by Peter Opmeer in his *BataoMart.*, 104, mentioning that the autograph letter still had the symbolum of Erasmus : 'demortui Joannis Caluariam cum hisce notis (Cedo Nulli)... ex cera rubra', and that it was marked on the back *Donatio Erasmi*; the term 'demortui Joannis Caluariam' is not a result of the bad reading or the defective impression of the word *Terminus* on the seal (*cp.* Allen, viii, 2113, 3^a), but, most probably, the description of the skull, or head, of the personage representing Death, which is called *John* or *Peter* in the popular speech of the Netherlands.

insisted on Erasmus' devoting all his time to studies and publications, by leaving the care of answering his troublesome opponents to Quirinus, who 'poterit eos dignis tractare modis' ¹). It seems that, at that time, the Humanist was solicitous about the future of the amanuensis who had served him *diligentius* and *amantius* than anybody else : on July 23, 1529, he wrote out a letter of recommendation for him to Maximilian of Burgundy, requesting his interference with his father Adolphus, Prince of Veere, for a suitable preferment or office ²). That letter, full of praise for the bearer, was probably not taken to Brabant at once, but was left waiting for a journey which was projected.

Indeed, in October of that year 1529, Talesius was sent once again to England. He left with a letter to John Vlatten, dated October 2 ³), one to Simon Riquinus, the Court physician ⁴), and a present of books to Duke William of Cleves and Jülich, their master ⁵). To the Netherlands he brought a letter for Maximilian of Burgundy ⁶), and one for Livinus Ammonius of September 8, with the manuscript copy of the Epistles of St. Basil the Great, in Greek, which Erasmus Schets, in Antwerp, was to send to him through Omer of Edingen, of Ghent ⁷). Quirinus reached England on October 24, and handed to Thomas More and his daughter, Margaret Roper, letters dated September 5 and 6 ⁸); also one to William Blount, of September 8 ⁹); and others, such as those to the Bishops

¹) Allen, VIII, 2120, 42-43 : John Dobneck, of Wendelstein, Cochläus, had become Erasmus' staunch friend in 1525 : Allen, VII, 1863, *pr* ; PirckO, 247 ; *CochlSpahn* ; *CochlHum.* ; *CochlHerte* ; *CorpCath.*, III, xv, xvii, xviii ; *ActaMori*, 10, 27, 34, 87 ; before, *pp* 212, 413.

²) Allen, VIII, 2200, 22-41 : 'vix alius obtigit', Erasmus wrote, 'qui mihi vel diligentius vel amantius inseruierit'. Cp. before, *p* 492.

³) Allen, VIII, 2222, 25.

⁴) Riquinus replied on January 1, 1530, mentioning Quirinus : Allen, VIII, 2246, 1, *sq.*

⁵) Allen, VIII, 2222, 26-28.

⁶) Cp. before, *p* 463.

⁷) Ammonius acknowledged receipt on January 17, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2258, 1-4, whereas a copy of St. John Chrysostom's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans in Greek, which Erasmus had mentioned, and for which Schets had been importuned, as he wrote on February 4, 1530, had remained in Louvain with Goclenius, who was to ask Cranevelt or Livinus to translate it : Allen, VIII, 2270, 16-29, 2258, 6, 2214, 7.

⁸) Allen, VIII, 2211 and 2212.

⁹) Allen, VIII, 2215.

Tunstall ¹⁾ and Longlond ²⁾), only known through the replies. From the latter's answer it follows that Quirinus took with him to England several sets of the newly-edited *Augustinus* ³⁾), and was to distribute them amongst the friends and patrons ⁴⁾). Besides those two replies, he was entrusted on his return with answers from More ⁵⁾ and his daughter ⁶⁾), as well as with letters from Gerard Phrysius and Thomas Boleyn, Viscount of Rocheford ⁷⁾), and from Zacharius Deiotarus, who wrote, on November 21, that it was a gain for him, not an expense, to give hospitality to Quirinus, with whom he had bought cloth and fur for the great Humanist ⁸⁾). On December 7, at Tournai, Peter Barbirius complains about the haste both of the driver and of Quirinus, who is eager to get to Basle ⁹⁾). On December 13, at Antwerp, business matters were arranged with Erasmus Schets ¹⁰⁾), who had found a welcome helper in Lodovico a Castro to gather money for Erasmus in England, and convey it to Antwerp ¹¹⁾). Talesius received a letter from Adrian van der Camen, at Mechlin ¹²⁾ before leaving the

¹⁾ Letter of Tunstall, October 24, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2226 ; FG, 126-27.

²⁾ Letter from John Longlond, London, October 28, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2227, 1, sq ; Ent., 104-5.

³⁾ The work was printed off entirely on June 8, 1529, and appeared by September : Allen, VIII, 2157, pr, 2175, 2, 2215, 38.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2227, 7-27.

⁵⁾ Chelsea, October 28, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2228 ; FG, 128.

⁶⁾ Chelsea, November 4, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2233.

⁷⁾ Westminster, November, 4, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2232 ; FG, 128.

⁸⁾ London, November 21, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2237 ; FG, 129.

⁹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2239, 51-57 ; FG, 129-31.

¹⁰⁾ Letter of December 13, 1529, an answer to one received from Quirinus : Allen, VIII, 2243, 3, sq, 9, sq.

¹¹⁾ Schets had already mentioned a Castro's services as intermediary for the payment of the English gifts and pensions in his letter of March 7, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2115, 47-57. On May 9, 1529, he made the remark that the English did not trust him much (*id.*, 2159, 38), but on February 4, 1530, 'ex promotione Quirini... amicis Anglicis iam notior est' : Allen, VIII, 2270, 9-15, IX, 2413, 8-15, 2494, 14-24. Cp. before, p 492.

¹²⁾ Letter of Hadrianus van der Kamen, Mechlin, December 26, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2244, 4 ; FG, 132. Adrian van der Camen, son of Bartholomew, and of Mary Caluwaerts († February 7, 1533), was Master of Arts and *Lic. Vtriusque Juris* ; he was town pensionary of Mechlin, where he died on September 20, 1540, and was succeeded in his office by his brother John, who had the same titles : the four were buried in

Netherlands ¹⁾ to return to his Master, who, already on Dec. 10, was looking out anxiously for him ²⁾, wondering whether the news of Wolsey's fall was true ³⁾ : he could relate it for certain about January 13, 1530 to John Vergara after Quirinus' return ⁴⁾, who, on his passage through Cologne, received, no doubt from the old *Trilinguan* Simon Riquinus ⁵⁾ the letter dated January 1, and a book presented to Erasmus ⁶⁾, as well as the promise that, if required, he would procure him an 'honestum sacerdotium' ⁷⁾.

In the following months, Quirinus is occasionally mentioned : for example, in connection with a letter not delivered to Richard Pace ⁸⁾; or with the personal appearance and the character of Charles Blount ⁹⁾, and that of Mary of Hungary's secretary, Nicolas Olah ¹⁰⁾; he is casually greeted by John van Heemstede ¹¹⁾; appealed to in the quarrel with Ottmar Luscinius about the use of part of the house *Zum Wallfisch*,

St. Rombaut's; two death dates got worn out : *MalInscr.*, 165.

¹⁾ It was probably during his short stay in Brabant that Talesius was at the *convivium* during which a divine asserted that some passages in Erasmus' writings were heretic; on his return to Basle, he mentioned it to Erasmus, who wrote a polite letter, promising 'to strangle those passages' if they were indicated : Allen, VIII, 2264 : if that divine was Eustache van der Rivieren, of Sichein, as Allen supposes, he soon afterwards showed his true colours : cp. Ch. XV.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2241, 1-6.

³⁾ Letter to Francis Bonvalot, December 10, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2241, 1-6; cp. the letter from Cantioncula, Vic, December 7, 1529 (*id.*, 2240, 5, *sq.*) ; Deiotarus, no doubt, referred to the event on Nov. 21 (*id.* 2237, 21-23).

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2253, 22-38.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 387-390.

⁶⁾ Riquinus' *Iudicium de... Sudatoria Febri, quem vulgo Sudorem Britannicum vocant* : Cologne, Jo. Soter, October 1529.

⁷⁾ Letter of Riquinus, Cologne, January 1, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2246, 1, *sq.*, 35, *sq.* ; FG, 132-33. Riquinus adds that Herman of Neuenahr, who had eagerly expected Quirinus, so as to entrust him with a letter, was absent from the town when he passed : Allen, VIII, 2246, 46.

⁸⁾ Letter to R. Pace, March 22, 1530 : Allen, VIII, 2287, 11-13.

⁹⁾ Letter to Charles Blount, August 25, 1530 : Allen, IX, 2367, 12, *sq.*

¹⁰⁾ In his letter of October 7, 1530, Erasmus thanks Olah for a *munusculum*, — a silver spoon and fork, — which Quirinus had brought from his visit, a few weeks before, when he was also entrusted with the two letters, dated from Augsburg, September 20 and 21 : Allen, IX, 2390, 2391, 13, *sq.*, 2393, 15, *sq.* ; FG, 153 ; OlaE, 89.

¹¹⁾ On July 14, 1530, the Carthusian John of Heemstede finished his letter to Erasmus with the words: Bene cupio meo Quirino : Allen, VIII, 2353, 31.

in Freiburg ¹⁾; or referred to fort he amounts of his master's money which he had to hand in Brabant to Goclenius ²⁾. In the spring of 1530 Quirinus was laid up with the *Sudor Britannicus*, whilst Erasmus, himself ailing, had no other amanuensis ³⁾, since Nicolas Canne had just left for good ⁴⁾. The young man quickly recovered, and was sent to the Augsburg Diet with letters to friends and patrons, John Vlatten ⁵⁾, John Eck ⁶⁾ and Nicolas Olah ⁷⁾. Quirinus met there a townsman of his, Peter Montfoert of Hoeff, son of one of the two mayors of Haarlem ⁸⁾, who, at his request, announced to Erasmus that he had learned recently that the Haarlem pensionary was to be replaced by a younger man, and that, of two candidates, one had died and the other had entered Orders; that he had mentioned it to Talesius, who was willing to accept that office, and even to go, if required, for two years to France to study law and the language; consequently Erasmus was asked to write to his father and to his colleague, consul Francis de Witte, as his recommendation would be certainly decisive ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ In his letter to John Choler (*CorpCath.*, XIV), of the spring of 1531. Erasmus relates how, in the negotiations for the house, Luscinius vaunted or complained to Quirinus about the town authorities, or about himself: Allen, ix, 2470, 62, sq. The house belonged at the time to the Town Council, who had offered part of it rent-free to Erasmus, as well as to other parties: cp. Allen, ix, 2462, pr.

²⁾ Goclenius refers to the money brought to him by Quirinus in a business-like letter of July 14, 1530: Allen, viii, 2352, 62, sq, 179, sq, 243; in a document stating the amounts of money thus received, dated Sept. 17, 1533, Goclenius mentions '909 philippeos cum vno stufero' which Quirinus had brought: an authenticated copy reposes, on f 110, amongst the documents forming *BbBasle*, MS C. vi^a. 71.

³⁾ Cp. his letters to Philip Melanchthon, July 7, to Francis van der Dilt and Alonso Valdes, July 9, to John Rinck, July 19, and to Viglius and Charles Sucket, July 31: Allen, viii, 2343, 20, 2348, 17, 2349, 3, 2355, 64, 2356, 33.

⁴⁾ *LatCont.*, 378; cp. before, p 141.

⁵⁾ Letter from Augsburg, September 17, 1530: Allen, ix, 2386, 2, sq.

⁶⁾ Letter from Augsburg, September 18, 1530: Allen, ix, 2387.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 495.

⁸⁾ Peter Montfoert, son of mayor James Montfoert ab Hoeff, was then in the service of Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mayence: he was of an enormous size, and Olah calls him ὁ πολύστροφος (OlaE, 144) in a letter which evidently belongs to 1533: Allen, ix, 2389, pr.

⁹⁾ Augsburg, September 20, 1530: Allen, ix, 2389, 3, 12, sq; FG, 151-52.

It actually proved so; for already on December 15, 1530, Erasmus announced to Jerome Froben that he was going to send Quirinus for good to the Netherlands, probably in the early spring ¹⁾. He actually left about April 18, 1531, as he took to Schets a letter dated from Freiburg on that day ²⁾. He also handed on the way a letter to John Vlatten, which, evidently in prevision of an earlier leaving, Erasmus had written on March 15: 'vrgente patre', he said, 'redit in patriam, ad nos non reuersurus. Apud me non potuit amplius crescere' ³⁾. Quirinus had served him seven years; his departure is mentioned in a letter written on April 20, to Schets ⁴⁾, with another to his refractory debtors Barbirius and Molendinus ⁵⁾, and, a few weeks later, in that to Andrew de Resende, of June 8, 1531 ⁶⁾. In that summer, his advent

¹⁾ Allen, ix, 2412, 36-37; *Erasmiana*, II, 605.

²⁾ Allen, ix, 2487: that results from Erasmus Schets' reply of May 16, 1531, stating that he had received, in the very first days of May or the very last of April, the letter brought by Quirinus and Uutenhove, who returned from Italy at his mother's death (cp. before, pp 467-68); he also mentioned that Quirinus could not get a certain sum from Peter Gillis, upon which Schets proposed to advance the money to Talesius, so that he could leave for home where he was to spend it, pretendedly according to Erasmus' views; Gillis then promised to refund it to Schets: Allen, ix, 2494, 1-3, 25-33.

³⁾ Allen, ix, 2454, 8-9: Quirinus is said to be leaving: yet, he afterwards wrote the address of the letter to Boniface Amerbach, March 25: *id.*, 2462, *pr*, and on April 4, Luscinius refers to him as still being in Freiburg: he had forgotten to ask him when he called, to tell Erasmus of his intended journey to France: *id.*, 2477, 2-8; FG, 180. Quirinus probably waited for Uutenhove who returned from Italy to Basle about April 13 (Allen, ix, 2483, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2494, 1-3) to start the home journey together: cp. pp 467-68.

⁴⁾ Allen, ix, 2488, 1-2.

⁵⁾ Allen, ix, 2488, 3, *sq*: the letter mentions Barbirius, but not his 'proctor' for the Courtrai pension, viz., John de Molendino (Molinaris, Molinus), Dumoulin, of Tournai, where he was canon after having been teacher in Cardinal Lemoine College, Paris, and even Rector of the University in 1501: cp. Allen, II, 371, *pr*; FG, 393; he was an *affinis* of Livinus Ammonius, who, on May 29, 1534, requested Olah to liberate him from some heavy taxes on the clergy, in consideration of his studies and of the collection of books he was gathering: OlaE, 500, *sq*, 507-8, 512. To him John de Spouter dedicated his *De Figuris Liber* (Paris, J. Badius, May 7, 1519) by a letter of February 2, 1519: BB, v, 320, 2, 321, 2, &c; cp. before, I, 212.

⁶⁾ Allen, ix, 2500, 1.

in England was looked out for in vain by Deiotarus ¹⁾, who does not seem to have relished the visit of Simon Grynæus in the spring ²⁾; in Erasmus' service he was succeeded by a countryman, Quirinus Hagius ³⁾.

In his native town, Talesius remained in correspondence with Erasmus, as results from the latter's letter to Judocus Sasbout, Lord of Spallant, councillor of The Hague, about whose affection he was kept fully informed ⁴⁾; as well as from that to Gerard of Assendelft, Lord of Cralingen, President of Holland Council, to whom Quirinus had continually requested him to write ⁵⁾. On May 7, 1532, Erasmus congratulated Talesius on his appointment as pensionary of Haarlem ⁶⁾, which implies that he had come back from France where he had spent some time ⁷⁾. He married that same year Haza Dircks, *Hazam Theodorici filiam*, a widow with some children : Erasmus wrote to him most affectionately on October 31, 1532, remarking humorously upon his choice and mentioning Thomas More's opinion on that matter; he also returns thanks for the present received from the newly married wife. Referring to Talesius' stay in France for the

¹⁾ London, June 1, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2496, 14, sq.

²⁾ The introductory letter for him to Lord Mountjoy is dated March 18, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2459 : cp. 2460; he returned in June : cp. letters from Adrian Chilius, Bruges, June 11; from Vives, Ghent, June 12; from Tielman Gravius, and one to Reginald Pole, August 25, 1531 : Allen, ix, 2499, 7, 2502, 1, 2508, 4, 2526, 1, x, 2878, 15-35; Ent., 190.

³⁾ *LatCont.*, 378-81; Allen, x, 2704, *pr*; *OlaE*, 235, 265, 277, 353, 372, 380-81, 493.

⁴⁾ Letter of May 3, 1532 : Allen, x, 2645, 12, sq; *Gran.*, 113, a; cp. pp 199-200.

⁵⁾ Letter of October 29, 1532 : Allen, x, 2734, 1, sq, 2645, 41; *MonHL*, 97, 98; cp. further, Ch. XVI.

⁶⁾ Peter Opmeer evidently possessed that letter when he wrote a report of Talesius' life and death in *BatavMart.*, 104 : referring to several *epistolæ*, he describes : 'Vna 7. die Maii anno m. d. xxxii scripta, penes me seruatur; in qua ipsi de pensionaratus, vt vocant, officio adepto gratulatur'. Cp. Allen, x, 2647 : Peter Opmeer, who made that statement, died on November 10, 1595 (Opmeer, i, † 5, r : cp. Ch. XXIII); his son Peter, who edited the *Opus*, died about 1612 (Paquot, iv, 34); the *Historia Martyrum* was not edited even by any of his sons : so that there is no clue about what had become of Peter's letters.

⁷⁾ In his letter of October 31, 1532, Erasmus refers to the time of his stay in France : Allen, x, 2735, 25, sq.

sake of his studies, which he would have liked to prolong, he suggested that the Haarlem authorities should allow him to reside a few months every year in Orleans, and send word whenever they want him to do something, — which would serve both him and them ¹⁾. The tone of the letter is that of a most loving master to his disciple of predilection, compared with which the transitory remark of how Quirinus Hagius had incited Talesius, which Erasmus made in his letter to Goclenius on September 2, 1535 ²⁾, seems only a passing cloud, if not a misunderstanding.

The later life of Quirinus Talesius provided several opportunities to testify to his thorough devotedness and his deep veneration for the Great Humanist ³⁾. He remained on excellent terms with Henry Glareanus ⁴⁾, Beatus Rhenanus ⁵⁾, Gilbert Cognatus ⁶⁾, Charles Utenhove ⁷⁾ and Francis van der Dilt ⁸⁾, whose acquaintance he had made in Basle or Freiburg, as well as with the humanists Alard of Amsterdam ⁹⁾, Cornelius Crocus ¹⁰⁾ and especially Nicolas Canne ¹¹⁾, with whom he had served Erasmus about six years; he was, moreover, most closely connected with his own kinsman the venerable Abbot of Egmond, Meinard Man, of Wormer ¹²⁾. Although his letters showed that he had been in Erasmus' school, he did not leave any work besides an expurged

¹⁾ Allen, x, 2735, 1-14, 20-28.

²⁾ Allen, xi, 3052, 7-8 : *Hagii colloquio et Quirinus Talesius infectus est, et vicissim suum virus in huius sinum effudit. Nihil enim reticuit Hagius, nec posset.*

³⁾ By 1549, Livinus Ammonius tried to make Talesius write a life of his Master : Besançon MS 599 : 521-22.

⁴⁾ Henry Loriti, born at Mollis, in the canton Glarus, *Glareanus* (1488-1563), was a great friend of erudition and Erasmus; he became professor of poetry in Freiburg in 1529, and wrote many books on geography and music; he edited several Latin authors, and amongst them, Titus Livius : *Opmeer*, i, 462, b, 479, b; Allen, ii, 440, *pr*; Bianco, 696-99; Gabbema, 11-18. Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 391-92; Gabbema, 9-10.

⁶⁾ Gilbert Cousin, Cognatus, one of the last amanuenses of Erasmus : cp. *MonHL*, 48-51.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 465-73.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 171-76, 301-2, &c.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, I, 490-93, &c.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, pp 202-8, &c.

¹¹⁾ *BatawMart.*, 106; cp. before, pp 139-42, 304, &c.

¹²⁾ Cp. before, p 488; and I, 490; *MonHL*, 64-72, &c.

edition of the *Colloquia*, from which he omitted what might offend young readers, or what had been written more out of revenge than with the desire of teaching ¹⁾. From his time of service, Talesius kept as glorious reminder a fine portrait of Erasmus by Holbein, which his friend Cornelius Crocus adorned with an epigram ²⁾ :

Ora viri cernis viuam spirantia formam ;
 Ast animum referunt scripta diserta tibi,
 Fœcundumque eadem ingenium, linguamque beatam :
 Erasmo a viuo, dic age, plusne feras ?

Quirinus, having got two sons ³⁾ and three daughters, decided to abandon his place as pensionary, to start a cloth business ; he was very prosperous, and traded with overseas countries. It gave him a great consideration amongst his townsmen, who elected him sheriff sixteen times from 1537, and entrusted him in 1543 with the office of mayor, which was nine times renewed. As he held staunchly to faith and to his lawful Prince, he was disliked by the innovators, whose numbers and influence were growing ⁴⁾. During his last office, in 1570, he wished to secure himself against the coming trouble by resorting to Cologne, but he thought better of his duty, and returned on his steps on reaching Arnhem. Matters became precarious when a host of followers of William of Orange invaded the town, which consequently was

¹⁾ *BatavMart.*, 106 ; the corrected *Colloquia*, approved of by the Censors of Louvain University, were kept, it seems, by Henry Talesius, Quirinus' son, *Curio* of Spaarwoude : they possibly were never printed.

²⁾ *BatavMart.*, 104-105 : Petrus Opmeer relates that he often admired the picture in Talesius' house in Dam Street, and had it reproduced exactly ; he states that it was 'pedali fere magnitudine'.

³⁾ His son Henry promoted Master of Arts in Louvain on March 20, 1554, being placed the 101st of 201 : Henricus Talesius, Haerlemensis (of the Porc) : *ULPromRs*, 187 ; he became *curio* of Spaarwoude.

⁴⁾ There does not seem to be any authority whatever to materialize that Talesius, 'strong catholic' as he was, 'made himself detested by his persecution of Protestants' : Allen, VII, 1966, *pr* : he was hated, along with his colleague Lambert Rosenveld, since he remained faithful to his legal Prince instead of adhering to the revolting William of Orange. And his daughters Ursula and Maria, slaughtered along with their father, had, for certain, not had any hand in any 'persecution of Protestants', no more than, e. g., Cornelius Musius and many more noble victims : *BatavMart.*, 115-16.

besieged by the Spanish troops. With his colleague Lambert Rosenveld ¹⁾ and others, Talesius was imprisoned, and at an outburst of anger, caused by the execution of some Reformers by the besiegers, the mob, by way of reprisal, hanged him and other prisoners most unhumanly on the town wall on May 27, 1573; his eldest daughter, Ursula, a *béguine*, who had clung to her father, was drowned, whilst her sister Mary, a young widow, was struck dead by the mutinying soldiery: thus, with two of his daughters, he sealed by martyrdom his addictedness to faith and loyalty ²⁾, whereas his son Henry was then suffering imprisonment for it ³⁾. That Henry had obtained, at twenty, the parish Spaar(ne)woude, where Nicolas Cannius was *parochus* at his decease in 1555 ⁴⁾: he was then still at study in Louvain, where he had promoted M. A. in 1554. He took possession of the office, but returned to Louvain, the care of the parish being entrusted to a *vice-curatus* ⁵⁾, until, on December 6, 1561, having been ordained, he took it in his own hands ⁶⁾. His piety and erudition caused him to be appointed as dean of Kennemerland ⁷⁾; if his zeal was a blessing to his flock, it was an abomination to the innovators, who threw him into prison at The Hague, as he had assured that there were still martyrs in the Church, although neither canonized, nor inscribed on the liturgical tablets ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Lambert Rosenveld, of Haarlem, son of James, a painter, studied arts and laws in Louvain: he first taught in his native town, then became pensionary and mayor; at 84 he died a martyr: *BatavMart.*, 100-116; *OpMBoek*, 169-98.

²⁾ *BatavMart.*, 100-116; *LatCont.*, 378-81; Allen, VII, 1966, *pr*; *Opmeer*, 481, a; *HEpH*, 54; *NBW*.

³⁾ *BatavMart.*, 173; *HEpH*, 57; *cp.* p 500.

⁴⁾ Probably with the help of a *vice-curatus*: *cp.* before, pp 139-42.

⁵⁾ He had as *vice-curatus*, Reyer Roothoof, to 1558; then, to 1561, Guërricus de Ham, Blisius (*ULPromRs.*, 149: 1548, 72nd), whom Quirinus recommended to Thomas Persoeil, Utrecht vicar general, Sept. 2, 1564.

⁶⁾ He had as assistant, after October 1563, John Bruinius Hugonis.

⁷⁾ *HEpH*, 3 (1560), 57 (he was appointed by Cornelius Mierop).

⁸⁾ *BatavMart.*, 173; *HEpH*, 57: of Henry's further fate nothing seems known: the managers of the revolt, rather than continuing rousing the admiration of the faithful adherents to the old order by violent executions, let the conservative leaders wither away by illness and starvation in some grave-like prison: *OpMBoek*, 314.

6. THEOLOGIANS

A. DORP AND DRIEDO

Slowly, yet surely, the influence of the *Trilingue* extended to the Theologians who had been the first and the bitterest enemies. One of them, **Martin van Dorp**, had served in 1515 as cat's paw to his older colleagues in their attack on the inspirator of the College to be, Erasmus ¹⁾. He had been brought to resipiscence by Thomas More, whose answer to his two hostile letters ²⁾ was as the Gospel of Humanism; it led the young professor to start his 'extraordinary' lectures, in July 1516, by a whole-hearted recantation in the shape of a eulogy of St. Paul ³⁾. When the teaching of Hebrew started in the spring of 1518, Dorp was one of the first to attend Adrianus' lessons ⁴⁾, and he deeply regretted that the professor of Greek only gave most elementary notions of that language, of which he had come to realize the urgent necessity for the study and the teaching of exegesis ⁵⁾. When, in the summer of 1519, the Louvain divines were in full opposition against the *Trilingue*, he wished to show his unequivocal adhesion to the new Institute and to its animator, so much the more since he was held responsible abroad for all Erasmus' trouble, as he had attacked his principles in 1514 and 1515 ⁶⁾. He therefore enlarged and improved his introductory lecture of 1516, and had it printed as *Oratio in Prælectionem Epistolarum dlut Pauli. De laudibus Pauli, de literis sacris ediscendis, de eloquentia, de pernicie sophisticis, de sacrorum codicum ad Græcos castigatione, & linguarum peritia*. The book was issued at Antwerp on September 27, 1519 ⁷⁾; as

¹⁾ Cp. Dorp's letters of September 1514 and August 27, 1515 : Allen, II, 304, 347, VII, 1804, 216 ; *MonHL*, 139-154, 369-70.

²⁾ *MoreLuc.*, 366-428 ; *MonHL*, 154-59.

³⁾ *MonHL*, 159-61.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 252.

⁵⁾ He regrets his insufficient knowledge of Greek, which compels him to rely on the works of others, like Erasmus and James Faber Stapulensis : *DorPaul.*, 38, sq. 48-50.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 200-7 ; cp. before, I, 390-97 ; also *DorPaul*, 37-9 ; *RhenE*, 175.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, M. Hillen : *NijKron.*, I, 739. Cp. *MonHL*, 214, sq. The pamphlet was reprinted in Basle, January 1519, and again in March 1520.

the title indicates, the author takes a decided position against the theology based on the *Sententiæ* ¹⁾ with the exclusive help of sophistical dialectics, so as to neglect all languages as well for the study as in the expression ²⁾ : he exhorts, instead, his hearers 'de ipso fonte ut bibant' ³⁾. He introduces them to the *Epistolæ* of St. Paul, primarily, of course, for the rich amount of sublime truths ⁴⁾, but he also points out the splendid teaching of eloquence ⁵⁾, that greatest ornament of the intellectual development aimed at by the Humanists, which eminently suits the dispensing of the eternal doctrine ⁶⁾ : it leads him to a panegyric of the Great Apostle as doctor and as saint ⁷⁾, as well as to the encomium of the study of Greek and of the Grecists, on account of the precious help supplied for the understanding of the several obscure places found in the Vulgate ⁸⁾. His *Oratio* was enthusiastically hailed by all friends ⁹⁾, but bitterly resented by the opponents ¹⁰⁾, in so far that he had to write an *Apologia* to his protector, the Abbot Man of Egmond, who had been alarmed by ominous rumours of defection ¹¹⁾.

The movement which had found in Martin van Dorp a belated but, for certain, a most decided advocate, was greatly helped by the inspiring example of the brilliant professor, who permeated the matters he taught by the new principles, so as to bring out their effectiveness and beneficence, notwithstanding the hostile feeling of some colleagues ¹²⁾. His student

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 219, sq, 225, 232-34.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 225-30.

³⁾ *DorPaul*, 6 ; cp. *DorApol.*, 456-98.

⁴⁾ *DorPaul*, 8-13.

⁵⁾ *DorPaul*, 14-23, 33 ; cp. *DorApol.*, 221-96.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 111, 115, sq, 219, 259 ; pp 163-64, 422, sq.

⁷⁾ *DorPaul*, 33-36.

⁸⁾ *DorPaul*, 36-51.

⁹⁾ *MonHL*, 219, sq, 225, 232-34.

¹⁰⁾ *MonHL*, 225-30 ; *DorApol.*, 63-102 ; *DorPaul*, 51-53.

¹¹⁾ Unfavourable criticism of the *Oratio* had evidently reached Dorp's relation and protector Meinard Man, who wished for an explanation : the lengthy reply, dating from the last weeks of 1521, edited, for the first time, from a contemporary MS copy, in *MonHL*, 75-93 (with explanatory notes, 94-112), expands and justifies Dorp's views about the excellence of the study of Scripture with the help of languages, as well as that of eloquence, as taught by St. Augustine, with the rejection of sophistry.

¹²⁾ There still were amongst them men like Latomus and Baechem, Dierckx and Coppin, irreducible adversaries of languages and of the *Trilingue* : cp. before, pp 250, sq, 253, sq, 261, 286.

Gerard Morinck ¹⁾ highly extolls his eloquent and suggestive lessons about the Bible, his acquaintance with the Fathers and his great esteem for languages ²⁾. To those lectures may apply what Clenardus wrote in a letter to Polites about the doctor of theology who, in his exposition, introduced a few Greek words, and repeated one or other of them on the next day : Quanta, bone Deus, Græcarum literarum illi erat apud stupidos cognitio ! ³⁾ The admiration thus produced on the Bachelors, no doubt extended to the lofty aim which Dorp tried to realize, as he fully explained in a letter to his friend Cranevelt on the first days of 1524 ⁴⁾ : the forming of soundly erudite and eloquent preachers by the 'recta studia' ⁵⁾ : namely by a philologic investigation and a judicious explanation of the Scriptures after the example and the mind of St. Augustine and the other authors of the glorious period of early Christian erudition ⁶⁾. Up to his premature death, on May 31, 1525 ⁷⁾, Dorp provided an admirable proof that a

¹⁾ In his *Dorpii Vita*, dated June 30, 1526, edited from the original MS, in *MonHL*, 257-81 (with notes : 281-348). That biography, written by one who for a time was Dorp's amanuensis (*MonHL*, 463), proves fully reliable for the information it gives, although it is evident that *all* is not given : no mention is made of the two admonishing letters to Erasmus, nor of the difficulties which were occasioned to the author of the *Oratio* from the end of 1519 to well in 1520 ; in fact, Erasmus is only named twice by the way in the proper biography : once for praising Dorp's style, and a second time as his correspondent (*MonHL*, 266, 271). It is quite understandable that Morinck, who was still at his studies, did not want to pose as a judge of his own masters, in a paper, which he wished to be merely provisional : *MonHL*, 280.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 268, 270, 276, &c.

³⁾ *ClenCorr.*, I, 85, 129-133 : as late as the closing weeks of 1526, John Paschasius voiced the secular distrust of Greek in his sermons in St. Peters : cp. before, pp 339, sq.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 85.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 253-54 ; *Cran.*, 74, 20-26, 85, 105-230, 245-271, 111, 63-68, 123, 27-39.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 85, 145-180, 196-230 ; cp. *MonHL*, 341-42.

⁷⁾ *MonHL*, 277-79, 253-54 ; *BarlHist.*, 231 ; Peter Curtius attended him in his last days : *Cran.*, 152, 4-14 ; Erasmus wrote most appreciatively about him to Barlandus, July 2, 1525, and to other friends : *Allen*, vi, 1584, 1-17, 1597, 20-22, vii, 1821, 22 ; *SweMon.*, 235, 237-39, quoting an epitaph by Erasmus, another by Vives (*Cran.*, 176), and a third by Goclenius ; a fourth is falsely attributed to Vives in the *Ciceronianus*, 1529 : *Cran.*, 260, 11-12, 261, 32-33 ; *Bonilla*, 603.

profound knowledge of languages and literature, as mirror of the culture of times and peoples, is the best preparation to a discriminating study of the Bible and the doctrine of the Fathers and of the Church itself. He thoroughly appreciated the great assistance offered in that respect by the glorious teaching in Busleyden's Institute, of which, to his regret, he could not avail himself when he started studying theology ¹⁾.

That advantage was made full use of by several of his students, who, besides attending the lectures of divinity, had, like John Leonardi Hasselius ²⁾, been regularly trained at the *Trilingue*; it also profited to others who, like Dorp, had gone through a considerable part of their theological formation before Busleyden's College started; although they had already taken up some function in the University, they eagerly inquired into, and made themselves fully acquainted with, the aim and the purport of the new Institute. Such were the lecturer of the H. Ghost College, Gerard Morinck ³⁾, and his friend, the Regent of the Lily, Peter de Corte, who had promoted bachelors in divinity a good while before 1518.⁴⁾; and such was even one of their masters, John Nys Driedo, who had promoted doctor of theology in 1512, and had been appointed ordinary professor about 1515 ⁵⁾. He was most

¹⁾ Letter to Cranevelt, September, 30, 1523 : *Cran.*, 74, 22-26.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 218-20, 197, 290.

³⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 461-94; and further, Chs. XV and XXII.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 83, *pr*; and further, Ch. XV.

⁵⁾ John Nys Driedo, Driedoens, of Turnhout, matriculated as an inmate of the Falcon on May 27, 1491, and was placed the first at the promotion to M. A., April 24, 1499. He started teaching philosophy in his Pedagogy, whilst studying divinity, of which he became Doctor on August 17, 1512, and professor before 1515. At the death of his friend Henry de Houterlee, January 2, 1511, he became president of the College he had founded, and remained in it as an inmate at the end of his term of ten years. He had become one of the leading divines as well as parish priest of St. James, in which dignity he died on August 4, 1535, being buried in that church. He had first begun studying mathematics, when his friend, Adrian of Utrecht, advised him to devote himself to theology: he honoured that branch by excellent writings which were considered as encyclopedic: for certain, they were far in advance of their time, as results from his exact and lucid exposition of the then so much debated question of the Immaculate Conception (*ULAnn.*, 1859: 257-58). Cp. de Jongh, 156-61; *MonHL*, 344-45, and sources quoted.

remarkable for his extraordinary intellectual receptivity and for his admirable courage to adapt his teaching to the gradual disclosing of truth. He abandoned the old traditional trend, and readily welcomed the study of the sources with the help of the languages as proposed by the *Trilingue*. Amongst other matters influenced by the complete and sudden change of methods, the authority of the Vulgate, that pre-eminently humanistic question ¹⁾, secured his particular attention. He had ascertained that several passages are represented in a different and far more understandable way in Greek and in the Septuagint, which made it evident that the original text was either badly translated, or altered to such an extent that the proper sense can hardly be recognized. Whereas the favourers of tradition vehemently protested against any change or correction, urging that it would be injurious to a text used by the Church ever since St. Jerome, their opponents went so far as to claim a quite new version as indispensable. The judicious professor readily acknowledged that the Vulgata rendering was not meant to be divinely inspired, and was, in all its parts, neither identical nor equivalent to the original, or even to the Septuagint as it was known at St. Jerome's time ; yet, after all, he contended that it is a version made in the name of the Church, to be used as text of the Holy Scripture ; not only is it free from all heresy, but it also provides a sound foundation for the dogmas if taken on a whole, since what may be obscurely rendered in one place is very intelligible in others. He therefore concluded that a new version was not necessary ; although the various texts in different languages are incontestably useful, and even indispensable in private studies to get an approach as near as possible to the original, there needs must be a *versio* which, if not *authentica*, may be accepted in all security *pro authentica*, and which may be used safely as a base for the knowledge and instruction of the faithful as well as for the refutation of heresies ²⁾.

Driedo's conclusion, founded on a distinction which does

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 77, 191, 213, 296-97, 304, 332 ; and p 41.

²⁾ Joannis Driedonis a Tyrbhovt... *de Ecclesiasticis Scripturis & Dogmatibus Libri 4* : Louvain, R. Rescius, June 10, 1533 (the book was dedicated to John III of Portugal : NijKron., I, 744) : E 3, r-K 2, v.

full justice to the progressive philologic studies as well as to the theological principle inspiring the opposition to any innovation, was taken over, a few years after his death, in the *Tractatus Sacrae Scripturae*, 1546, ascribed to Nicolas Audet, and in the *Collecta de Libris Sanctis* of Jerome Seripandi, two Fathers of the Council of Trent. The highest possible honour was bestowed upon it when, in the fourth session of that Council, April 8, 1546, it was inserted for the larger part into the decree *Insuper*, treating *De Editione & Usu Sacrorum Librorum* ¹⁾ in the very words and wordings in which Driedo had expressed it in *De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis et Dogmatibus*, issued in Louvain on June 10, 1533 ²⁾.

Driedo's high esteem for the *Trilingue* is illustrated by the beneficent change he brought in the literary development and the subsequent career of Nicolas Beken Clenardus, his student for theology ³⁾. When his own ten years of presidency in the College founded by his friend Henry of Houterlee had elapsed, he still continued residing there under the presidency of Nicolas Clenardus, appointed his successor in the first days of July 1521 ⁴⁾. Up to then, Clenardus had been completely under the influence of his master in the Porc, and, subsequently, his professor of theology, James Latomus, who was the wildest and most relentless adversary of Erasmus, of the *Trilingue* and of languages ⁵⁾. Although he remained a devoted friend of his former instructor during the whole of his life, Clenardus freed himself from the intellectual yoke he had placed on his shoulders, and, thanks to the broad-minded Driedo, he started attending the lectures of the *Trilingue* ⁶⁾ with such a result that he gained the most versatile Latin style which made him famous; he, moreover, became so proficient in Greek and Hebrew that he tutored with great success those who had not been made able to avail themselves of the lectures of the language professors.

¹⁾ Ph. Chifflet, *Concilii Tridentini... Canones et Decreta* : Antwerp, 1674 : 20-21.

²⁾ The question of the indebtedness to Driedo is fully exposed in R. Draguet's paper : *Le Maître Louvaniste Driedo Inspirateur du Décret de Trente sur la Vulgate* (in *Miscellanea Historica A. de Meyer*) : Louvain, 1946 : 836-54.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 220-24.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 412-13, 423.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 251-53.

⁶⁾ *ClenHum.*, 7-8 ; cp. before, p 222.

He thus provided new students to the *Trilingue*, who otherwise would have abandoned the College in despair ¹⁾. Since he tried to render his teaching as profitable and expeditious as possible, he soon hit on the most practical methods, which he himself had experienced as the most useful for the mastering of a language, after completing his general training. They led him to make handbooks clearer and fitter for beginners than the grammars of his masters Rescius and Campensis on which they were based : whereas their heavy manuals had a slow sale, his were printed and reprinted in every country ; with those of de Spouter they trained the youth of Western Europe for more than two centuries ²⁾.

B. TILETANUS AND SONNIUS

The method of earnest work thus shown by able masters like Dorp and Driedo, although they were no students of the *Trilingue*, must have had a salutary influence, and induced their hearers to avail themselves of the lectures given there. The advantage offered by a thorough acquaintance with the languages was being felt for every form of intellectual life, and the old prejudice against them was rapidly dwindling : their knowledge, as a means to reach a better understanding of texts, had even become a weapon in the hands of Erasmus' wild opponent Francis Titelmans, who finished a hateful controversy by imitating the example of the Great Humanist ³⁾. A splendid illustration of the effect produced by the new additional teaching on the general training is provided by the theologian Josse Ravesteyn, a native of Thielt, Tiletanus. He was an inmate of the Lily when he was classed the fourth at the promotion to the mastership of the Arts in

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 223, 473 ; *ClenHum.*, 11, sq.

²⁾ Viz., *Institutiones in Linguam Græcam* (Louvain, R. Rescius, 1530) ; *Meditationes Græcanicæ in Artem Grammaticam* (Louvain, R. Rescius, 1531) ; *Tabula in Grammaticen Hebræam* (Louvain, Th. Martens, 1529) : *ClenHum.*, 12, sq ; Clénard, 187-202, 61-117 ; NijKron., I, 585, II, 2674, 2676.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 286 ; the exegetic work of this *juvenis mtre gloriosus*, as Erasmus called him, which was shallow in the beginning, greatly improved in his later editions on account of his study of the languages and by the use of the method of the man he had so bitterly criticized.

1525 ¹⁾, and he continued residing in that Pedagogy teaching philosophy ²⁾ under the great favourer of Erasmus, Peter de Corte. He studied theology, in which science he promoted doctor on October 5, 1546; he had been appointed professor by Charles V to one of the two lectures founded by him, and had started, on May 4, 1546, the *Lectio Scholastica in Magistrum Sententiarum*, whereas, in 1549, he succeeded Francis Sonnius to the first chair of Theology ³⁾. He assisted at the Council of Trent ⁴⁾, and afterwards defended its decrees against the 'Antwerp Confession' ⁵⁾, inspired by Matthew Flaccus Francowitz Illyricus, 1567 ⁶⁾, as well as against Martin Chemnitz's *Examen ac Censuram* ⁷⁾, but departed

¹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 75.

²⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 247. Ravesteyn remained at the Lily until, at the departure from Louvain of Peter Titelmans, Francis's brother, appointed dean of St. Hermes', Renaix, in 1540, he succeeded him as president of Houterlee College : *ViglEA*, 35; he himself resigned that presidency about May 1553 : *Vern.*, 208; *VAnd.*, 302; *ULDoc.*, iii, 185; *BN*.

³⁾ *VAnd.*, 79, 78; *Paquot*, vi, 263, xi, 146, 310. — He was appointed by the Dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels, Laurent de Mets, as his delegate judge : *VAnd.*, 70; *Vern.*, 52; *Paquot*, xii, 320. He repeatedly was elected Rector : *Mol.*, 478-79; *VAnd.*, 30, 42, 43; *Vern.*, 25.

⁴⁾ *VAnd.*, 363-64; *Vern.*, 92. With Sonnius and Martin van Rythoven, Ravesteyn assisted, in 1557, at the *Colloquium* of Worms : *Paquot*, xiv, 91, xvi, 307; *FlandIll.*, ii, 298; *Hoyneck*, i, i, 183.

⁵⁾ In 1567, he issued a treatise : *Confessionis, sive Doctrinæ, quæ nuper edita est a Ministris, qui in Ecclesiam Antwerpiensem irrepserunt... succincta Confutatio* : Louvain, Peter Zangrius. It contained also a refutation of the errors of Charles du Molin, Molinæus. The book was dedicated to the Antwerp authorities.

⁶⁾ In 1568, Ravesteyn wrote an *Apologia Catholicæ Confutationis prophanæ illius & pestilentis Confessionis (quam Antwerpiensem appellant...) contra inanes cavillationes Matthæi Flacci Illyrici* : Louvain, Peter Zangrius. — Matthew Vlacich Francowitz, born in 1520, in Istria, *Illyricus*, a famous Lutheran controversist, was one of the authors of the *Magdèburg Centuries*. He had come to preach his doctrine at Antwerp in 1566, but as he had not much encouragement, he returned to Strassburg, and then to Frankfurt, where he died miserably in 1575 : *Paquot*, xvi, 311-12; *HerMaur.*, 174-77; *Duhr*, i, 825; *Gropper*, 158, 261; *PastReun.*, 399, 407-10, 424; *Voigt*, 351-61, 371, 439, 458, 576-80, 602.

⁷⁾ Martin Chemnitz, born November 9, 1522 at Treuenbrietzen, taught Latin and Greek at Königsberg, and theology at Wittenberg : he died at Brunswick as ecclesiastical superintendant on April 8, 1586 : *HerMaur.*, 175, 251, 279-81; *Duhr*, i, 823, *sq.*, 838, *sq.*

before he could finish that vindication ¹⁾. He also had had the courage to denounce the errors of his own friends, starting the famous controversy against Michael de Bay ²⁾, John Hessels ³⁾ and Baianism ⁴⁾. He died as Provost of Walcourt, and director of the Sisters of Louvain Hospital on February 7, 1570 ⁵⁾.

Equally eminent as Ravesteyn was his friend and colleague **Francis Gillis, Aegidii, van den Velde**, de Campo, born at Son, in the Brabant Campine, **Sonnius**, who was classed the first at the promotion of the masters of art of 1527 ⁶⁾. After studying medicine for one year, he turned to theology, of

¹⁾ Ravesteyn wrote *Apologiæ, seu Defensionis Decretorum sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini de Sacramentis, adversus Censuras & Examen Martini Kemnitii... Pars Prima* : Louvain, Peter Zangrius, 1568. The *Pars Secunda* was printed by the same printer in 1570.

²⁾ VAnd., 112, 365-69; HerMaur., 253; Pastor, VII, 181, VIII, 267-77; *Baius*, 9, 157-60 : for fear of all misunderstanding, Tiletanus wished to keep to the 'old forms of talking and debating about theology', and consequently advocated the study and teaching of the great Scholastic Doctors.

³⁾ VAnd., 114; Pastor, VII, 269-71; Paquot, XVI, 309.

⁴⁾ As warden of the purity of faith, although not without passion, Ravesteyn, whom Viglius called '*columen Academiæ Lovaniensis*' (Hoyneck, I, II, 503), denounced the errors of his two colleagues in an *Epistola Ven. Patri Laurentio Villavicentio* : Louvain, November 20, 1564, and in the *Epistolæ tres Michaeli de Bay*, 1568; he moreover advised the Universities of Douai, Alcalá and Salamanca, as well as several bishops and abbots of the growing danger; Maximilian Morillon, vicar general of the Archbishop of Mechlin, stated that, instead of letting the matter rest and die out, Ravesteyn wanted to prevent the error from spreading : Paquot, XIV, 430, XVI, 309-12; Pastor, VIII, 272-74. There was, moreover, another danger which the zealous professor wanted to avert, — namely that of allowing the favourers of the new doctrine to get the mastery in the Faculty of Divinity, from which the best divines and the most earnest opponents, like Jansenius, Rythoven and Curtius, were nominated to the new episcopal sees, leaving free action to Baius and his two friends John Hessels and Thomas Gozæus : *Baius*, 9, 157-59, 160-61, 219.

⁵⁾ He was buried in the Chapel of that Hospital; he founded a scholarship in Holy Ghost College : FUL, 1688. Cp. Mol., 519, 624; VAnd., 111, 292; Vern., 275; *BibBelg.*, 594-95; Paquot, XVI, 306-15; Hoyneck, I, I, 39, 183, II, 503, II, I, 368, II, 46, 47; *Et&Aud.*, 1177¹/C; *FlandScript.*, 112; *BrugErVir.*, 42; *GandErVir.*, 52; *Baius*, 157-61.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 75; VAnd., 244.

which he promoted doctor on September 23, 1539. He was appointed to the first chair of Divinity in 1544 ¹⁾, but abandoned it in 1549, for the office of Inquisitor and canon at Utrecht. He was sent to two sessions of the Council of Trent ²⁾, and was entrusted with, and successfully fulfilled, the mission of negotiating in Rome the creation of the new Sees; he thus greatly contributed to ensure to his native country the institution, which, notwithstanding the opposition of the host of Calvinists, as well as of a large part of the nobility and even of the higher clergy, remedied the evils against which Erasmus and the Humanists had been struggling for years: the ignorance of the masses, as well as the absenteeism and pluralism of beneficiaries ³⁾. He was appointed first Bishop of Hertogenbosch and became, in 1569, the first actual Bishop of Antwerp, where he died on June 30, 1576 ⁴⁾, leaving *Demonstrationes Religionis Christianæ ex Verbo Dei* and several writings about faith and discipline, which were often reprinted; he also founded a scholarship in Adrian VI College ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ It seems that it was on account of his poverty that he could not continue his studies of medicine, but was admitted to Adrian VI College, to which he dedicated the 2nd book of his *Demonstrationes*: Mol., 518. He was appointed professor as successor of Latomus in 1544: VAnd., 78.

²⁾ He was sent from Utrecht to Trent in 1545 and 1551; King Philip II also convened him to the *Colloquium* of Worms, 1557, with Josse Ravesteyn and Martin Rythoven: VAnd., 109, 113; SonnE, xiii-xiv, 26, sq; Paquot, xiv, 91, xvi, 307; Hoyneck, I, i, 183, II, i, 343.

³⁾ That creation had been insistingly suggested by Ruard Tapper to Charles V as the chief means to preserve the faith in the Netherlands; Philip II decided to urge the Pope to that measure; Sonnius was sent to Rome with instructions on March 25, 1558, and returned with excellent results in August 1559: SonnE, xiv-xx.

⁴⁾ Mol., 518, 887; VAnd., 108-10, 403; Vern., 93, 133, 284; SonnE, xi-xlvi, and the letters to Viglius, 1550-1571; *SylvEpisc.*, 85-90; *AntvEpisc.*, 58-64; *Et&Aud.*, 1177¹/C, 1177³/, 592, 593; Opmeer, II, 32; *BibBelg.*, 242; *SweMon.*, 15, 55; Coppens, I, 218; *FlandIll.*, II, 293, sq; Paquot, v, 322, xv, 201, vi, 263, vii, 389, xii, 320; Hoyneck, I, i, 34, 174, II, 377, 536, 560, II, ii, 21; *Enzinas*, I, 54; *Anal.*, xviii, 106; *SonRyth.*, 3-37; *Cran.*, 62, d, 83, e; *Tricoron.*, 120.

⁵⁾ In virtue of a deed of April 27, 1572: FUL, 2746; Mol., 626; VAnd., 307.

C. AERDT AND JANSENIUS

In a similar way many more young divines were working for the good of Church and Country : some in a humble career — as **Werner Aerdt**, of Nymegen, the intimate and lifelong friend of Andrew van Gennep, of Balen, *Trilingue* Professor¹⁾; after becoming master of Arts in 1525, being classed the fifth²⁾, he studied theology and promoted Licentiate, as bursar of Adrian VI College³⁾. In 1541, he was appointed President of the important College of Arras, succeeding John Wuest, de Lyra. He became professor of Ethics and Canon of St. Peter's, on May 9, 1544⁴⁾; in February 1557, he was elected Rector at the turn of the Faculty of Medicine, and died on March 6, 1572⁵⁾ in his Arras College, to which he bequeathed all he possessed⁶⁾.

Others did their work more in the high ways of the world — as **Cornelius Jansen**, **Jansenius**, born at Hulst, in 1510. Having been taught the necessary rudiments by Eligius Hoeckaert at Ghent⁷⁾, he went to Louvain, and was classed the second at the promotion of the Arts of 1529⁸⁾; he afterwards remained for some time in his Pedagogy the Castle⁹⁾, and studied to gain a thorough knowledge of the three languages which Christ consecrated on the Cross : he was convinced that an acquaintance with them, such as unwise theologians mostly treated with utter neglect, is indispensable to the true and perfect understanding of Holy Scripture¹⁰⁾. He especially endeavoured to acquire a familiarity with Greek and Hebrew, thanks to the lectures in the *Trilingue*, whilst residing at Holy Ghost College, and devoting himself to Theology. Afterwards he taught that science for several years

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVI.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 75; *Excerpts*, 103.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 256, 13, 258.

⁴⁾ *Anal.*, xl, 102-105.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 258, a; *Vern.*, 217; *VAnd.*, 246, 302; *ULDoc.*, I, 268, III, 159, IV, 117, 181, 204, 206, 361.

⁶⁾ *FUL*, 2403 : his will is dated August 9, 1566; it was amplified by a codicil on December 30, 1568; he offered remembrances to his colleagues John Hessels, Cunerus Petri and Vulmar Bernaert, as well as a gold medal of the Emperor Maximilian to his friend and physician Andrew Balenus.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 279-80; and Ch. XIX.

⁸⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 79.

⁹⁾ *Vern.*, 135.

¹⁰⁾ *BibBelg.*, 152.

in the Abbey of Tongerlo¹⁾ on the invitation of Abbot Arnold Streeters²⁾, and prepared there his famous *Concordia Evangelica*³⁾ with its rich commentary, as well as his paraphrases and explanations of the Psalms. He afterwards directed, for full eighteen years, the parish of St. Martin's, Courtrai, so as to join practice to theory. Having earned great praise, he was recalled to Louvain by 1560, and promoted Doctor of Divinity in 1562; he became professor of theology and canon of St. Peter's as successor to Augustine Hunnæus in 1561⁴⁾. With Michael de Bay and John Hessels, he was sent by Philip II to the final session of the Council of Trent, 1562-64⁵⁾. He meanwhile was appointed, in January 1563, President of (the larger) Holy Ghost College⁶⁾, as well as Dean of the Chapter of St. James.

In 1568, Jansenius was proposed by the King as first occupant of the see of Ghent, which choice was sanctioned by Pius IV on July 6, 1568⁷⁾; he administered the new diocese with prudence, and gave to the people the benefit of sound doctrine as well as a remarkable example of piety. He died on April 11, 1576⁸⁾, and was buried in his Cathedral,

¹⁾ From 1534 to 1542 : *ULAnn.*, 1871, 289-90; Paquot, v, 397.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 70-71; and pp 220-21.

³⁾ It was printed by Barth. Gravius, Louvain, 1549, as *Concordia Euangelistarum*.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 79, 81; dedicatory letter to Philip II, and letter to the reader of the *Commentariorum in... Concordiam... Evangelicam Partes IIII* (Lyons, 1606), † 2, r, v, † 3, v, in which the author briefly relates his life.

⁵⁾ VAnd., 363-64; Vern., 92; Paquot, viii, 435; Hoyneck, i, i, 185-86; *Morone*, xv.

⁶⁾ VAnd., 288; Vern., 205-6; *ULDoc.*, iii, 20; Paquot, vii, 422; Mol., 159.

⁷⁾ Mol., 521; *BelgChron.*, 509; &c. In the last days of August or the first of September 1568, Jansenius was consecrated in the chapel of Savoy College, Louvain, by Bishop Sonnius, of Hertogenbosch, assisted by Pepin Rosa, Bishop of Salubrium, and Martin Cuperus, Bishop of Calcedonia, suffragans, one of Mechlin, the other of Cambrai; he entered Ghent on September 8, 1568 : Berlière, 101.

⁸⁾ Mol., 159, 521; Opmeer, ii, 32; VAnd., 117; Vern., 93, 276-77; Pastor, viii, 273; *BibBelg.*, 152-53; *GandErVir.*, 33-35, referring to the epitaphs by Francis Hæmus, Maximilian Vrients and Peter Simons; *FlandIll.*, i; Paquot, vi, 263, vii, 422, xv, 283, xvii, 406; Hoyneck, i, i, 42-43, 185, sq, ii, 392, 488, 518, 866, ii, ii, 46; P. Claessens, *Jansenius <Évêque> de Gand*, in *ULAnn.*, 1871 : 288-98.

where his intimate friend, the archpriest Peter Simons, future Bishop of Ypres, pronounced the funeral oration ¹⁾. Jansen left a foundation for three scholarships at the disposition of the Faculty of Theology of Louvain ²⁾, and several works which were highly appreciated and suggested the slogan :

Quantus Sol cœlo, tantus Iansenius Orbi est.

They comprize, besides a short summary of the Creed in Flemish ³⁾, commentaries on the Psalms ⁴⁾, on the books of Solomon ⁵⁾ and on the Gospels ⁶⁾ ; the latter especially were recommended by Cæsar Cardinal Baronius, who called their author 'vigilantissimum Sacrarum Litterarum Interpretem' ⁷⁾. They show to all evidence the advantage which was derived, not only from a thorough acquaintance with languages, the matter taught in the *Trilingue*, but also from its characteristic

¹⁾ Peter Simons, of Thielt, student and particular friend of Jansenius, took care at his death of the corrected edition of his works : *GandErVir.*, 34-35 ; *FlandScript.*, 137, 91 ; *BibBelg.*, 761 ; *FlandIll.*, I, 298, II, 300-301 ; Paquot, I, 218, III, 290, V, 18, sq, VII, 422, 424, XI, 138.

²⁾ Mol., 644 ; VAnd., 293 ; FUL, 1691.

³⁾ Printed in Louvain, in 1567, by John van den Boogaerde, in a French translation by Nicolas de Leuze de Fraxinis.

⁴⁾ *Paraphrasis & Annotationes in omnes Psalmos Davidicos* : Louvain, Peter Zangrius Tiletanus, 1569.

⁵⁾ The commentary on the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes was published posthumously by Peter Simons ; that on the Book of Wisdom, at Antwerp, 1589 ; Hoyneck, I, II, 445, 460.

⁶⁾ That remarkable book was repeatedly printed and reissued, e. g., at Lyons (Peter Landry) in 1606, under the title *Cornelii Iansenii, Episcopi Gandavensis, Commentariorum in suam Concordiam, ac totam Historiam Evangelicam Partes IIII*. Cp. *FlandScript.*, 120 ; Paquot, II, 413, XI, 138, XVIII, 91, &c. The dedicatory letter to Philip II is dated from Ghent, October 31, 1571. That *Concordia* offers for the Gospels a most erudite and complete exposition, based on a comparison with the Latin and Greek texts and on the commentaries of the Fathers : it must have rendered immense services to the priests, who, as Jansenius himself experienced at Courtrai, could not devote their time to original researches, but found there the elements of a judicious study, preparatory to teaching and preaching, besides a desire 'for more'. One often lights on those venerable copies of the *Concordia*, with handwriting and 'notes' by the series of possessors through more than three centuries, dated from presbyteries all over the country ; my copy of Landry's edition of 1606, has ten names marked, that of Augustine Wichmans, Abbot of Tongerlo († February 11, 1661), leading.

⁷⁾ *BibBelg.*, 153 ; Foppens, 204-207.

spirit, the unprejudiced scrutiny of texts and objects, which is as the very soul of Humanism, and which was producing, quietly, but irresistibly, the welcome renewal in all branches of intellectual activity, which an old student, the poet-martyr Cornelius Musius, celebrated in his *Ode de Temporum Fugacitate*, qua vitæ suæ cursum prosequitur ¹⁾ :

Nescio quas nugas, et frivola segnis amabam :

Ingenium ut taceam

Quam fuit exiguum, quodque omnia tempore in illo,

Barbarieque mera,

Et plus quam Gothicis fuerant plenissima monstris :

Plena hodieque forent,

Si non præsidium studiorum magnus ERASMUS,

Talia monstra stilo

Confecisset, et insigni procul urbe fugasset :

Et nisi BUSLIDIUS

Ille, SCHOLAM proprio qui condidit ære TRILINGUEM,

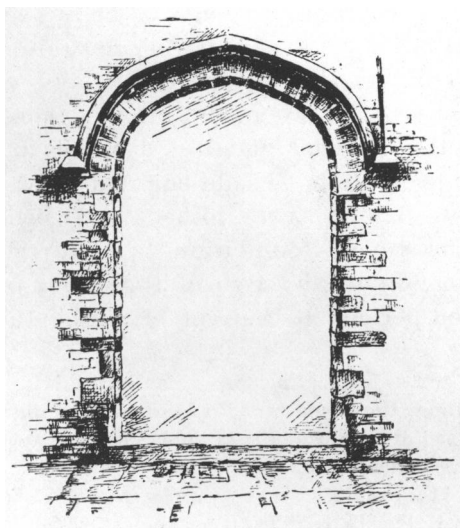
Perpetuaque stipe

Dotavit, Musas omnes Charitesque benignus,

Præsiede cum Clario,

Mercuriumque una, veluti ad sua templa vocasset.

¹⁾ Quoted by VAndEx., 40.



Doorway
leading to
Lecture
Room

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
Ground-plan of the <i>Trilingue</i>	pp 46
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	50
Ormendael and neighbourhood	58
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	94
Nicolas Cannius	139
Corridor leading to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	224
<i>Wendelsteen</i>	296
Entrance to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	386
Door-way to Lecture Room	515
The Founder's Crest and Device	637

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

On p 85, nn, l 1,	please read	1560	instead of	1540
» 92, n 5, l 1,	» »	ortum	» »	ortium
» 137, l 7,	» »	messages ⁴⁾ .	» »	messages.
» 166, n 4,	add : Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.			
» 166, nn, last l but one,	read	⁵⁾	instead of	⁶⁾
» 269, l 18,	»	1530	» »	1529
» 323, l 12,	»	B	» »	E
» 358, n 6, l 7,	»	<i>PolE</i> Fr	» »	PolE
» 359, n 6, l 1,	»	Wotton	» »	Wotten
» 403, l 1,	»	dus,	» »	dus ⁷⁾ ,
» 517, l 27,	»	Thomas	» »	William
» 636, l 16, & n 6, l 3,	»	Josse	» »	John

CHAPTER XIII

WARY'S PRESIDENCY

III. STUDIES AND MASTERS

1. MEDICINE

A. HUBERT BARLANDUS

The beneficent influence of the linguistic and methodical instruction given in the *Trilingue*, which, through students like Sartorius ¹⁾ and Junius ²⁾, like Velareus ³⁾ and Janse-
nius ⁴⁾, descended as a welcome blessing to the lower layers of society, was not limited to languages, erudition or religion. It extended to all the sciences, some of which had not made any progress since ten or twelve centuries, and were mostly neglected in the *Studia Generalia*. That strange neglect did not apply merely to the knowledge of beings such as stars, or the constitution of the earth, or objects quite beyond our use or control; but to that of our health and welfare, than which, amongst wordly things, nothing is more important. At any rate, the Medical Faculty, devoted to that study, was by far the least attended, and counted only two regular professors ⁵⁾, to whom were joined two beneficiaries of canonries of the second foundation ⁶⁾; lectures were given and exercises conducted by two of those four professors, at least for a stated period, at the end of which the two other

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 482. ²⁾ Cp. p 486. ³⁾ Cp., p 184. ⁴⁾ Cp. p 514.

⁵⁾ They were, about that time, Arnold Noot and Leonard Willemaers who were dismissed at Christmas 1542, and replaced by only one professor, Jeremy Thriverus.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 114, sq. They were John Heems, 1525-59, and C. Stephani, 1525-32, P. Roels, 1532-36, Ch. Goossens, 1536-56.

were to take their places. The studies only lasted three years ¹⁾, as if to indicate their small extent compared with those of theology or laws; whereas their shallowness made that contrast even more striking. A large part of the matter taught was derived from the Greeks: and that part resembled a building of which the foundations had broken loose from it and sunk deeper into the marshy ground. In fact although medical science kept the outer form of a philosophical organism, it had lost all contact with the old *ἐκτοπία*. Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galen were quoted as authorities, although their writings were only known through the Arabic translations, dating from the second half of the ixth century ²⁾, and their subsequent comments. That Arabic text was rendered accessible by Latin translations, from 1050 by the School of Salerno, seconded by that of Montpellier, eighty years later, as well as by versions made independently at Toledo and in Spain; through them both treatment and remedies had become decidedly foreign ³⁾. There must have risen occasionally a suspicion: for, from 991, Richer († 1010) taught medicine at Chartres from Latin translations and abridgments of the Greek text of Hippocrates and Galen ⁴⁾; and William of Moerbeke, who went to Hellas to study the language in the latter half of the xiiith century ⁵⁾, translated, by 1277, Hippocrates' *Prognostica* and Galen's *De Alimentis*. Still the authority of the traditional 'Galen' seemed unassailable, even after a translation had been made from Greek: for Galen in 1490 ⁶⁾, and another in 1517-24 by William Linacre ⁷⁾; and for Hippocrates, by Fabius Calvus, in 1525 ⁸⁾. Even after the editing of the original texts of the works of the great physician of Cos, in 1526, and of the medical treatises of the Pergamon erudite, in 1525 ⁹⁾, the immense majority ¹⁰⁾ of Univer-

¹⁾ Cp. Vern., 107, sq; VAnd., 219, sq.

²⁾ Sandys, I, 395.

³⁾ Sandys, I, 561, 566, 629.

⁴⁾ Sandys, I, 509-10.

⁵⁾ Sandys, I, 585; de Wulf, 47-51.

⁶⁾ Venice, 1490: Sandys, II, 477.

⁷⁾ Sandys, II, 225-28; *UniEngl.*, 11-15; W. Osler, *Th. Linacre*: Cambr., 1908.

⁸⁾ Rome, 1525: Sandys, 479.

⁹⁾ Sandys, II, 105: Venice, Aldus and Andreas Asulanus.

¹⁰⁾ There evidently were exceptions: for Louvain may be recorded John Spierinck who matriculated in 1437, and who, after teaching some years in the Faculty of Arts, promoted doctor of Medicine on November 26, 1454. He became physician to Duke Philip the Good; then professor

sity professors followed peacefully and contentedly the track beaten during several centuries ¹⁾. They did in Louvain, although soon doubts were suggested by the teaching in the *Trilingue*, for example to **Hubert Barlandus**.

That physician, or as he liked to call himself *philiatrius* ²⁾, took his name 'van Baarland' or 'Barlandus' from his native place. He was the son of John Becker of Borselen's sister ³⁾, and a cousin to Adrian Ælius Jacobi, also of Baarland ⁴⁾, preceptor of Antony of Berghes, whom he accompanied to England, in 1519 and 1520, as secretary and preceptor, and through whom he secured a canonry at Bergen-op-Zoom ⁵⁾. It is quite natural that, as a boy, Hubert came to be trained by his uncle in Louvain at the Lily, where he saw Erasmus ⁶⁾, and conceived for him the affectionate admiration which

and Canon of St. Peter's; he cured Dean Adrian of Utrecht from a revengeful poisoning. He lived in Shrine Street, in the house which became Drieux College (cp. p 422), and died on October 7, 1499. He stated as principle that people of this country have to be cured by simples grown and culled here, rather than by the exotic herbs prescribed by Avicenna, which may be sophisticated and corrupted by the Mahometans who provide them to the Christians they hate : Mol., 561 ; VAnd., 227-28, 312 ; PF, I, 353 ; ULDoc., I, 256-59, II, 269-70 ; AdriBurm., 21. He founded a medical library, accessible to all Louvain physicians : it was destroyed in 1578 by the wars : Mol., 562. — Another member of the Faculty of Medicine, James van den Eetvelde, admitted to the Academic Senate on March 31, 1503, on his return from Italy as M. D., was appointed professor on June 12, 1507, and died on April 8, 1539 ; he is recorded as the first who durst despise 'matulas atque inspectionem urinæ', as well as the old tradition ; he started simplifying the methods of healing, investigating the way of living, the diet, the temperament and the habits of his patients : VAnd., 230.

¹⁾ Cp. *UniEur.*, 26 ; *ULAnn.*, 1856 : 228-35 ; Heinrichs, 1-9.

²⁾ He takes that title in all his books and issues.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, 201, 256-57.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 256-57, 260.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 260-61 ; and p 87 ; he finally became parish priest of Bergen-op-Zoom.

⁶⁾ When, in 1517, Erasmus came to live in Louvain, he found John Becker at the Lily : cp. before, I, 259 ; it is hardly likely that Hubertus Barlandus, who knew Erasmus from a child, saw him in Zeeland, as his uncle accepted the preceptorate of Busleyden's nephew at the time when he expected Erasmus' visit on his return from England : cp. before, I, 258.

lasted throughout his life ¹⁾. Probably at his uncle's leaving Louvain for Veere ²⁾, he became Vives' pupil ³⁾, and, no doubt, learnt from him the impelling search for consistency and truth, which was further strengthened by the spirit of the *Trilingue* studies, and which deeply influenced his opinions and characterized his writings. After his curriculum of philosophy, he applied himself to medicine; he zealously attended the lectures of Latin, and especially of Greek, in Busleyden's College, developing an acquaintance with the recently introduced disciplines of languages and literature, through which he felt superior to his masters of the medical faculty ⁴⁾. For when, after promoting Licentiate, he left Louvain for France, he had already abandoned their doctrine, based on the pseudo-Avicenna and on the Arabian School, for that of the Greeks, and he was confirmed in that opposition by some of the physicians of Paris. There, as well as in Montpellier, Hubert studied mathematics ⁵⁾, and turned to

¹⁾ In his dedicatory epistle to *Io. Manardi Medicinales Epistolæ* (Strassburg, John Schott, 1529), Barlandus refers to Erasmus: *hominis uita propria mihi charioris, peculiarique quodam amore, ab incunabilis semper adamati*: *BB*, B, 291, 12.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 263.

³⁾ In his dedicatory letter to Galenus' *De Paratu Facilibus Libellus*, addressed to John de Fevyn from Veere, October 15, 1533, Hubert states that he met him, and learned to appreciate him 'ex uno atque altero... congressu... apud D. Ioannem Viuetem præceptorem meum, uirum omnium hominum facile doctissimum humanissimumque, qui tum podagra discruciabatur': *Cran.*, *xcviii-xcix*; *BB*, G, 185.

⁴⁾ In his *Velitatio*, H 2, r, Barlandus declares to his former master, Arnold Noot: 'aliud esse, docere Louanii hoc tempore, atque ante annos uiginti. Iacuerunt enim superioribus annis, etiam isthic, ut nusquam non literæ: at nunc contra maxime uigent... adeo ut non dubitem proferre de Louaniensi schola, vnice mihi semper adamata, Poetæ illud' &c. In the same treatise he advises his former master to compare a passage from Serapion to one in Dioscorides 'ex noua uersione (græce enim non calles, mallem alioqui conferres cum ueritate Græca)': *ibid.*, E 3, r; *BB*, B, 291, 6-7.

⁵⁾ Before returning to his native country, Barlandus would have liked to go to Tübingen to attend the lectures of the famous mathematician John Stöffler (1452-1531): 'Abest octo milibus passuum', he wrote to Erasmus from Strassburg, December 30, 1528, 'nec plus eo Tubinga, vbi publice profitetur nostri sæculi in mathematicis decus, Ioannes Stoffelerinus: quo dudum abiissem, nisi mittendæ ab amicis ad me literæ prohiberent discedere quoquam longius: Allen, VII, 2081, 6-10; *BB*, B, 291, 13; *CatSél.*, 537, sq; Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.

good account his knowledge of Greek ; besides, he practically familiarized himself with Dioscorides' simples by looking for plants and shrubs on his roamings through France and, after 1528, when the fear of war drove him to Dole, through Burgundy, and as far as Italy, as results from his notes ¹). Being called back to his country, he passed by Basle to visit his friend Erasmus, whom he rejoiced for some time as a 'lepidus' and affectionate guest ²). From there he progressed to Strassburg, where he published a new edition of John Manardus' *Medicinales Epistole* ³).

On reaching the Netherlands, he probably stayed in Louvain, where his enthusiasm for his finds made him start a discussion with his former professor Arnold Noot, of Halle ⁴), who tried to silence his opponent by dint of his title of Doctor and of his long practice, as well as by referring to other professors, like John Inchy ⁵), his antecessor, and some famous favourers of the Arabic School : he solemnly and repeatedly declared that he would rather be wrong with Avicenna than right with any Greek physician ⁶). Barlandus argued, though

¹) He refers to that herborizing in France and Italy in his *Velitatio* : A 8, v, B 4, v, B 5, r ; BB, B, 291, 11.

²) On December 23, 1528, Erasmus wrote to Daniel Stibarus : *Accessit Carolo Vtenhouio lepidus congerro, quod sane gaudeo ; medicus vt eruditus, ita mire comicis moribus. Si nomen quæris, Hubertus est ; si patriam, Berlandus. Itaque risu minimeque tetricis fabulis aliquam diei partem fallimus* : Allen, VII, 2079, 61-64. From Strassburg, Barlandus wrote on December 30, 1528 to Erasmus mentioning *πέμπτην οὔσιαν* and the visit of Eppendorf : Allen, VII, 2081 ; Erasmus replied on June 8, 1529 : Allen, VIII, 2172 ; and on July 13, 1529, he referred to the name *Mulus Marianus*, which Barlandus gave to Quirinus Talesius, in his letter to Maximilian of Burgundy : Allen, VIII, 2200, 30.

³) The book was printed by John Schott, and came out on February 17, 1529 ; Erasmus had recommended it to Barlandus.

⁴) Arnoldus Noot, or Noots, of Halle, promoted Doctor of Medicine on April 25, 1526 ; he was ordinary professor for the afternoon lesson from 1526 ; but with his colleague Leonard Willemaers of Louvain, who promoted Doctor on September 24, 1527, and who from 1529 was professor for the forenoon lecture, he was dismissed in 1542 by the town authorities who had appointed him : VAnd., 153, 219, 232 ; cp. § c of this section.

⁵) John Inchy, or de Vallibus, appointed professor of Medicine in 1476, succeeded Adam Bogaert as ordinary professor and canon, on May 25, 1480 : VAnd., 228.

⁶) BB, B, 291, 13-14.

in vain, that persons and names did not count at all, and that real science had to be built on verified facts : the discussion grew too hot for him in an atmosphere which was too deeply saturated yet with the confidence in tradition and in the *verbum magistri* ¹⁾. He therefore courageously, saucily even, brought the question before the world at large, for which an occasion was provided by his being removed from Louvain through an appointment. Thanks probably to his cousin Adrian Ælius, he became connected with Antony of Berghes, Governor of the Duchy of Namur, in whose service Adrian had been in 1519-20 ²⁾. In the first weeks of 1531, Hubert settled in the town of Sambre and Meuse ³⁾, and attacked there his adversary by a book, of which the title indicates most points which the protagonist of the Greek School had contested against his former master : ‘Hvberti Barlandi Philiatricii Medici Namurcensis *Velitatio cum Arnoldo Nootz Medicinæ apud Louanienses doctore*, qua docetur non paucis abuti nos uulgo Medicaminibus simplicibus, ut Capillo Veneris, Xylaloe, Xylobalsamo Spodio, hisque similibus. Deque Auicennæ in plærisque horum hallucinatione. Deinde obiter agitur de Venæ in Pleuritide sectione ⁴⁾. Postremo Auicennæ locis aliquot aliis adhuc dormitatio ostenditur, simul Galenus ab hominis morsibus aliquot defenditur’. The book, which was dedicated on February 1, 1532, to his Maecenas, Antony of Berghes ⁵⁾, was printed at Antwerp by Henry Peetersen of Middelburg in 1532 ⁶⁾ : the controversy became enmity on

¹⁾ BB, B, 291, 1-8.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 518.

³⁾ ‘Le xxviii^e jour de Janvier <xv C trente et ung> maistre Hubert Barlandus docteur en medecine demourant en la <rue de la> Croix, devenu bourgeois <de Namur>’ : Town Arch. of Namur, n^o 70 : Registre des réceptions de la bourgeoisie de Namur : f 41.

⁴⁾ In that part of his book (ff G 7, v-H 1, v), Barlandus refers to his acquaintance with John Wendius, lay brother of the Abbey of Boneffe, who was an able surgeon, and who helped the young doctor by his long experience. No less a person than Andrew Vesalius quoted a passage from the *Velitatio* in his ‘*Epistola docens uenam axillarem dextri cubiti in dolore laterali secandam* : Basle, R. Winter, 1539 ; he moreover mentioned his name in his *Epitome Anatomix* : BB, B, 291, 18.

⁵⁾ He is addressed as ‘Principi de bergis, Domino de Walhain, de Grimberghe, &c. Præfecto Namurcensium, summo suo Moecenati’.

⁶⁾ BB, B, 291 ; NijKron., II, 2371.

account of the animosity of Barlandus, who, after the im-mixing of personal rancour into a scientific strife ¹⁾, showed no less the violence of his character than the range of his erudition.

After some months, Barlandus became the family physician of Adolph of Burgundy ²⁾, and took up his residence at Veere ³⁾, where he continued his studies, and published, in 1533, a translation of Cl. Galenus' *Περὶ Εὐπορίστων*, *De Paratu facilibus Libellus* ⁴⁾, which, by a letter from Veere, October 15, 1533, he dedicated to the Bruges Canon Scholaster, John de Fevyn ⁵⁾, whose acquaintance he had made when he was taking care of his old master Vives suffering from podagra ⁶⁾. He also rendered into Latin *D. Basilii de agendis Deo Gratiis Sermo*, & in *Julittam Martyrem*, which was printed in 1541 ⁷⁾. In 1536, he published *Epistola Medica, de Aquarum Destillatarum Facultatibus*, &c ⁸⁾, addressed to a brother-physician and, probably, a fellow-student of the days spent in Montpellier, Peter van Moerbeek, Morbecanus, Antwerp *medicus* ⁹⁾: he offers a critical appreciation of distilled waters ¹⁰⁾, and discusses the illness which caused the death of his cousin Adrian Ælius Barlandus, in 1535 ¹¹⁾. By 1541, Barlan-

¹⁾ Barlandus met Noot for the last time in the summer of 1531 at Salzinne, near Namur; the debate had been envenomed by the welcome Noot gave to a servant and apprentice whom Barlandus had sent away: *BB*, B, 291, 14. ²⁾ Cp. before, pp 461-64. ³⁾ *BB*, B, 291, 15-17.

⁴⁾ It was printed at Antwerp by John Grapheus for John Steels, 1533: *BB*, G, 185, B, 293, 1, T, 106, 4; *NijKron.*, I, 950.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 516. ⁶⁾ *Ff A 2, v, A 3, r: Cran.*, xcix; *BB*, G, 185, 1-2.

⁷⁾ Louvain, Rutger Rescius, June 1541: it was dedicated to Maximilian of Burgundy: *BB*, B, 291, 18; *Maittaire* (1725), III, 323.

⁸⁾ That *Epistola*, dated from Veere, April 1, 1536, was printed by John Grapheus, for John Steels, Antwerp, 1536: *NijKron.*, II, 2370; *BB*, B, 292.

⁹⁾ *BB*, B, 292, 4: his letter to Barlandus, inserted in the *Epistola* (D 5, v-E 3, r), is dated from Antwerp, August 14, 1536.

¹⁰⁾ Moerbeek had expressed doubts about the efficiency of any distilled waters: the *Epistola* serves as a reply.

¹¹⁾ The title of the *Epistola* announces: 'De Adriani Ælij Barlandi mortis genere, hacque occasione, multa obiter de fluxuum ventris, & hæmorrhoidum generibus, inter quæ enucleatur Pauli Æginetæ caput de Hæmorrhoidibus, eruditissimis etiam viris non satis intellectum. — Barlandus had gone to Bergen-op-Zoom by the middle of August 1535, and had met Moerbeek there; he learned his cousin's death at Veere, on September 6.

dus had married, and had recently lost his wife ¹⁾).

The last document referring to Hubert Barlandus seems to be his letter of August 1, 1544, addressed to his old friend Peter van Moerbeek, which has been preserved in a copy of Chr. Orosius' *Annotationes* on the translations of Aetius ²⁾). There hardly seems to be any warrant for identifying him with the *H. B. P. Medicus*, who, in a letter dated from Lyons, *sexto a Liberalibus die* (March 23), 1550, dedicated to 'D. Franciscus Sangelasius', de Saint-Gelais, Dean of Angoulême, the fine book entitled *Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei, De Medicinali Materia Libri sex, Ioanne Ruellio Suessonensi interprete* ³⁾): indeed, 'H. B. P.' states that he roughly collected the scholia to that edition in the Dean's house at Angoulême, and that he had reduced them to a conciser form whilst acting as '*scholiasten*' at Lyons; further he says that his next book will be a translation of the emended Arabic texts on medicine, so as to show that Avicenna does not differ materially from Galen nor from Hippocrates: — which aim seems inconsistent with the theories dear to Noot's passionate contradictor ⁴⁾).

Even dropping that probably wrong identification in the *Pedanius* of 1552, the letter of August 1, 1544, proves that Hubert lived long enough to experience how, just ten years after his *Velitatio*, in 1542, the Louvain students brought the town authorities to revoke Noot and his colleague Willemaers, who, it was said, were born in a wrong century, and had no idea of what the one in which they lived required as matter and method ⁵⁾). Besides Noot's repeated absence, they strongly objected to the teaching, which hardly brought anything to the hearers except Avicenna's unintelligible names and terms, and they were not even explained. If Barlandus himself was not of paramount importance in the history of the development of medicine ⁶⁾, he is a most remarkable example of how the

¹⁾ Dedicatory letter to the translation of *D. Basilii De agendis Deo Gratiis*, addressed to Maximilian of Burgundy.

²⁾ *BritMus.*, press mark 541. e. 16 (Basle, R. Winter, March 1540).

³⁾ Lyons, Baltasar Arnollet, 1552.

⁴⁾ *F aa* 2, r, v; cp. *BB*, B, 291, 19-20; *BibBelg*, 391.

⁵⁾ *VAnd.*, 219; *ULAnn.*, 1846, 221.

⁶⁾ Still Vesalius quoted some of his conclusions: cp. p 521.

teaching of languages and the imparting of the spirit of research in the *Trilingue*, was effectively co-operating in the rationalizing and modernizing of Æsculapius' art ¹⁾).

B. PRACTICE AND THEORY

Hubert Barlandus was by far not the only one who applied to the development of medicine and to the benefit of humanity the advantage offered by the linguistic and methodic training after Erasmus' mind. He and several of his fellow-students of the medical Faculty found a more useful employ for their study and their time than the engrossing pseudo-philosophical debates on Hippocrates' Aphorisms or the intricate comments of the Arabians on the traditional text of Galen. From the critical comparison of the generally accepted Latin with the original Greek, it soon appeared that not only the comments, but even the authentic redaction of Galen and Hippocrates had been altered considerably by Avicenna. Whilst that most careful comparative study, which seemed to lead to the discredit of Arabic translators and commentators, was going on, thanks to the increasing acquaintance with the language of Hellas, conscientious physicians devoted so much more attention to the empiric medicine, following Hippocrates' own precept, so as to enlarge knowledge by means of rational experience.

It was not long before circumstances compelled them to resort to that golden school, as they were surprised by an epidemy unknown to all their medical authors. The dreadful *Sudor Anglicus*, which had appeared in England in 1485, and disappeared again after a few weeks, but which returned in 1508, in 1517 and 1528 ²⁾, seemed to have found its way to the Continent by Hamburg, and had reached Antwerp, apparently by Cologne, in September 1529. It attacked people of the better class more than the poor; it was characterized by violent fevers and an inexhaustible sweat, and it brought either death or recovery within twenty-four hours. Amongst the many victims at Antwerp were the mayor Arnold van

¹⁾ Cp. for Barlandus, Mol., 574; SweABelg., 348; BibBelg., 391; BB, B, 291, 9-20; Allen, VII, 2081, pr; Cran., xcvi-xcix, 12, e, 62, b; Busl., 165; Daxhelet, 330.

²⁾ Stow, 540, b.

Lyere, and two famous painters, Roger van der Weyden and Quentin Metsys ¹⁾. The 'Sweating Sickness' went its devastating way to Mechlin and Brussels, Ghent and Mons, Bruges and Ypres, and seems to have been most violent in Zeeland. The population was so much the more terrified since the physicians were powerless in their complete ignorance of that merciless epidemic. Still, weeks before Vives, who had been driven out of Bruges by the dread of the sickness ²⁾, had composed his *Sacrum Diurnum de Sudore Jesu Christi*, November 1529 ³⁾, some old students of Louvain had done what they could to ward off the disaster.

By the end of September 1529, the Ghent authorities, wishing to take all possible measures to avert the dangerous scourge, requested their physicians to apply to their colleagues of Antwerp, where the sickness prevailed, to learn its symptoms as well as the treatment and the remedies which had proved effective. In answer to their letter of September 30, the Antwerp authorities convened their medical men to a meeting of which the conclusions were to be communicated. Unfortunately the physicians had left the town with their families, or they were suffering themselves, or so over-occupied that there was no possibility of gathering them. The authorities then applied to their best practician James Castricus, who at once consulted what colleagues he could interview, and wrote, already on October 2, a letter to the Ghent physicians, in which, after explaining the circumstances of his reply, he describes most minutely the nature and symptoms of what he calls the *febris ephemera pestilentialis aut epidemialis*; he further explains which treatment has been most beneficial to the patients, and indicates the remedies he prescribed according to the various states of the disease and to the peculiar dispositions of the sick persons. The letter, in its clear and adequate brevity, must have been a godsend to the physicians all over the country, for, pressed by friends and colleagues, Castricus had it printed at Antwerp

¹⁾ Torfs, I, 70-72, II, 389; *AntwChron.*, 30. Gemma Phrysius was ill with it in Louvain: *GemChar.*, I, 189; *GemFrisius*, 19. ²⁾ Cp. pp 406-7.

³⁾ Bruges, Hub. de Croock, for Simon Molendinus, December 1529; the dedication to Margaret of Austria is dated Bruges, Nov. 10, 1529.

in the very same month, under the title *De Sudore Epidemiali quem Anglicum vocant, ad Medicos Gandenseis Epistola* ¹⁾).

Notwithstanding the short time devoted to its redaction, — it hardly exceeded that of this hasty sickness itself, — Castricus' memoir is classed amongst the best about the *Sudor Anglicus* by all epidemiographers, who, considering the period, highly praise his treatment by emollients, cordials and tonics, according to Hippocrates' advice : *quo natura vergit, eo ducenda* ²⁾). From the fruit, the tree is known : for James Castricus is identical with the James van Castere, of Hazebroeck, the professor of Philosophy of the Lily from 1511 to 1519, colleague of de Neve, Vroeye and Becker, whom Erasmus heartily affectioned and highly esteemed for his medical knowledge ³⁾). Living with the great Humanist under one roof and boarding at the same table for over four years, must have imparted to the zealous medical scholar a good dose of the ideal tonic with which Erasmus was regenerating all studies and sciences : nor can he have been a stranger to the spirit of the *Trilingue*, as he must have taken an intimate interest in the struggle for its existence in those eventful years, 1517-1521. The good sense of Castere is as a proof to it, for whereas some other physicians of those times made themselves ridiculous by publishing well-paid, but

¹⁾ Antwerp, John Grapheus, 'mense Octobri', 1529 : the pamphlet, eight leaves in-8°, has a small address of 'Iacobus Castricus Hasebroecanus Physicus Antuerpiensis... Lectori', followed by four verses by Gulielmus Prudentius :

Pestiferi infandum sudoris noscere virus
Si cupis, ac subito pellere triste malum,
Perlege quæ paucis voluit conscribere chartis
Doctus Jacobus, quo duce sanus eas.

It then reproduces the Ghent letter and van Hazebroeck's reply : Nij-Kron., I, 528.

²⁾ Cp. C. Broeckx, *Notice sur Jacques Vandenkastele et sur la Suette* : Antwerp, 1849. The name *van den Kastele* is not exact : James was called *van Castere* (evidently the name of the place *Castre*, *Caestre*, near Bailleul), which the owner latinized into *Castricus*, but which is rather a *castrum* than a *castellum* : the wrong Flemish translation of his name seemed to preclude, at first sight, all identity with the 'Castere' of the Lily.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 82-83, 88.

absurd yearly prognostications ¹⁾, the *Calendars* and *Kalengiers* he edited merely indicated the time of sunrise and sunset, the phases of the moon and similar most useful astronomical statements ²⁾, which in those times were still supposed to belong to the attributions of medical doctors ³⁾, after all the misuse which their predecessors had so long made of them ⁴⁾.

In the same month of October 1529, a book was also published in Cologne about the *Sudor Britannicus* by the old student of the *Trilingue* Simon Riquinus, who, after leaving Louvain, had entered the service of John Duke of Cleves and Jülich ⁵⁾. He wrote a memoir about the Sweating Sickness, which was printed under the title : *Judicium de Sudatoria Febri, quem vulgo Sudorem Britannicum vocant* ⁶⁾ : it consisted of two letters, one from, and another to, his friend and protector Herman of Neuenahr ⁷⁾. When about January 1, 1530, Quirinus Talesius passed through Cologne, Riquinus entrusted him with a copy of his book offered to Erasmus ⁸⁾. It came in good stead for, in the spring of 1530, Quirinus was laid up with the Sweating Sickness, from which he fortunately was cured ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. Mol., 571 : Louvain University prohibited in 1478 to print on *Almanacs* the mention 'impressum Lovanii'; yet up to the present day, country people in Belgium still ask for 'a Louvain almanac'.

²⁾ NijKron., II, 2595-97 : Pronostication de lan 1531 (4 leaves); Kalengier voor het iaer 1531 (*broadsheet*); Pronosticatie vanden iare 1534 (4 quarto leaves) : Antwerp, 1530-33.

³⁾ The influence of the heavenly bodies on illness is part of the doctrine of Galen, Celsus, Oribasius and the Arabians, since the various parts of the human body were associated with planets or stars, as, e. g., the bile with Mars.

⁴⁾ Chaucer's *Doctour of Phisyk*... 'was grounded in astronomye' : *Canterb. Tales, Prologue*, 414-20; cp. *The Hous of Fame*, (III), 1265-70.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 387-89.

⁶⁾ Cologne, John Soter, October 1529. The title is also quoted as (possibly a reprint) : *De Novo hactenusque Germaniæ inaudito morbo ἰδρωπυρετου, hoc est, Sudatoria Febri, quam vulgo Sudorem Britannicum vocant, judicium doctissimum duabus epistolis contentum* (Cologne, last months of 1529).

⁷⁾ One is dated from Cologne, September 7, another from Benrath, where the Cleves Court then resided, September 10, 1529.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 495; Allen, VIII, 2246, 1, sq, 40, sq.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, p 496.

A physician of Mechlin, **Joachim Roelants**, *Rolandus* ¹⁾, an old student of Barlandus, who had promoted Licentiate of Medicine in Louvain about 1520, and succeeded his father as Mechlin town physician in 1525, wrote, no doubt as such ²⁾, a treatise : *De Novo Morbo Sudoris quam Anglicum vocant, anno 1529 grassantis* ³⁾. That memoir was highly valued, and was praised by his friend Janus Secundus, in his epigram *In Libellum Joachimi Rolandi Mechliniensis Medici de Morbo Sudoris* ⁴⁾.

On March 14 of that same year 1530, Wenceslas Bayer, professor of Medicine of Leipzig University, came to Louvain to defend fourteen conclusions about the *Sudor Anglicus* in the lecture room of Canon Law, in presence of the Medical Faculty and of numerous hearers ⁵⁾. He, too, had published a memoir on the subject ⁶⁾ : it is not recorded why the Faculty did not apply for that honourable function to one of their own disciples, who had so brilliantly illustrated themselves during the dreadful epidemic. More justice was done to

¹⁾ Joachim Roelants, son of the Court physician Cornelius, and of Cecil van Duffe, was born at Mechlin on July 2, 1496; he matriculated as student of the Porc, on August 31, 1512, and at his Licentiate he was appointed like his father at the Court. He married Cornelia Pels in 1520, and had three children. His book about the *Sudor Anglicus* brought him great renown : he was an intimate friend of Dodoens and of Vesalius. He died on August 14, 1558, having lost his wife in the preceding September : Paquot, xii, 53-55; *BibBelg.*, 447; Daxhelet, 256; *MalMed.*, 53, 57-60, &c; *LibIntIII*, 185, r; Torfs, i, 71, 87; — and, for Joachim's son James, *SweMon.*, 20, 118; *BrabNobl.*, 483.

²⁾ Perhaps a return of the epidemic was dreaded; still it does not seem as if there was another appearance in the Netherlands. The last seems to have been that of 1551, in England : cp. *Machyn*, 7, sq, 318-20; *NarRef.*, 82; *ChronGreyFr.*, 70; &c.

³⁾ Antwerp, 1530 : C. Broeckx, *Notice sur Jacques Vandenkastele et la Suelle* : Antwerp, 1849 : 24; G. van Doorslaer, *Un Incunable Médical... et son Auteur* (Cornelius Roelants), in *Ann. d'Archéol. Médic.* (Brussels, 1923), i, 82-83.

⁴⁾ *JSecOp.*, 131; Paquot, xii, 54-55. On August 31, 1540, the Antwerp physician Matthew Theodore Melanelius dedicated to *Joachimo Rolando*, his version of Galen's *Utrum Conceptus in Utero sit Animal* : Antwerp, Ant. Dumæus, September 1540 : *NijKron.*, ii, 3045. ⁵⁾ *Mol.*, 571.

⁶⁾ W. C. Bayer, *Richtiger Rathschlag und Bericht der ytz regierenden Pestilentz, so man den Engelsen Schweyss nent* : Leipzig, 1529; C. Broeckx, *Notice sur J. Vandenkastele et la Suelle* : Antwerp, 1849 : 23.

Louvain old students by foreign Universities, such as that of Paris, which not only welcomed about that time Bartholomew Latomus ¹⁾ and John Straselius ²⁾ as professors of languages, but hailed also John Guinterius for the medical studies.

That John Guinterius, properly Winter, or Winther, **Ander-nacus**, as a native of Andernach, is also referred to as Günther or Gonthier. He was born in the town on the Rhine in 1505, and went to study at Utrecht, where he had as companion Lambert Hortensius ³⁾. Most probably he came with him to Louvain, — certainly before the spring of 1523, for Lambert stated that he heard the 'eximium Peripateticum' John Louis Vives, who, soon after May 10, 1523, left for England ⁴⁾. The two friends applied themselves most zealously at languages in the *Trilingue*, Winter being highly interested in Greek which he studied thoroughly under Rescius. He may have made the acquaintance of the Great Masters of Medicine amongst the authors of Hellas, and may have followed some of the lectures of the Medical Faculty, which, far from giving him satisfaction, probably caused him to leave Louvain for Paris in 1527. He was there so proficient in medicine and anatomy that he could start teaching that branch; he soon gathered a numerous audience on account of his increasing success, no doubt, since by his complete familiarity with the language, he could vindicate the meaning and the ideas of Galen and other Greek authors against the disfiguring renderings and commentaries of the Arabians ⁵⁾, as he practically did when he published his *Institutiones*, a simple comment on Galen. When his Louvain fellow-student Sturm ⁶⁾ came to Paris, he attended his lectures; so did later on Andrew Vesalius, who, in affectionate gratitude for the welcome and encouragement he received from

¹⁾ Cp. further, sect. 3, c.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 415-16.

³⁾ Cp. further, sect. 3, A.

⁴⁾ *MonHL*, 5-7.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Oribasii Commentaria in Aphorismos Hippocratis* hactenus non visa loa. Guinterii Andernaci industria ædita: Paris, Simon de Colines, 1533. In 1532, he published a Latin version of Paulus Ægineta's *De Re Medica* (Paris, Simon Colinæus), which Dodonæus reedited in 1546 (Basle, John Oporinus): Paquot, xv, 5-6.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, sect. 3, B.

Winter, provided a second edition of his *Institutiones* in 1538, in which he most discreetly put right several inexactitudes ¹⁾. The young professor is said to have gained Francis I's favour : he may be the 'M^e Estienne Guintur, translateur des livres en médecine de grec en latin', who was granted the subsidy of 'six vingtz escuz soleil' in the account for 1533-34, 'pour luy aider à se faire passer docteur' ²⁾. When later on Vesalius censured the authority of Galen, Winter, as well as his Paris colleague John Sylvius, attacked their former disciple ³⁾.

From 1537 to 1544, Winter resided and worked at Metz ⁴⁾, from where he was invited to Strassburg, to teach Greek, and, from 1549 to 1558, medicine ; after which he occupied himself chiefly with research work. Thus, in 1564, he published a treatise on the pest, written at the demand of the town authorities ; in 1565, one on baths ; in 1571, one in which he tried to conciliate the new theories of Paracelsus with those of Galen, whose books he had translated, *De Medicina Veteri et Nova* ⁵⁾. He died in 1574 ⁶⁾. He had been, for a time, Erasmus' correspondent, for the latter mentioned, on November 7, 1533, to Goclenius that he had learned by a letter from Guinterius Andernacus that his old enemy Carinus ⁷⁾ was the head of a knot of Germans in Paris, to whom he related how many evil deeds he pardoned to Erasmus for the love of Christ ; and that Paschasius Berselius ⁸⁾ often wrote to him : — on that account prudence was advised to Goclenius in dealing with them ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ *Vésale*, 20-22, 60-61.

²⁾ Lefranc, 396.

³⁾ Heinrichs, 74 ; *GoetLect.*, II, 116, 117.

⁴⁾ Like Thomas Linacre, Nicolas Leonicens, Vesalius and many others, he contributed his share to the edition of *Claudii Galenii Omnia quæ extant Opera in Latinum Sermonem conversa*, edited at Venice 'ex offic. Farrea', 1541 : Heinrichs, 74.

⁵⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 102.

⁶⁾ *SaxOnom.*, 119 ; *ADB* ; Melchior Adam, *Vitæ Germanorum Medicorum* (1706) : 99-101 ; *GoetLect.*, II, 113-16 ; J. J. Höveler, in *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium zu Andernach für 1898-1899*.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 392-93, &c.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 494-500, &c.

⁹⁾ Allen, x, 2876, 17-22, x1, p xxv.

C. JEREMY THRIVERUS

Scientific progress is often used for unscientific purposes : not to mention any personal or financial advantage, it certainly proved to be the case in the first quarter of the xvith century, when the lack of authenticity in the teaching and the commentaries of the Arabic medical school was realized. Instead of working out patiently and impartially the verification of that distrust in their theory and practice by a meticulously exact comparative study with those of the Greek originals just then editing, the question was at once monopolized by the tyrant prevailing in those days, Debate. It put up Montpellier, the Arabic School by excellence, against some Paris physicians, and before long the controversy was animated by unscientific elements, such as the veneration for old tradition, the secular antipathy against Greek and Grecians, the growing suspicion of the doctrine introduced by the race characterized by an eternal hatred of Christ and Christians. A typical example was the bleeding used in the treatment of pleurisy, which, according to the Arabic school, was to be practised as far away as possible from the inflamed part, and, for certain, on the opposite side. During an epidemic in the neighbourhood of Paris in 1514, the medical professor Peter Brissot ¹⁾ tried the blood-letting on the arm on the inflamed side with good result, and at once proposed that method as being that of Hippocrates. Although his followers imitated him most successfully, he found numerous and most bitter opponents of his *derivative* bleeding, by which the humours of the phlogistic region were removed, rather than the *revulsive* bleeding, which aimed at turning away the superfluous blood from the inflamed part. By 1518, he left

¹⁾ Peter Brissot, son of a lawyer, born in 1478 at Fontenay-le-Comte, Poitou, studied in Paris, where he taught philosophy, and promoted doctor of medicine in 1514. He soon saw the pre-excellence of the Greek medical authors, and when appointed professor, he explained Galen and Hippocrates rather than Avicenna. He felt his weakness in his ignorance of botany. He went to Portugal, where, at Evora, he started the controversy which had been raging in Paris, and which was continued in Salamanca; his death in 1522 prevented him from going to herborize in the New World as he intended.

for Portugal, where, at Evora, the heat of the controversy followed him, and where the King's physician Denys attacked his method in a violent pamphlet : he died in 1522, and his friend Antony Luceus, of Evora, published, in 1525, the *Apologetica Disceptatio*, which he was making ready for the printer ¹⁾. The disputation grew as much in violence as in extent ; several medical authors attacked Brissot's theory, which, although patronized by men like Leonard Fuchs ²⁾, was represented by 1529 as a public danger for humanity ; it was censured even as heretic and Lutheran, and efforts were made to have it authoritatively proscribed by an Imperial edict. Meanwhile the question, which had started as a protest against the Arabic depravations and interpolations of the Greek medical writings ³⁾, diverted all attention from the indispensable proper investigation and the judicious interpretation of the original texts, — except for a few clear-sighted scholars, like the Louvain *medicus* Thriverus.

That **Jeremy de Drivere, Thriverus**, was also called **Brachelius**, from his native village Brakel, near Grammont ⁴⁾, where his father Jerome was physician. Born about 1504, he went to study in the Falcon, Louvain, and he was classed the first at the promotion of 1522 ⁵⁾. He probably stayed in his Pedagogy, teaching or tutoring, since he was admitted to the Academic Senate on November 3, 1531, as a member

¹⁾ 'Apologetica disceptatio in qua docetur per quæ loca sanguis mitti debet in viscerum inflammationibus, præsertim in Pleuritide' : Paris, Simon Colinæus, 1525 : it is the only writing of Brissot that was published.

²⁾ Leonard Fuchs, born at Wemdingen, Bavaria, in 1501, became a reputed physician, and taught medicine in Munich, Ingolstadt and Tübingen, where he died on May 10, 1566. He is known as the author of the *Historia Stirpium* (Basle, 1542), for he was remarkable for his knowledge of botany, which he considered as the most important part of medicine. He was ennobled by Charles V. ³⁾ Heinrichs, 1, sq.

⁴⁾ The place is now divided into Opbrakel and Neerbrakel. In the near neighbourhood was the Charterhouse Tenbosch, where Livinus Ammonius, Erasmus' friend, lived for a time : Gestel, II, 208, 216. It is quite natural that the son of the Brakel physician, who was a humanistic scholar, should have been one of Ammonius' friends : there is a letter from Thriverus in his Correspondence at Besançon : cp. before, p 191 ; A. Roersch, *Corresp. de Lævinus Ammonius* (Bull. Soc. d'Hist. et d'Archéol., Ghent, 1901) : 5.

⁵⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 73 ; *VAnd.*, 244.

of the Faculty of Arts. He started medical studies, and, on that account, he became a most zealous hearer of the lectures of the *Trilingue*, as he wanted to be fully familiar with Greek ¹⁾, so as to be able to judge the sense of the writings of Hippocrates, of Dioscorides and of their great interpreter and systematizer, the Pergamon physician Claud Galen, and compare them with the texts and commentaries of Avicenna and of his School. It is natural that he had little esteem for the lectures of the Faculty, in which the teaching, according to the Arabic authors was proposed without any explanation of the foreign terms and wordings with which the exposition abounded. He, on the contrary, learned the proper way to read and understand the old texts, as well as the right method of interpretation, applying the principles of the *Trilingue* : for Hippocrates and Galen did not at all monopolize the medical art ; according to the humanistic method, their attestation, however authoritative, had to be checked by sound reason and by reality : in the case, by the anatomic, physiologic and pathologic study of man, which is, after all, the only reliable source of medical science.

Thriverus first censured the strange way in which the physicians prescribed the diet for those who suffered from arthritis, in a *Disceptatio de Securissimo Victu* ²⁾, which he dedicated, on August 19, 1531, to Denys de Zevendonc, Abbot

¹⁾ It is a fact that Thriverus was on excellent terms with Rescius : for on March 22, 1532, when Thriverus wanted to be introduced to Olah, he asked Rescius to recommend him just before he himself was leaving for Brussels, where he took care of a patient. As Rescius was going to lecture, he wrote a most unequivocal praise in a very few lines : OlaE, 209 (where the name is made into *Friuerus*).

²⁾ 'Disceptatio de Securissimo Victu, a neotericis perperam præscripto' : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, August, 1531. — It is recommended by a 'Carmen Eligii Morelii Aldenardensis De Quadruplici Medicorum Vultu' : NijKron., II, 3948. Eligius Morelius also studied medicine : he promoted doctor on the same day as Thriverus, following the custom : as the expenses of the Doctorate were very high, the licentiates passed that act in a group, from two to four or five, except when they were rich enough to pay by themselves for all the expenditure : e. g., the gathering of religious, civil and academic authorities, the expensive solemnities of inviting and receptions, the numerous and costly banquets, the wages and fees of attendants and musicians, &c.

of Villers, probably one of his patients ¹⁾. The treatise was censured at once, for in the following year he wrote a *Commentarius de Victu ab Arthriticis Morbis vindicante* ²⁾, showing how the contemporary medical men did little to help the sufferers, and rather made their pain worse. — He wrote other pamphlets about diet : two were published at Lyons, one in 1548 ³⁾, and another in 1552 ⁴⁾. Those memoirs are based on a better understanding of Hippocrates and on a more judicious interpretation of his precepts. Meanwhile he had examined the question of the place where bleedings should be practised in cases of pleurisy and other inflammations ; and found that Brissot, and even Leonard Fuchs, who had seconded him by his *Errata Recentiorum Medicorum* ⁵⁾, were wrong when they advocated only derivative, evacuating bleedings as near as possible to the inflamed part, on the authority of Galen and Hippocrates, whereas their opponents only admitted the revulsive bleedings, as far distant as could be from the focus of the disease. Thriverus found, on a more exact investigation, that the Greek authors prescribe, to be true, the derivative bleedings when the illness is in its full development, but that Brissot and Fuchs were wrong in denying that revulsive blood-letting is admitted : Hippocrates and Galen, on the contrary, advise using revulsive bleeding as often as necessary at the first symptoms of an inflammation, so as to avert it, if possible, by giving a contrary direction to the afflux : it brought Thriverus to the publishing of his most remarkable *De Missione Sanguinis... Disceptatio*,

¹⁾ Dionysius a Zeverdonc is recorded to have been Abbot from 1524 to 1545 : he was the first to take a golden mitre, and he introduced many novelties, improving many defects : Gramaye, *Gallo-Brabantia*, 16.

²⁾ 'Eiusdem commentarius de victu ab arthriticis morbis vindicante, ubi quam male diris illis cruciatibus sit a neotericis hactenus prouisum, ostenditur, ac alij quam plurimi uiuendi errores, alibi communes, obiter corriguntur'. — It was published with the *De Missione Sanguinis* : Louvain, March 5, 1532 : NijKron., I, 2021.

³⁾ 'In Polybum, sive Hippocratem de Ratione Victus Idiotarum aut Privatorum Commentarius' : Lyons, 'Fratres Beringi', 1548.

⁴⁾ 'In Hippocratem de Ratione Victus in Morbis Acutis Commentarii' : Lyons, 'Beringi Fratres', 1551.

⁵⁾ 'Errata Recentiorum Medicorum LX numero, adjectis eorum Refutationibus' : Hagenau, 1530.

of March 5, 1532 ¹⁾, which he dedicated to Godfrey de Bracle, Abbot of Eename ²⁾, on February 24/25, 1532. Fuchs replied in one of his *Apologiæ Tres* ³⁾, to which Thriverus gave a fit answer in his *Elenchus Apologiæ Leonardi Fuchsii*, published in 1535, in which he indicates most judiciously that (as he explains in his *De Temporibus Morborum & Opportunitate Auxiliorum* ⁴⁾, to which it was added), it is perfectly consistent that Hippocrates and Galen make use of both kinds of bleedings, which could not have been more clearly described in their writings; Thriverus' explanation sounds most apt and logic, even though he had no idea yet of the circulation of the blood. He thus brought light and a solution into the controversy, — which, however, was doomed to prove useless as soon as physicians, instead of learning their art from the old treatises, were to study human body in its structure and its function, as Andrew Vesalius introduced a few years later, accepting from Galen only that which is the expression of common sense, or what proves real and true after a close critical examination ⁵⁾.

On May 6, 1537, Thriverus promoted Doctor of Medicine, on the same day as Rombaut Belzer, of Mechlin, Paul Roels,

¹⁾ 'Hieremiæ Thriveri... de missione sanguinis in pleuritide, ac alijs phlegmonis tam externis quam internis omnibus cum Petro Brissoto & Leonardo Fuchsio disceptatio ad medicos Parisienses'; it is followed by the *De Victu*: Louvain, Rutger Rescius, March 5, 1532, 'Sumptibus eiusdem ac Bartholomej Grauij': NijKron., I, 2021. Cp. Ch. XV.

²⁾ Godfrey de Bracle was receiver and provost under the management of Abbot Gerard of Eename, before he was elected Abbot himself in 1497. He transferred the relics of St. Hermes at Renaix into a new shrine in 1529. He died an old man in 1538: Gestel, II, 251. The Abbots of Eename were patrons of the church and parish of Opbrakel: no doubt Thriverus knew de Bracle on that account: Gestel, II, 208.

³⁾ 'Tertia <Apologia> adversus Ieremiam Thriuerum in internis inflammationibus, Pleuritide præsertim, e directo partis affectæ sanguinem mittendum esse'; it was reprinted in Basle, 1540.

⁴⁾ 'Hieremias Thriverus... de temporibus, morborum & opportunitate auxiliorum. Ars est magna probis vel nusquam rebus abuti. Adiectus est ab eodem Elenchus apologiæ Leonardi Fuchsii nuper emissæ de missione sanguinis in pleuritide': Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, March 1535. The book was dedicated to 'Bernardinus Valperganus', physician and councillor to the Queen of Hungary: NijKron., I, 2022.

⁵⁾ Heinrichs, 8-9, 33-40.

of Termonde, and Eligius Morelius, of Audenarde ; although several of his professors clung to different opinions, his ability and especially his eloquence, must have come in good stead. He was highly appreciated in Louvain, and he communicated his views at every occasion, especially in the lessons he had to give to the bachelors and the debates he had to lead, as they were part of the regular preparation for the Licentiate ¹).

As he had married Ann Walravens (Walrant), he could not obtain any of the two professorates connected with a canonry in St. Peter's ²); and as the two ordinary chairs were occupied by Arnold Noot and Leonard Willemaers, who had only become doctors in 1526 and 1527 ³), there seemed hardly any hope on a promotion. Still an extraordinary event brought him his due. Gemma records, in a letter of April 7, 1543, that a lesson of anatomy, — which branch had been quite neglected up to then, — had started under the patronage of the town authorities ⁴); moreover, by that same year the two ordinary professors, whose nomination was in the attribution also of the town authorities, were dismissed, and replaced by only one, Thriverus, who had to give their two lectures ⁵): that arrangement has puzzled all those interested in the history of the Medical Faculty ⁶); for dismissals of professors were very rare ⁷), and the double dismissal seems unique in the three centuries and a half that the *Studium Generale* existed; more strange is the appointment of one man for two

¹) Thriverus used for the first time in his publications the title 'Artium & Medicinæ professor' in March 1535, for *de Temporibus* &c, and for *In Libros Galeni Commentarii*; he probably had then obtained the title of Licentiate.

²) Cp. before, I, 115.

³) VAnd., 232 : on April 25, 1526 and September 24, 1527.

⁴) DantE, 444 : nuper per Magistratum Louaniensem instituta noua Medicinæ lectio præter consuetas, cepimus quoque anatomen celebrare, id quod hactenus plane neglectum fuit magno auditorum detrimento : Gemma Phrysius to Dantiscus, April 7, 1543. Cp. further, p 560.

⁵) VAnd., 153, 219.

⁶) Mol., 570 : the first anatomist he refers to is Nicolas Biesius, said to be appointed in 1572 (VAnd., 234); *GemFrisius*, 29-30. Cp. p 538.

⁷) Only one is quoted in VAnd., 153-54, namely that of the professor of Law John de Gronsselt, whom, in 1473, the town authorities wanted to replace by Raymond de Marliano, who declined, as the University protested : cp. before, I, 137.

chairs; and, on the other hand, no mention is made in the University records that have come to us, of a proper *Lectio Anatomica* before 1617, when it was instituted as a result of the 'Visit' by Albert and Isabella ¹). Facts must have happened this way: in his zeal for his branch, Thriverus naturally wanted to endow Louvain with a rational teaching of anatomy, of which the urgent necessity was as the reason of the world-wide fame conquered in a few years by his friend Vesalius ²). Of course, it would be an opening for him, and the want proved particularly great on account of the very indifferent lecturing by the two ordinary professors. He, — or his friends, possibly the great mathematician and physician Gemma ³), — had no trouble in convincing the town authorities of the urging necessity: on June 12, 1541, they allowed him to start a lesson on anatomy independent of the other lectures ⁴). It must have been as a revelation to the medical students, and it must have rendered unbearable the teaching of Noot and Willemaers, who either were absent, or read what might have been acceptable a century before; even the over-antiquated matter they proposed, was made more useless and quite bewildering by an abundance of Arabic names, which they did not take the least trouble to explain ⁵). The antipodal difference between them and the lecturer of anatomy caused the students to apply to the town authorities, who, in view of the reasonable demand and of their solicitude for the excellence of the lectures they controlled ⁶), dismissed Noot and Willemaers at Christmas 1542 ⁷),

¹) VAnd., 222; *ULDoc.*, I, 627: Quarto <lectio quotidiana> erit anatomica; docebitque hyeme anatomen, æstate compendium chyrurgiæ et simplicia usualia; ejusque erit hora secunda pomeridiana usque ad tertiam.

²) Cp. further, Ch. XVII.

³) Cp. §§ A, B of sect. 2. Gemma was Thriverus' intimate friend, although he differed from him first for his preoccupation, which were Mathematics rather than Medicine; also for his figure: he was small and thin of stature and pale of complexion, whilst Thriverus was tall, stout and healthy-looking; it occasioned the joke of the *Lovaniensium Medicorum par impar: GemFrisius*, 25-26.

⁴) Louvain Town MS 270, 33, v; *Anäl.*, xl, 100.

⁵) VAnd., 219.

⁶) The students threatened to leave the University if the two insufficient professors were not replaced by capable men.

⁷) Noot, who had already had some trouble with Hubert Barlandus, died on August 27, 1556, and was buried in St. Clara's Chapel, with his

appointing in their place Thriverus, who was enjoined to give every day both the forenoon lesson and that of the afternoon, devoting, no doubt, one to anatomy ¹). For, that the teaching of anatomy entered for a large part in that important decision, results from the arrangement taken by the town authorities in 1557, after William Bernaerts had succeeded the late Thriverus in the same conditions for the double lecture : the two *Professiones Ordinariæ* were again divided ²), and it was stipulated that both professors were to teach the matter 'quemadmodum id eidem Magistratui magis e re Medica fore videretur' : thus, that every week or fortnight a lecture was to be replaced by a debate presided by one of them, whereas the other was to be his opponent, and to lead the students in their arguing ; and, moreover, that '*obligati essent quotannis semel, bis, tertio aut quarto, si cadavera ad hoc haberi possint, alternatim præsidere anatomie exercendæ, & agere ibidem interpretem, prout res ejusmodi postulat*'. Those and other stipulations were proposed, on June 11, 1557, to William Bernaerts, who accepted them, considering the favourable change granted in his wages ³). From the distinct mention of the anatomic dissections, which evidently presuppose a convenient teaching of the important science of bodily structure, without which they would be useless, it evidently appears that, from 1541, had started the theoretical and practical instruction in anatomy. It is not the least of Thriverus' glories to have been the initiator and organizer of that paramount part of Medical instruction in Louvain University ⁴).

wife Gertrude of Immerseel, deceased on February 21, 1559. Willemaers died about 1558 leaving a widow, Catherine Vincx : VAnd., 232 ; Anal., xxxix, 299-304.

¹) VAnd., 219.

²) VAnd., 219-20, 235 : one was again the *Professor Primarius*, the other, Nicolas Biesius, the *Secundarius* : Paquot, iv, 189, xiii, 440. It was also stipulated that if a Licentiate was appointed, he was to promote Doctor within a year. Cp. Anal., xl, 106-9.

³) VAnd., 220.

⁴) Unfortunately that title of glory was never mentioned before. That Vesalius made anatomic dissections, seems certain (cp. Ch. XVII), although they were private exercises, at which Thriverus may have been present. In his letter to Dantiscus, announcing the lesson on anatomy, Gemma does not name Thriverus, although he declares : *indies quoque nomen claritasque Scholæ Medicæ Louanii sese ad sydera tollit* ; evidently that was not meant for Noot or Willemaers : DantE, 444.

No doubt, the new lectures were introduced by the '*Ad Studiosos Medicinæ Oratio de duabus hodie Medicorum Sectis ac de diversa ipsarum Methodo*, which was published in 1544 ¹⁾. Corroborated by his magnificent example, Thriverus' lessons and his advice cannot but have had a powerful influence on his disciples. He taught them rational study, which, instead of accepting blindly what is proposed, even by the venerable Hippocrates and Galen, checks all and everything by a comparison with real facts. It clearly results from his works : from his *In Libros Galeni de Temperamentis... Commentarii*, of March 1535 ²⁾, which he distinctly declared to be his own, and not gathered from others, claiming the right to say what is sensible, provided all pertinacity is absent : *Non est taxanda dicendi libertas, quæ pertinacia vacat, sed quæ ratione caret* ; that book was dedicated to Peter van Waeyenbergh, Abbot of Grimbergen ³⁾. It also results from his emendations of, and his commentaries on, Celsus' *De Sanitate tuenda*, of 1539 ⁴⁾, dedicated to Count Charles de Lalaing ⁵⁾. Amongst his numerous other works ⁶⁾,

¹⁾ Antwerp, Mart. Nutius, 1544.

²⁾ 'In tres libros Galeni de temperamentis, & vnum de inæquali intemperie commentarii quatuor, nequaquam ex aliis collecti, sed propriis rationibus instructi. Non est taxanda dicendi libertas, quæ pertinacia vacat, sed quæ ratione caret' : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, March 1535 : NijKron., 1, 2019.

³⁾ Peter van Waeyenbergh, of Brussels, monk of Grimbergen Abbey, took the management at the resigning of his predecessor Arnold Persoens in 1506, on account of his age ; he obtained, in 1524, from Clement VII the right to use the mitre and the pontificals ; he died in Brussels in 1540. He had been probably of a poor health for some time, for his successor, Francis du Blioul, of Brussels, had been his coadjutor for eighteen years : Gestel, II, 67 ; most likely Thriverus attended him.

⁴⁾ Avrelîi Cornelii Celsi de sanitate tuenda liber plurimis in locis antea nemini suspectis, castigatus & commentariis illustratus : Antwerp, Matthew Crom, 1539 : NijKron., 1, 551.

⁵⁾ Count Charles II of Lalaing, son of Count Charles I of Lalaing († July 17, 1525), who was Lord of Brakel, was since 1531 Chief of the Finances ; he had been made knight of the Golden Fleece at Tournai in the same year ; he valiantly served his Prince before Tunis, as well as at Audenarde during the revolt of 1539. He was appointed Captain of Hainaut in 1549, and was sent on embassy to Queen Mary of England in 1554 ; that year he defended Cambrai, and in 1555, he negotiated the truce of Vaucelles : Henne, v, 170, vi, 90, 337, &c, vii-x, *passim*.

⁶⁾ *BibBelg.*, 385-86 ; Paquot, vii, 180-85 ; *ULAnn.*, 1846 : 222-25.

his Commentaries on the books of Hippocrates' Aphorisms are most remarkable : he edited the explanation of the first book in 1538 ¹⁾, dedicating it to Louis de Praet, Lord of Flanders ²⁾, and addressing it to his friend, the physician Cornelius Spiring ; in 1551, he published *In Septem Libros Aphorismorum Hippocratis Commentarii* ³⁾. In those commentaries he not only shows his sagacity and judiciousness in the testing and the emending of the old texts, so as to realize that which was meant by the authors, but also in the checking of the various statements, and in the comparing them with what happens in reality. He thus corrects many errors : he assures that the cause of the diseases has not to be found in heavenly bodies, but in the state and the conditions of living of the patient ; the illness has not to be cured invariably by laxatives, and even less by a panacea, by the 'pilularum annona in pixide asservata, a qua non uno anno, sed perpetuo vita petitur'. He urges a thorough investigation of the patient by proper methods, according to the necessity of each case, so as to find the origin of the evil ; and so ingenious and deep-going was his own examining that, to quote an example, he already ascribed in his *Commentarii* of 1551, the itch to the presence of the *ἄχαρι*, the mite, making its way under the skin ⁴⁾ ; that strange explanation was not mentioned again before Mouffet's *Theatrum Insectorum* in 1634 ; it still was contested in the beginning of last century ⁵⁾.

Thrивerus, as Vernulæus describes, was not only considered as remarkable in Louvain, but was always mentioned 'cum honoris præfatione' amongst the most cultivated nations ⁶⁾ ; in the midst of his glorious activity and his most appreciated teaching, he unfortunately fell ill, suffering from a slow

¹⁾ 'Hieremiæ Thriveri... in primum Aphorismorum Hippocratis librum Commentarius, non minus brevis quam varius'... : Antwerp, Matthew Crom, 1538 : NijKron., I, 2020.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 491.

³⁾ Lyons, 'Beringi fratres', 1551.

⁴⁾ Sunt autem, mea quidem conjectura, in quibus <pustulis> parva illa animantia oriuntur quæ sub cute cum maximo pruritu longos et subtiles tractus moliantur et effodiunt : *In Septem libros Aphorism. Hippocr. Comment.* (Lyons, 1551) : 439. Cp., however, *RevQSc.*, 1927, 58.

⁵⁾ Cp. *ULAnn.*, 1846 : 225-45 ; *RevQSc.*, 1927 : 58.

⁶⁾ Vern., 302.

disease, possibly grieving for the loss of a dearly beloved son.¹⁾ : he died in December 1554, and was buried in St. Peter's²⁾. He left a widow, Ann Walravens, and, as far as is known, two daughters³⁾ and a son, Denys, who afterwards became physician⁴⁾, and who edited his father's *Universæ Medicinæ Brevissima Absolutissimaque Methodus*⁵⁾.

Thriverus had done grand work : though his writings had only a transitory value⁶⁾, they greatly helped him in his task to prepare the way for his friend Vesalius⁷⁾. For he certainly brought Medical Science a good way nearer the final stage ; firmly withstanding unavoidable hesitation and bitter opposition⁸⁾, he successfully directed, by his word and his example, the eager responsiveness of the rising generation⁹⁾ towards the spirit of Humanism, calling intellectual

¹⁾ A 'Jeremias Thiverius, Lovaniensis' is recorded as being placed the 32nd at the promotion to M. A. on March 22, 1548 : *ULPromRs.*, 148 ; he probably was Jeremy's son, and if so, he must have preceded his father to the grave.

²⁾ Cp. *Mol.*, 566 ; *OlaE*, 209 ; *VAnd.*, 232 ; *Vern.*, 302 ; *Guicc.*, 50, 235 ; *GandErVir.*, 57 ; *Paquot*, vii, 179-85 ; *SaxOnom.*, 631 ; Prof. P. J. Haan, in *ULAnn.*, 1546 : 217-45.

³⁾ One, Philippine, married Nicolas van Emeren ; the other, Elizabeth, Goswin Coninx.

⁴⁾ He settled in that quality at Zierikzee.

⁵⁾ Leyden, Franc. Raphelengius, 1592.

⁶⁾ Still in 1592, Baldwin Ronssæus reprinted with his own notes, his master's edition of *Celsi de Sanitate Tuenda Liber* (Leyden, Fr. Raphelengius), and in the same year, Henry Garet inserted extracts from Thriverus' *De Victu ab Arthriticis* in a work on that illness : Frankfurt, 1592.

⁷⁾ No doubt Thriverus knew Vesalius during the time of their study ; when the former became professor, the latter had, long since, found his glorious way.

⁸⁾ Although his friend, the Bruges physician William Pantin, of Thielt, (cp. Ch. XVII), praised him in the Preface to his edition of Celsus' *De Arte Medica* (Basle, 1552 : *Paquot*, xvii, 204), to the Bruges Senate (*Mol.*, 567 ; *BrugErVir.*, 57), he had, at some time, felt uneasy about Thriverus' innovations, as results from this judgment attributed to him : Ego in approbatis atque antiquis opinionibus acquiescere, quam novas extruere, aut defendere, aut ingenio nimium fidere, mihi jam pridem non modo tutius, sed etiam fidelius honestiusque esse persuasi ; maxime si evidente manifesta que etiam ratione confirmentur : *Mol.*, 566.

⁹⁾ Among Thriverus' students were, besides Suffridus Petri (in 1547 : *Paquot*, vii, 272), the famous Baldwin van Ronss, Ronssæus, who was,

workers from the blinding gregariousness of Tradition to the enlivening scrutiny of nature, of the beings in their manifold manifestations, and, exceptionally, that of first-rate documents where time and space prevent a direct contact with the object under survey.

2. EXACT SCIENCE

A. GEMMA COSMOGRAPHER

Amongst the great men trained at the *Trilingue*, one of the most illustrious is the famous Gemma Phrysius, who practised medicine in Louvain, but who made himself a name as mathematician. The method of critical investigation and relentless research led him to improving the best handbooks and apparatuses used for the study of number and space, and to several innovations, which have been since then in use almost without any change.

Gemma, son of Reynier, **Reyneri** ¹⁾, a native of Dokkum, Friesland, **Phrysius**, as he spells the name himself, born presumably on December 8, 1508, was of a weak constitution : he had to use *scipiones* for the sake of lameness up to his sixth year, when he was wonderfully cured in St. Bonifacius' church on the solemn feast of that Saint ²⁾). He lost his parents when a child, and was educated for some time at Groningen, where he went to school, and from where he came to Louvain, probably in the autumn of 1525, as he matriculated as poor student of the Lily on February 26, 1526 ³⁾ ; on 103 competitors he was placed the 31st at the promotion to M. A.

for a time, physician to Duke Henry of Brunswick-Luneburg, and afterwards town physician of Ter-Gouw : Paquot, III, 110 ; and the renowned Peter of Foreest, Forestus : cp. further, Ch. XXI ; Paquot, XII, 77.

¹⁾ *Reyneri* seems to recall his father's name, whereas *Gemma*, or *Jemma*, was his : both the Matriculation Register and the list of Promotions call him *Gemma Reyneri*. He himself writes in his books *Gemma Phrysius* (which orthography he evidently preferred) ; to distinguish him from his son *Cornelius Gemma*, he at times is referred to as *Reynerus Gemma*. Cp. *GemFrisius*, 9-12.

²⁾ *Cornelius Gemma* states that he heard the story more than ten times from his father's mouth : *GemChar.*, II, 210 ; *Mol.*, 567.

³⁾ *LibIntIII*, 329, v : 'Gemma Reyneri d'grueningha, traiecten. dioc.'

on March 19, 1528 ¹⁾. He studied at the time at the *Trilingue*, and was most conspicuous for his acquaintance with Latin and Greek; moreover, he was, by 1530, one of the most intimate friends of Goclenius, Rescius ²⁾ and John Campensis ³⁾. He also took an extraordinary interest in two branches of the *Quadrivium*, arithmetic and astronomy ⁴⁾, and was very proficient in that study, for which he may have enjoyed the guidance of the great mathematician John Dridoens, possibly in Houterlee College ⁵⁾. At any rate, in 1529, he had mastered so well the matter which the Ingolstadt printer and astronomer Peter Bienewitz, *Apianus* ⁶⁾, in the wake of Claudius

¹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 77 : Gemma Reyneri, *dictus* Gemma Frisius.

²⁾ Cp. DantE, 291.

³⁾ Cp. DantE, 150, 152.

⁴⁾ Cp. M. Capella Martiapi... Carthaginensis, *De Nuptijs Philologiae, & septem Artibus Liberalibus* : Lyons, 1539 : 273-314, 315-352.

⁵⁾ As professor in the Falcon, John Dridoens taught mathematics with such success that he was going to devote his life to them; Adrian of Utrecht led him to divinity : *MonHL*, 345, 423; cp. before, pp 505-7.

⁶⁾ Peter Bienewitz, Bannewitz, *Apianus*, was born in 1495 at Leisnig, Saxony; about 1525, he settled as printer at Ingolstadt with his elder brother George, and published several tracts by John Eck, such as those against Zwingli (May 5, 1526), Ambrose Blaurer (1526) and Konrad Sam, of Rottenacker (1527) : Karl Schottenloher, *Die Landshuter Buchdrucker des 16. Jahrhunderts (Johann Weissenburger, Georg und Martin Apianus). Mit einem Anhang : Die Apianusdruckerei in Ingolstadt* : Mayence, 1930 ; *CorpCath.*, XIV, xxii, xxviii, XVI, xcii, sq, 102-3 ; CeltE, 43, 70, 545, 638 ; &c. Apianus seems to have been more a man of study than of trade, for he edited with Barth. Amantius at the expense of Raymond Fugger the first collection of old classic inscriptions ; Müller, I, 5 ; *CorpCath.*, VI, 64 ; Hessels, I, 401-2 ; Sandys, II, 260 ; whereas his activity was even more taken up with astronomy and mathematics, which he afterwards taught in the University until his decease on April 21, 1552. He wrote, amongst other works, *Cosmographia*, 1524, dedicated to Cardinal Matthew Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, January 26, 1524 (CeltE, 520) ; *Sphæra Astronomiæ ac Cosmographiæ* <of John de Sacrobosco> *emendata*, 1526 ; *Quadrans Astronomicus*, 1532, an instrument he had invented ; *Horoscopium Apiani Generale*, 1533 ; *Folium Populi*, 1533 ; *Instrumentum Sinuum seu Primi Mobilis*, 1534, another of his inventions ; and *Astronomicum Cæsareum*, 1540, dedicated to Charles V, who had been taught astronomy by him, and had ennobled him. Cp. ADB ; F. van Ortoy, *Bibliographie de l'Œuvre de Pierre Apian* : Paris, 1901 ; *SaxOnom.*, 102, 595, 658 ; FG, 297-98 ; RhenE, 543 ; Prowe, I, II, 408, 411, 412, 515, 27, 70 ; *CatSél.*, 214-15 ; BB, A, 28-40, &c. His son Philip, 1531-1589, professor in Tübingen, also was famous as astronomer and mathematician.

Ptolemæus, of Alexandria ¹⁾, and more recent astronomers, like John of Holywood, or Halifax ²⁾ and others, had condensed in his *Cosmographia* ³⁾, that he corrected and completed it in many places. He had it published in Antwerp in February 1529 under the title *Cosmographicvs Liber Petri Apiani mathematici, studiose correctus, et erroribus vindicatus per Gemman Phrysius* ⁴⁾.

That fine piece of work drew the attention of whoever was interested in learning, on the young author, who had hardly reached the age of twenty-one; he became acquainted with several of the leading personages, and his friend Janus Secundus praised him for being not only a *Gemma* by name, but in reality ⁵⁾ :

Immortale feres nomen, dum Gemma feretur

In digitis, fulvoque decens radiabit in auro.

That fame, and the growing number of young men in Louvain, who wanted to be tutored by him, spurred him on to his work, and already in October 1530, he followed up his *Cosmography* by three small treatises : *De Principiis Astronomiæ et Cosmographiæ, deque Vsu Globi... Item de Orbis diuisione, & Insulis nuper inventis*. The little book ⁶⁾, printed

¹⁾ Sandys, I, 311, 533, 562, 565-66.

²⁾ John of Holywood, or of Halifax, so named after his birthplace in Yorkshire, *de Sacrobosco*, or *Sacrobusto*, a doctor of Oxford, studied about 1230 in Paris, and died there in 1256; he left a famous *Tractatus de Sphæra*, which was printed as early as 1472 at Ferrara, and was frequently issued and translated; his *Algorismus* was edited in 1838 by J. O. Halliwell : *DNB*; Franklin, 506.

³⁾ *Cosmographiæ Introductio cum quibusdam Gæometriæ et Astronomiæ principiis ad eam rem necessarijs* : Ingolstadt, 1524; that work was enlarged in 1533, and often reprinted.

⁴⁾ The book was printed by John Grapheus for Roland Bollaert; it was reprinted by J. Grapheus with other treatises by Gemma in February 1533 and 1534, for Gregory de Bonte, and in February 1533 for Arn. Birckman. In 1539, and again in 1540, it was reprinted by Giles Coppens for Arn. Birckman, and in 1537 it was translated into Flemish : NijKron., I, 121-27; *GemFrisius*, 165-67.

⁵⁾ Amongst Secundus' *Epigrammata*, there is one : — *Ad Gemman Phrysius mathematicum* (*JSecOp.*, 138), — which alludes to the small, gem-like size of the clever young man : cp. before, p 537, where he is compared with Thrivervus for his size.

⁶⁾ It extends only over 42 quarto leaves.

printed by John Grapheus at Antwerp, was offered for sale with the necessary 'globes' both in Louvain and Antwerp ¹⁾; it testifies to the intense work steadily going on in the Brabant University, which for several years had been a most active centre of geographic and astronomic studies ²⁾. The

¹⁾ It was sold in Louvain, by Servatius Zassenus, and at Antwerp, by Gregory de Bonte : both are mentioned on the title as having shared the expenses : NijKron., I, 971 ; the little book was reprinted in 1544 by John Richard, Antwerp ; in 1547 by Th. Richard, Paris ; also in 1548 and in 1553 by John Steels, Antwerp : *GemFrisius*, 189-222.

²⁾ Louvain University had, about 1500, the renown of being one of the foremost schools of mathematics, possibly on account of the attention bestowed on the research about the exact date of the passion and death of Our Lord, which was, in 1487-88, the subject of a controversy between the professor of theology and *plebanus* of St. Peter's, Peter van der Beken, de Rivo, of Assche (cp. before, I, 125-28), and an old student of Louvain, Paul of Middelburg, who was then physician to the Duke of Urbino, Francis Mary de la Rovere, and became, in 1494, Bishop of Fossombrone : VAnd., 94 ; Polain, III, 3006, 3126-7 ; de Jongh, 84-6. Paul of Middelburg, who died in Rome, December 1534 (*Anima*, 344, 399), had at a time practised himself vain astrology ; later on he had become a zealous, and even a wild promotor of the Reform of the Calendar : Paquot, v, 1-9 ; Prowe, I, ii, 70, sq. When, in 1516, Leo X asked the advice of Louvain University on that matter, Albert Pigge, of Kampen, a pupil of John Dridoens for mathematics, replied with his *De Ratione Paschalis Celebrationis*, printed in Paris, 1520, along with other treatises on the question. In 1518, he had published in Paris *Adversus Prognosticatorum Vulgus*, qui annuas prædictiones edunt, et se Astrologos mentiuntur, *Astrologiæ Defensio*, in which he attacked the prognostications (*Cran.*, 97, a, b), written presumably by the Antwerp physician Jasper (de) Laet, of Borchloon, who promoted in Louvain in 1512 (VAnd., 230), and edited predictions ascribed to the movements of the stars for the years 1488 to 1536 : Polain, III, 2425-28 ; NijKron., I, 1297-1307, II, 3330-3357. He was imitated by printers, who either reproduced or translated them, or attributed them to a Henry de Fine, or a John de Bosco Rondo, to an Olivier de Grâce, an Odoard Thibault or Guido Vidame, in so far that even in France many a publication went under the name of *Prenostication de Louvain* : NijKron., II, 2249-50, 3254, 3351-52 ; they were parodied by Rabelais in his *Pantagrueline Prognostication pour l'an 1533 : Œuvres Complètes* (ed. J. Plattard : Paris, 1929) : v, 202, 204, 351. Pigge's criticism was bitterly answered by Jasper de Laet in 1520 (NijKron., II, 3335) ; nor did it stop the production of those almanacs : for several centuries they went under the name of Louvain, which proves that at least the authors wished to avail themselves of the authority of the University in that matter : de Jongh, 83-87 ; VAnd., 369 ; Mol., 576-77 ; Quetelet, 70 ; CrenFasc., I, 355.

Principia of Astronomy and *Cosmography* evidently are not invented by Gemma ; yet he severely tests them, and represents them clearly and simply. On the other hand the treatise *De Vsu Globi* brings a new method of finding the longitude of a place (by means of a watch), which he discovered, and which is still in use at the present day ; in his description, Gemma shows that he is fully conscious of the importance of that invention, which is one of his greatest claims to renown. With his characteristic attentiveness to practical utility, he noticed what account could be made of the just then introduced novelty of small portable 'clocks' : comparing the 'sun-dial' time of the place one leaves, and that where one arrives after going about, one can conclude, if there is no difference, that one has moved north or south ; if there is a difference, the advance or the slowness indicates the degrees one has gone to the west or to the east of the original meridian ¹⁾).

Apianus' *Cosmography* offers the description of *Κόσμος*, which Gemma brings in touch with all the discoveries : the widening of the spaces of the known world was followed and witnessed in Louvain with the greatest interest : Gemma's book of 1530 is one of the first to describe America, and in the augmented issue of 1553 ²⁾), three chapters are devoted to the 'New-World', *De Insulis nuper Inventis* : in *De America* are mentioned Brazil, Darien, Florida, Temistelan, besides other countries ; in *De Insulis apud Americam*, reference is made, amongst others, to Yucatan, Cuba, Jamaica and Guadalupa. The information thus gathered was made use of for maps and for 'globes', the making of which, about that time, seems to have been a speciality of Louvain ³⁾). Besides Gemma, there were others occupied at that work : such as Henry Baers Vekenstyl, a mathematician, treasurer of St. Peter's church ⁴⁾), who printed himself in 1530 his *Libellus*

¹⁾ Quetelet, 82-83.

²⁾ Antwerp, John Steels, 1553 (*GemFriscius*, 198-208) : it adds to the title of 1530 : *Opus nunc demum ab ipso auctore multis in locis auctum, ac sublati omnibus erratis integritati restitutum*.

³⁾ Cp. further, p 550.

⁴⁾ Mol., 577 ; Quetelet, 77. — In a letter of February 7, <1532>, to John Dantiscus (DantE, 190), he styles himself : *Henricus Vekenstyl, alias*

Novvs de Compositione ac Vsu Directorii Planetarvm ¹⁾, and, in 1537, *De Compositione ac Vsu Quadrantis* ²⁾).

Notwithstanding the excellent work provided by the young erudite, his material conditions cannot have been very brilliant. He most probably earned his living by tutoring : it took up a large part of his time and of his strength, which he wanted to devote to his further studies and investigations. In 1529, he was laid up with the Sweating Sickness ³⁾ ; he may have suffered even more by the slow returns for his books : it is very hard, indeed, to live from mere fame and admiration. Fortunately it helped to attract the attention of the Polish ambassador John Dantiscus ⁴⁾, who seems to have arrived in Brabant some time in advance of the Imperial Court ⁵⁾. That great protector of learning was not long in making his acquaintance, nor in gauging his value : he

Barsius, mathematicus, ecclie. diui petri louanien. thesaurarius ; he expresses his thanks for having been received once by the Polish Ambassador, and having been shown all his 'clenodia' ; he requests him to accept that which will help him *a terra adsursumque sydera suspicando, mentemque ad distantias, mensurasque a terra ad syderum concanitatem conuexitatemque nouo anhelitu considerando, quorum exempla <Illius> paternitati (licet indignus) represent<at>* : no doubt, another treatise of astronomy besides that of 1530, — possibly a reprint, which, however, is not known to have survived in a copy. Most likely Vekenstyl, who belonged to the well-known Louvain family connected with the 'Blauwen Steen' (cp. Mol., 301, 766 ; *LouvAssist.*, 61, 324, 422 ; *Pynnock*, 125 ; *LouvBoon*, 374, a ; Henne, v, 55 ; *FUL*, 2988), was, at least, a 'cleric' ; there are only copies left of three or four books he published : one, his *Tabulæ longitudinum... planetarum ad Meridianum Louaniensem*, 1528, is recorded by Quetelet, 77 ; two, also by himself, are very small, comprising only 24 and 6 quarto leaves, but with many designs ; the fourth being the *Meditationes in Septem Psalmos Pœnitentiæ*, by William (van den Steen) Lapidanus, monk of Bergues-St.-Winock, 1530, comprising 56 octavo leaves : *NijKron.*, II, 3362 : its two last pages but one are taken up by a *Carmen Dialogicum Meruellij In Commendationem Calcographie Barsianæ*, namely a dialogue between *Meruellius* and the *Calcographia*.

¹⁾ March, 26, 1530 : *NijKron.*, I, 2110.

²⁾ August 2, 1537 : *NijKron.*, I, 2111.

³⁾ Cp. *GemChar.*, I, 189 ; cp. before, pp 524, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. Ch. XIV.

⁵⁾ The Emperor reached Maastricht on January 15, and came to Brussels on January 21, 1531 : cp. Gachard, 49, 98 ; Dantiscus seems to have reached Mechlin in the last days of December 1530 : cp. before, pp 437, sq.

himself was highly interested in astronomy and in exact sciences, which were the life-work of his dear friend and countryman, the genial Nicolas Copernic ¹⁾. He offered the young scholar an office in his *familia*, which was most gratefully accepted. That way Gemma secured a welcome living; it allowed him to continue his studies, and gained him many valuable friends; for, through his master, he soon became acquainted with Cornelius de Schepper ²⁾, Nicolas Olah ³⁾ and other dignitaries at the Emperor's or at Mary of Hungary's Court ⁴⁾. It is from the correspondence of the far-seeing *Orator* of King Sigismond that the few details known about the intimate story of the young mathematician in those years can be derived.

Having entered Dantiscus' service in the beginning of 1531, he soon gained his master's entire satisfaction, in so far that another friend and *protégé*, Gemma's Hebrew professor John van Campen, who had secured his interest by his translation of the Psalms ⁵⁾, may have felt a suspicion of jealousy, which prompted the name *Strata-gema*, suggesting sharpness and cunning in more than one sense. 'Gaudeo Stratagema tam tibi esse carum', Campensis wrote to Dantiscus on April 16, 1531 ⁶⁾, 'ut eadem charta cum eo uti non dedigneris ⁷⁾; amo adolescentem ob integritatem et ingenuas artes, quas sic sectatur, ut ad eas mihi natus esse videatur'. On May 11, Nicolas Clenardus wrote to Dantiscus about a change in his circumstances, which he supposed he had heard already from Gemma ⁸⁾. On June 2, Campensis has no time even for a line to Stratagema ⁹⁾; whereas on the first days of August, he announces that Gemma, who had been sent to buy some

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp 558, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 166-71, 385.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIV; Gemma sent him a letter, April 13, 1534, apologizing for not writing before, and offering him a *parvum munusculum*, probably one of his works: OlaE, 487-88.

⁴⁾ He contributed a poem to the *Epitaphia... in Funere Mercurini... Gattinariae*: Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1531: NijKron., I, 768-69.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XV.

⁶⁾ DantE, 117.

⁷⁾ Probably a letter from Dantiscus had reached Campensis, to which Gemma had added a few lines.

⁸⁾ DantE, 125; MonHL, 423; ClénCorr., I, 14, II, 23.

⁹⁾ DantE, 131.

books in Louvain, has fallen ill ¹⁾; on August 7 ²⁾, Gemma writes himself, informing his master that he will have to remain in bed a few days, as he suffers from the liver, and requests some money for the physician and the medicine, for which God will reward him if he should die. A fortnight later he had returned to Brussels, where, on August 25, Charles Untenhove sends his greetings ³⁾; and, on September 16, 1531, Campensis beseeches his protector either to write or to send 'Gemmam nostrum' with his manuscript translations of the fifty and odd Psalms, which he wishes to overhaul, and make ready for the printer before his coming departure ⁴⁾.

When, in the first months of 1532, Dantiscus, who had been appointed as Bishop of Culm in 1530 ⁵⁾, prepared his return to his native country, he wanted to secure for the work in his diocese, the services of two men whose great value as humanists he had had the occasion to appreciate : John Campensis, who was to impart the new direction and right spirit to the studies of the Bible; and Gemma Phrysius, to spread about the intellectual development that was aimed at by the *Trilingue*; he also contemplated availing himself of the exceptional opportunity to provide a fit assistant to his friend N. Copernic, who, in his unpractical, dilatory disposition, might be induced and helped to publish finally the genial ideas which he had conceived and enriched since so many years ⁶⁾. As Campensis had been longing for a change in his occupation ⁷⁾, he readily accepted the proposal, and so did

¹⁾ DantE, 150 : the letter has no date; — it is suggested by that of August 7 : DantE, 152.

²⁾ DantE, 152; *GemFrisius*, 403.

³⁾ DantE, 156.

⁴⁾ DantE, 160, and further, Ch. XV.

⁵⁾ *DantCar.*, xxv.

⁶⁾ Copernic had since long communicated an announcement of his heliocentric system, which was criticized at once, and even made the subject of a skit played in the streets of Elbing; on that account he delayed publishing his *Opus de Revolutionibus coelestibus*, of which the first copy was brought to him on the day of his death, May 24, 1543 : Prowe, I, ii, 229, sq, 239, sq, 282, sq, 555, sq, II, 3-12. Dantiscus had highly praised Copernic's study, when, before 1532, he talked with Gemma of the movement of earth and heaven; the latter had received the 'proœmium' of the *de Revolutionibus*, of which he begged his late master to hasten the appearance in his letter of July 20, 1541 : DantE, 429; *GemFrisius*, 410.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XV.

Gemma, at least provisionally ; for when, in the beginning of March, Dantiscus started his journey by Cologne to Nuremberg and Ratisbon, he could not be brought to accompany him. He thus greatly disappointed his master and his friends : 'De Gemma tuo aliud credidissem', de Schepper wrote from Bruges to Dantiscus on March 11 ¹⁾, and expressed his fear that even Campensis might stay behind in Cologne. Meanwhile Gemma went to visit his family in Friesland, whom he had not seen for seven years. When he returned by Antwerp to Louvain, he heard that his late master was still urging him to come and rejoin him : he accepted, as he had no other prospects, and had arranged to start the journey with a companion, probably in the summer of 1533, when the rumour of Dantiscus' death ²⁾, and the premature departure of his fellow-wayfarer again kept him in Louvain ³⁾.

B. GEMMA GEOGRAPHER & MATHEMATICIAN

On his return from Friesland in 1532, Gemma once more settled in Louvain and resumed his studies, whilst earning his living by tutoring. He devoted also a large part of his time to the directing of the producing of terrestrial and celestial globes, which he announced in his books. They were made of paper pulp, covered with a kind of plaster, on which were stuck twelve spindle-shaped engravings, representing the countries and the seas, or the celestial bodies ⁴⁾. The

¹⁾ DantE, 202 ; he added : *Gaudeo quod adhuc manserit Campensis, sed et hunc audio hesurum Coloniae Agrippinae.*

²⁾ The bad news was contradicted by the Bishop of Brixen, George of Austria, on his arrival in Brussels, as his secretary, Daniel Mauch, announced to Dantiscus on April 16, 1534 : DantE, 286.

³⁾ Letter of Gemma to Dantiscus, July 26, 1534 : DantE, 291 : he explains that the difficulties of his walking, and of journeying by himself, had prevented him following his master.

⁴⁾ An engraved globe was announced in 1530 in *De Principiis Astronomiae* : no copy is known ; another, soon after, was engraved by Jasper van der Heyden, a Myrica, and 'Gerardus Mercator Rupelmundanus' ; it was dedicated to Maximilian Transsylvanus : judging from the new countries marked, it was made after 1534. Celestial globes may have been made in 1530, but no copy seems to survive ; there is one of 1537, also engraved by Mercator and a Myrica ; it is dedicated to the Imperial secretary John Obernbürger : *GemFriscus*, 143-51.

globe reposed on a foot, and was provided with a ring for the horizon, with an equinoctial line, a movable meridian with an alidad, a mariner's card, and other implements in wood or brass ¹⁾. The maps were based on those of Claud Ptolemy ²⁾, of his medieval translators and of the more recent commentators ³⁾; they were carefully completed by the information which the various explorers and sea-farers brought home from their voyages to the newly discovered continent ⁴⁾. Naturally those maps were still incorrect and had to be constantly changed according to the new indications received. Those globes were highly valued, and became objects of art by the artistic work bestowed on them. The secretary to the Duke of Milan, Camillus Gilinus, on a mission at Mary of Hungary's Court, ordered one from Gemma before he returned to Italy : it had to be constructed under his supervision, and sent through the interference of his friends Olah and James Banisius, the nephew of the late Dean of Antwerp ⁵⁾, by James Fagnanus, a Milan business man in that port ⁶⁾ : there is a repeated reference to that object of

¹⁾ Cp. the title-pages reproduced in *GemFriscus*, 170, 190, 225; *GemChar.*, II, 4, 28, 119.

²⁾ Cp. Sandys, I, 311, 533, 565, sq, II, 490, b.

³⁾ Such were Rodolphus of Bruges (c 1144) and Gerard of Cremona († 1187), two translators from the Arabic version : Sandys, I, 533, 562, 565, sq; and, amongst the contemporaries, Henri Loriti Glareanus (cp. before, p 499) : cp. Ant. Elter, *De Henrico Glareano, Geographo, et Antiquissima Forma 'Americæ' Commentatio* : Bonn, 1896.

⁴⁾ E. g., the Molucca Isles are indicated, and the relation of the voyage of their discovery, started by Fernão de Magelhães on Sept. 20, 1519, and finished by Juan Sebastian de Elcano, September 6, 1522, is related in the Ch. xxx of the *De Principiis Astronomiæ* : *Cran.*, 68, a; *GemFriscus*, 190; *CatHalle*, 15.

⁵⁾ James Banisius, *de Bannisiis* (1466-c 1534), was secretary of Maximilian of Austria, and protonotary : he was appointed by the Pope as Dean of Antwerp; the Chapter had chosen Adrian of Utrecht, who yielded that office to James, 1516; he obtained, in 1522, the license to enjoy the emoluments although absent, which privilege was revoked in 1530; he then resigned, and was succeeded by John Naturelli; Banisius went to fulfil the office of Dean of Trent, whilst his namesake and nephew apparently took his place at Court : *AntoDiercx.*, III, 266-67, 368-72; *AntoEpisc.*, 106; *Busl.*, 362; Allen, III, 700, pr; Dürer, 66.

⁶⁾ The family of the Faignani was very powerful at Antwerp in the first half of the XVIth century : amongst the Italian exporters there in

Gilinus' longing in his correspondence with Olah between April 13, 1534 ¹⁾ and August 22, 1535, when not only the *globus*, but even the books had arrived in which Gemma explains its use and that of the *annulus* ²⁾).

In the following years, the difficulty of having the globes as helps for his treatises, compelled Gemma to replace them by a map of the world : 'partim', he says, 'ex ueteribus, partim ex recentiorum nauigationibus confecta, artificium Ptolemæi seculi sumus' ; it was published about 1540 ³⁾, and as no copy of it subsists, it is only known through the *Integræ Mappæ Frisii typus*, which is given with the description in his books, or by scholars who used it ⁴⁾. It represented the world to the left and to the right of the same half-meridian, figured *pene totus*, and constituting *Mappæ peripheria* : it was twice as broad as it was high : the meridians were broken off a little below the tropic of Capricorn, as the South Pole was then still a mystery, whilst they rose out, and joined to a point above, making the map look like an onion without its roots and with its leaves cut short ⁵⁾).

Although the representation of the lands and seas had necessarily to be conventional for globes and maps, Gemma

1543 is mentioned 'Jacomio de Fagniano', and amongst the *Trestous marchans de Lombardie* in 1551, 'Jacomio de Fanignano et Cie' : Goris, 187, 272, 617.

¹⁾ OlaE, 488 (Olah to Gilinus) : Globus ille coelestis nondum perfectus est. Goclenius artificem sollicitat. Sed scis vafriciem hominum Brabantinorum. Ultra præfinitam mercedem nescio quid pluris somniat, dicit te non satisfecisse Gemmæ, quod tibi annulorum artificium et legem demonstrarit. Vide hominis impudentiam. Conficiemus tamen id quoque cum eo.

²⁾ On August 27 and on October 12, 1534. Gilinus asks 'num globus... ad umbili[cum] peruenerit' ; on October 20, November 9 and 20, he mentions it again, and indicates the way to send it to Italy. On May 31, 1535, he recalls Gemma's promise : mihi isthinc recedenti pollicitus est, una cum globo missurum libellum suum, docentem quo pacto utendus sit globus : OlaE, 522, 533, 538, 539, 554. Finally, on July 4 and Aug. 22, 1535, he announces that he has received the globe, the book and the explanation : OlaE, 556, 562.

³⁾ *GemFrisius*, 151, 154-55.

⁴⁾ *GemFrisius*, 154-70.

⁵⁾ That 'Mappemonde cordiforme' was reprinted in 1544, and has been reproduced in many contemporary and subsequent books of maps : cp. *GemFrisius*, 151-64.

rendered a great service to Geography by trying to make them as practical and as exact as circumstances allowed ¹⁾. It made him look out for an actual, reliable base, at least for the representation of smaller extents, and he came forward already in February 1533 with a solution which has not been surpassed, and which modern science has adopted. To his new edition of Apian's *Cosmographicus Liber* ²⁾ he added a treatise, *Libellus de Locorum Describendorum Ratione et de eorum Distantijs inueniendis nunquam antehac visus*, dedicated to Thomas Bombelli ³⁾, Antwerp, Jan. 31, 1533 ⁴⁾; he explains in it how from a steeple of one town, say Antwerp, other towns can be seen, and the angles can be marked which indicate the respective directions of the visual rays, compared with the meridian. From a second town, Brussels, correspondent angles can be taken, which, noted down on paper, with the basic distance between A and B, which could be actually measured ⁵⁾, indicate by the intersection of the lines of the angles, the corresponding positions and distances of the places seen from the two initial towns. By that method, which was fully explained and provided with an abundance of most practical and judicious hints, the means were given to his pupil Mercator to draw the exact representation of a district, of what we now call a province, and of a whole country ⁶⁾. That method made Gemma the founder of scientific Geography.

As Gemma was restlessly occupied with his studies and researches both for the 'geo-metry' and the astronomy, he handled the best instruments available, but he never failed to

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 551.

²⁾ Antwerp, John Grapheus; February 1533: one part of the edition was for Gregory de Bonte, the other for Arnold Birckman: NijKron., 1, 122-23; the interesting book contains several woodcuts and movable astronomic representations, reprinted, e. g., in 1539 and 1545.

³⁾ Tommaso Bombelli, the great Antwerp silk merchant, 'argentier' of Margaret of Austria, Dürer's particular friend, who sent his son Jerome to study in the *Trilingue* in 1522: cp. pp 131-32; AltRel., 164.

⁴⁾ Gemma probably was, for a time, the guest of the great Maecenas.

⁵⁾ The distance between two towns, if the country was flat and the way straight, was easily indicated by counting the turns of a wheel added to a waggon, of which the circumference was known.

⁶⁾ Quetelet, 80-81; GemFristus, 58-69, 168-70.

make them far better than they were when they came to his hands. He thus greatly perfected the Astronomic Ring, and at once imparted to all interested, the improvements he had realized for it, describing them in the treatise *Usus Annuli Astronomici*, which was, no doubt, added to an edition of Apianus' *Cosmographia* issued in, or shortly after, 1534, the year in which, on February 1, it was dedicated to John Khreutter, secretary to Queen Mary of Hungary ¹). No copy is known, but the new treatise appears in all the subsequent editions of the *Cosmographia* ²), from that of 1539 on ³), and was reproduced in all books on that matter. In a similar way Gemma greatly improved the construction and the use of the 'arhalest', and explained it in his *De Radio Astronomico & Geometrico Liber* ⁴), dedicated to the Count of Feria ⁵); it was printed, in October 1545, by Giles of Diest, at Antwerp at the common expense of Gregory de Bonte, of Antwerp, and of Peter van der Phaliesen, Phalesius, of Louvain ⁶). Ten years later, Gemma was preparing the description of the most efficient changes by which he had perfected another instrument ⁷) : it was issued as *De Astrolabo Catholico Liber quo latissime patentis Instrumenti usus explicatur, & quidquid vspiam rerum Mathematicarum tradi possit continetur* ⁸).

¹) Quetelet, 84; *GemFriskius*, 171-75.

²) In July 1537, Eucharius Cervicornus published in Marburg, John Eichman Dryander's *Annulorum Trium Diversi Generis Instrumentorum Astronomicorum componendi Ratio atque Usus*, which reproduces Gemma's Chapters vi-ix almost entirely, and proves that his *Usus Annuli* had been issued : *GemFriskius*, 65, 173-74.

³) Antwerp, Giles Coppenius, for Arnold Berckman : *GemFriskius*, 171-72.

⁴) Quetelet, 87; *GemFriskius*, 320-29 : it is recommended by 26 verses by Joachim Polites, the *ab Actis* of Antwerp.

⁵) Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, Count, and afterwards Duke, of Feria, was a Spanish councillor of Charles V; he became minister of Philip II, and greatly helped the Jesuit Order, in which he had a brother, to be admitted in the Netherlands : *Jésuist.*, I, 86, 89-96, 104-8, 120, sq, 151; Pirenne, IV, 364.

⁶) *GemFriskius*, 322.

⁷) The book seems to have been written by 1554 as he makes astronomical observations for the *Spica* in the Virgin in that year.

⁸) *GemFriskius*, 329-34; Cornelius van Auwater wrote some fine verses in the author's praise : cp. further, p 565.

That book, dedicated to Philip, King of Spain and England, printed by John Steels, at Antwerp, in 1556, was not quite finished when the author died : his son completed it, whilst his nephew Gualterus Arsenius was construing with his brothers, on Gemma's model, most splendid astrolabes ¹⁾ : the high perfection to which the Louvain scholar raised that instrument, helped most efficiently the great explorers of that century of discoveries, and made possible the magnificent advance of geodesy and of the minute description of every part of the earth ²⁾.

Gemma's numerous cosmographic, geographic and astro-nomic works, with their startling innovations, and with the description of the many precious improvements he brought about to the instruments that were in use, had an immense influence on whoever was interested in those studies, judging from the long list of reprints, adaptations and references ³⁾, up to the time that, by the invention of the telescope, Galilei made some of them useless or superfluous. Yet notwithstanding that exceptional success, those studies failed to satisfy Gemma : *hæ artes, gratæ quamuis*, he wrote to Dantiscus, on July 26, 1534 ⁴⁾, *nullius tamen sunt apud nos momenti, hoc est, emolumenti*, which, however, he was then particularly in want of as he had married and was reduced *into servitutem servitutem* : yet, the Barbara he had taken changed that slavery into a joy by her 'colloquiis et gratissima consuetudine'. To gain money he decided to study medicine for a year or two, as he had wanted to do in 1526. It was also on account of his marriage that he finally had to abandon the idea of ever accepting Dantiscus' offer to take him into

¹⁾ Walter Arsenius, as well as his brothers Renier and Ferdinand, nephews of Gemma, probably sister's sons, helped him in producing admirable astronomical instruments in Louvain from 1547 to 1572 : two of them, an *Annulus* and a *Radius Astronomicus* were used and mentioned by Tycho Brahé, in his *Astronomiæ Instauratæ Mechanica* (Nuremberg, 1602) : F 2, v. Cp. *GemFrisius*, 77, 103, sq. 359-65.

²⁾ *GemFrisius*, 75-83.

³⁾ Cp. *GemFrisius*, 143-222, 320-38.

⁴⁾ DantE, 291 : the letter has no year date, but it is made evident by the allusion to the correcting of the false rumour of Dantiscus' decease by Daniel Mauch (cp. Allen, vi, 1633, *pr*), who had come to study in Louvain, whilst his master George of Austria, Bishop of Brixen, was sent on an embassy to Denmark 'sub finem Maii', 1534 : DantE, 292.

his service ¹⁾. The decision that bound him to Louvain apparently gave great pleasure there, and caused the University to receive him as a member of her *Concilium* in 1535 ²⁾, although he had not been a regular *legens* or *regens* : she thus expressed the great admiration she felt for his ceaseless scientific work and his glorious innovations. For, no doubt, thanks to the influence of the *Trilingue*, her spirit had wonderfully improved since the days when Busleyden's Institute was struggling into existence ³⁾. That glorious spirit contrasts singularly with the disposition felt, at the time, by Luther and his friends : they proved as eager to crush all development of science as they were ready to support and encourage all revolt against the old authority of the Church : Melancthon, and all the Reformers generally, wildly attacked or bitterly derided Copernic, 'ille Sarmaticus Astronomus', and his 'absurd' heliocentric system, whilst Luther plainly called him a fool ⁴⁾.

About the same time that Dantiscus learned from Gemma himself that he was married ⁵⁾, he heard from Goclenius ⁶⁾ and Daniel Mauch ⁷⁾ some details about the young wife and the bridegroom's happiness ⁸⁾. On August 1, 1536, the latter announced the birth of a *margaritum*, a son, Cornelius, as well as the degree of medicine he had gained ; he also offered to make up the horoscope for Dantiscus and the King of Poland, if exact dates were given ⁹⁾ : for although he

¹⁾ DantE, 291.

²⁾ *LibRecI*, 146, r.

³⁾ Cp. before, I, Chs. IV, VI, VII.

⁴⁾ Cp. Prowe, I, i, 98, ii, 231-33, II, 368, 395 ; Allen, XI, 3112, *pr*.

⁵⁾ DantE, 291 : July 26, 1534.

⁶⁾ DantE, 290 : July 24, 1534 : ...noui est, Gemmam tuum duxisse hic vxorem lepidissimam, eo corporis habitu, vt facile ter denis Gemmis videatur suffectura, nisi simul esset pudicissima. Ex qua, fauente Lucina, non nisi meros Vniones et margarita putatur geniturus.

⁷⁾ DantE, 292 : July 26, 1534 : Gemma, paulo ante meum discessum abhinc <end of May, beginning of June 1534>, vxorem duxerat, pbri filiam, iuuenem, mediocriter formosam et parum dotatam, sibi autem mirifice placentem. Cui tam strenuam nunc dat operam vt ipsum præter illam nihil oblectet.

⁸⁾ On February 24, 1536, Dantiscus requested Cornelius de Schepper to give his greetings to Gemma and his wife when he saw them : DantE, 319.

⁹⁾ DantE, 331 ; *GemFrisius*, 404-6.

shows everywhere a sound conception of astronomy, he at least did not refuse to foster that superstitious belief, which was, just then, in full fashion ¹⁾. Three years later, on December 12, 1539, Gemma announced the death of his younger son ²⁾ and that of *duo Louaniensis Academicæ lumina*, Goclenius and Barlandus ³⁾; he also mentioned that he was practising medicine, — having, no doubt, promoted Licentiate, — and he added that he gained his living by it, and therefore put aside mathematics ⁴⁾.

It is evident that his assertion cannot be taken quite literally, for, a twelvemonth later, in December 1540, he published his most famous *Arithmeticae Practicae Methodvs Facilis* ⁵⁾, which was dedicated to William Rhetius, prior of St. Michael's Abbey, Antwerp ⁶⁾, and recommended by verses of Cornelius Grapheus ⁷⁾ on the title-page, and by a Carmen of Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus ⁸⁾ just over the colophon ⁹⁾. That *Methodus*, which was very often reprinted or imitated ¹⁰⁾, brought many more fine innovations; such as the way to make long figures handy, dividing them by points into groups for the thousands, millions, &c; also the way to solve pure quadratic equations by the *Regula falsi*, and the use of

¹⁾ *ShakEngl.*, I, 456. — 'Astrology', Kepler wrote on that head, 'is the foolish daughter of a wise mother, and for one hundred years past, that wise mother could not have lived without the help of her foolish daughter'.

²⁾ DantE, 407; *GemFrisius*, 406-7: Gemma is expecting a third child.

³⁾ Barlandus died on November 30, 1538, Goclenius on January 25, 1539; Gemma mentioned that the latter's successor was 'Petrus quidem Nanius non vulgariter eruditus, verum non æque facundus'.

⁴⁾ He added that his '*res*' '*quæstuosam magis requirunt quam iucundam artem*'. On August 18, 1540, Cornelius de Schepper mentions that Gemma has promoted Licentiate: *agit Louanij intendens ægris sanan[dis]: Bonum nomen et rem exinde adeptus*: DantE, 417.

⁵⁾ *GemFrisius*, 222-26.

⁶⁾ He, no doubt, was Prior under Abbot Cornelius de Mera, 1518-1538: *AntvEpisc.*, 149.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, I, 438.

⁸⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVIII; the *Carmen* by Didacus Pyrrhus is also added at the end of the issue of the *Cosmographicus Liber*, printed by Coppenius in 1539: *NijKron.*, I, 125.

⁹⁾ The book was printed at Antwerp by Giles Coppenius for Gregory de Bonte in 1540: *NijKron.*, I, 970.

¹⁰⁾ Especially in France and Germany: *GemFrisius*, 225-320.

the names *digitus* and *articulus* in the system of numeration ¹⁾. In 1541, Gemma promoted Doctor in Medicine ²⁾, and although he exercised that art, he kept in close touch with his favourite sciences, which he occasionally taught privately with great success.

The many improvements introduced by Gemma in his *Arithmetica* of 1540, which explain its unprecedented success during the larger part of a century, are to be attributed again to his judicious and natural impulse towards usefulness and efficient appropriateness ³⁾; yet that did not prevent him in the least from taking a high interest in the great problem of the movements of the celestial bodies, which he probably abstained from investigating since he knew for more than ten years that Dantiscus' friend Copernic ⁴⁾ was making it his life-work ⁵⁾, and had built up a system of the 'revolutiones' of the earth and the astres. Far from opposing his views ⁶⁾, Gemma hailed him as the bringer of the solution of the numerous mysteries, and eagerly looked forward to the

¹⁾ Quetelet, 86-87; *GemFrisius*, 68-75.

²⁾ *LibRecI*, 326, r; VAnd., 233. — Although Gemma did not write on medicine, Antonides Lindenus says that, in 1592, H. Garetius published in Frankfurt a work with Gemma's *Consilia quædam de Arthritide*: Quetelet, 85; they were given in a letter to Peter Bruhesius: *GemFrisius*, 57, 342-43.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 546, 552-53.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 548-49. Nicolas Copernic, Cop(p)ernicus, born at Thorn on February 19, 1473, soon lost his parents; his uncle, Lucas Watzelrode, let him study in Cracow, Bologna, Padua and Ferrara, and took him into his service in the castle of Heilsberg in 1506, as he was then Bishop of Ermland, 1489-1512. He was appointed canon of Frauenburg, where he devoted many years to the study of astronomy and where he died on May 24, 1543: Prowe, I, i, ii; Opmeer, I, 450, a, 480, b.

⁵⁾ Prowe, I, ii, 283-84, II, 392-94; DantE, 148, 255, 329, 361, 382, 392, 396, 397, and especially 429. Cp. *Ermland*, 92, 95, 98, 101, 147; CeltE, 438, sq, 92, 362; *CrenFasc.*, I, 355.

⁶⁾ Gemma's approval of Copernic's theory is clearly expressed in his letter to Dantiscus of July 20, 1541 (DantE, 429; *GemFrisius*, 410); Prowe, II, 392-95, judges that he doubted, because he called some of Copernic's reasons *hypotheses* in that letter, and, in that of Febr. 28, 1555, in J. Stadius' *Ephemerides*, refers to the system as *παράδοξον*. In fact, the new theory was a paradox, of which the reasons only became conclusive and irrefutable by the invention of the telescope. Yet the passages quoted by Prowe (there and on I, ii, 284) prove Gemma's prudent, but firm acquiescence.

final exposition, which he may have known through the proœmium of his forthcoming treatise ¹⁾, probably the *Commentariolus* by which Copernic had allowed, already in March 1533, his friend John Albert Widmanstadt to acquaint Clement VII with his new theory ²⁾).

In the spring of 1540, Dantiscus' *protégé*, the young poet Eustace of Knobbelsdorf, Alliopagus, came to study in Louvain : he brought greetings to Gemma, but proved rather reserved and cautious, and soon left for Paris, as he found too many trusty friends of his protector in Brabant ³⁾. In his eagerness for information about Copernic's great scheme, Gemma asked de Schepper to inquire about it : the latter did on July 15, 1541 ⁴⁾. Five days later, Gemma himself writes to Dantiscus a most eulogistic letter about the astronomer ⁵⁾, to request him to see to the publishing of his work ; he announces that his own task as physician has become less heavy since the disease has died down, and that he contemplates being promoted Doctor of Medicine on August 30 ⁶⁾. On January 29, 1543, Dantiscus writes in his reply ⁷⁾, that, as he had already announced through Knobbelsdorf, the editing of the work of Copernic, who is dangerously ill, is entrusted to his disciple George Joachim von Lauchen, Rhæticus ⁸⁾, and that he made an *Epigramma* for it ⁹⁾ ; he further sends his greetings to him and his wife, and asks him to send through the ambassador any book he would like to publish : it will be printed at the expense of the King of Poland.

¹⁾ DantE, 429.

²⁾ Prowe, I, ii, 273-78; 282-89, 391.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII.

⁴⁾ DantE, 426.

⁵⁾ DantE, 429 ; *GemFrisius*, 408, 410.

⁶⁾ VAnd., 233.

⁷⁾ DantE, 441.

⁸⁾ George Joachim von Lauchen, born in 1514 at Feldkirch, in the Rhetian Alps, *Rhæticus*, studied in Wittenberg, where he became Professor of mathematics : SchelAL, xiv, 446 ; admiring Copernic, he visited him, and enjoyed his teaching from 1539 to 1541. He insisted especially on having the *de Revolutionibus* printed, and he gave due praise to his master in all his writings. He returned to Wittenberg in 1541, but resigned his place as professor in 1542. He devoted himself to study and died at Kaschau, Hungary, in 1574 : Prowe, I, ii, 387-405.

⁹⁾ *DantCar.*, 209-10. — As already mentioned (p 549), the first copy was brought to Copernic a few hours before his decease.

On April 7, 1543 ¹⁾, Gemma replies to the affectionate letter he had just received, and requests a copy of Copernic's book; he promises all the help he is able to give to those Dantiscus likes to send to him, and especially to his nephews, whom he wishes to come and study in Louvain. At his demand he gives an idea of the price of living in the Pedagogies or as guests of teachers or erudites, and he highly praises the University and the excellent professors in every branch ²⁾. He is particularly eulogistic about Medicine, referring to, without naming, his intimate friend Thriverus : 'Doctores tandem medici aliqui hic plures sunt quam ægroti, et fuerunt plures quam auditores. Sed indies quoque nomen claritasque Scholæ Medicæ Louanii sese ad sydera tollit; accessit enim nuper per magistratum Louaniensem instituta noua Medicinæ lectio præter consuetas : cepimus quoque anatomen celebrare, id quod hactenus plane neglectum fuit magno auditorum detrimento' ³⁾; — and he closes with the most important announcement : 'nos quoque pro nostra tenuitate Mathemata hic quadragesima cepimus declarare, ac indies satis frequenti auditorio perficimus'. He also adds that, in the preceding year, when Louvain was attacked by the troops of Gelderland and Cleves at the instigation of France ⁴⁾, he served as soldier : 'pro moenibus quadriduum adstiti iam factus miles non admodum voluntarius, vidique hostes... disiectos et streue repulsos. Vnde tunc cecini

VICIMVs aVXILIo ChrIstI post VInCVLa Cephæ ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ DantE, 444; *GemFrisius*, 411-13.

²⁾ He mentions for Civil Law, Hazius (John de Haze, of Tourcoing, promoted Doctor on May 22, 1520, successor of Nicolas Heems in that same year : he died on March 28, 1547 : VAnd., 184), Amicus (Peter de Vriendt : cp. pp 126, sq, 419, sq), and Gabriel (Mudæus : cp. pp 209-18, 418); for Canon Law, Dominicus (Cakaert, of Termonde, professor since December 1, 1523, promoted Doctor on June 18, 1526; he died on July 9, 1548), Michael Drusius (Drieux : pp 421, sq), and Vulmar Bernaert (pp 425-27); for theology, the 'senior M. N. Jacobus Latomi' (pp 250-53, 414).

³⁾ He refers to the recent appointment of his *alter ego*, Thriverus, as first professor for the lesson of anatomy : cp. before, pp 536-37.

⁴⁾ By the end of July, Louvain was threatened by troops of the famous Martin van Rossem, and defended by the students under Damian a Goes and Severinus a Feyta (cp. before, p 146) : *MonHL*, 625-688.

⁵⁾ The enemy came under the walls on August 2, feast of St. Peter in the Chains.

The unequivocal announcement of the lecture on Mathematics in the series of the University lessons puts it beyond doubt that the town authorities took that decision in consideration of the general request and of the great number of students, some even of the most distinguished noble families, who were attracted on Gemma's account to Louvain. Up to then mathematics had been taught amongst the branches of the *Quadrivium* in the Pedagogies ¹⁾, or had been the object of private lessons, even for Gemma : evidently his exceptional value was appreciated, and from the second semester of the academical year, beginning in the first days of Lent ²⁾, the public lessons had started, no doubt in one of the rooms of the Old Halls ³⁾, and steadily were gathering more and more hearers ⁴⁾. Apparently the lecture ceased with him, but he had shown its necessity and, after a few years, it was definitely re-established : although at first it did not attain by far the past splendour ⁵⁾. Indeed an extraordinary

¹⁾ VAnd., 248-49 ; Gemma's treatises were used in some of the Pedagogies.

²⁾ In 1543, Ashwednesday came on February 7.

³⁾ *ULCinqS*, 108.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 249, denies that, outside the Faculty of Arts, there was a public lesson of *Mathesis* before 1563, and considers the lecture of Gemma as private. Still there seems to be no need for him to mention, on April 7, 1542, that he started 'Mathemata... declarare..., ac indies satis frequenti auditorio perfici[ens]' (DantE, 444), as he had done so since several years in his private teaching, which certainly included cosmography and astronomy. Referring to the *Publica Matheseos Professio*, Vern., 142, states : Eam obtinuisse primus videtur Gemma Frisius, vir Carolo V. Imperatori propter mathesim... gratissimus, etsi priuatim quoque in ædibus suis Mathematicas docere artes solitus sit. — It is true that no mention is found of any payment by the Town to Gemma for his lesson ; still the same applies to the lesson of medicine (prob. anatomy) which was certainly entrusted to Thrivervus on June 12, 1541 : he is merely paid in the accounts for the lectures for which he had succeeded Noot and Willemaers, and that only from Christmas 1542 ; yet he had given them already from June of that year : *Anal.*, xl, 100-101. It may have been a private transfer of cash, so as not to create any precedent.

⁵⁾ The lecture of *Mathematics* was instituted by the town of Louvain on February 11, 1563, with John van Staeyen, Stadius, as professor until 1565, against the wish both of the University and of the Faculty of Arts : *Anal.*, xl, 108 ; Royal Authority and the munificence of the Brabant

aptitude for mathematics in all forms and in all applications was the chief and larger part of Gemma's glory, although he was highly valued as physician ¹⁾ : the last mention of him in Dantiscus' correspondence, in de Schepper's letter of October 18, 1546 ²⁾, is a high praise of his medical skill ³⁾ : he is becoming a famous practitioner, in so far that, although living in Louvain, he is often called away, as had been the case in the preceding year, when no less a person than Charles V had sent for him ⁴⁾. He never ceased to take a great interest in Cosmography ⁵⁾ and Astronomy, noting and describing as accurately as possible the eclipses and the passage of comets ⁶⁾. He had the pleasure to witness at least the begin-

Council was afterwards secured for that lesson, which was then entrusted to Peter Beausart, who was the first Royal Professor, — although his *Arithmetices Praxis* (Louvain, Barth. Gravius, 1573) and his *Annuli Astronomici Usus* (Antwerp, Steels, 1553), contain — besides dedications and commendations — so little matter, and that of such evidently inferior quality, especially if compared with all Gemma's works, that it does not seem fit for University teaching : Quetelet, 86, 89, 90 ; VAnd., 234 ; *BibBelg.*, 723.

¹⁾ In his letter of April 7, 1543, to Dantiscus, he casually mentions that he had gone to Brussels to attend Louis de Praet, Lord of Flanders, in his illness : DantE, 444. Molanus relates that, in 1549, Renerus Solenander, a student of Thriverus, was called to help a child of Servatius Zassenus, the printer and bookseller, — who lived from 1531 to 1554 in the house *Hemelryk* (Realm of Heaven), the right corner of Market Place and Brussels Street : *LouvEven*, 195 ; as the state of the child was most strange and alarming, he applied to his master, who found out that the boy had played in the garden of the neighbour Gemma, and eaten a berry of the *Belladonna* which, with other rare plants, he cultivated : Mol., 806-7, quoting from John Wierius' *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, II, 31. ²⁾ DantE, 476. ³⁾ Vern., 300.

⁴⁾ Charles V was in Brussels from January 16 to March 7, 1545, — on February 10, he started a 'diette et prendre le bois des Yndes' and finished it on the 15th. From August 25 until October 1, 1545, he was also in Brussels or at Tervueren : Gachard, 306-7, 311-12. Possibly on the occasion of that visit, Charles V pointed out the incorection on one of Gemma's Maps — unless it is a mere legend : Quetelet, 87.

⁵⁾ In 1545, he indicated the position of Louvain as 26°45' longitude : Paquot, xv, 7.

⁶⁾ E. g., those of 1533, 1538 and 1539 ; *GemChar.*, I, 211 ; Prowe, I, II, 270-73 ; Quetelet, 82-83. Yet Gemma never connected those and other abnormal events with calamities, sad incidents, or the birth of monstrous beings, as is done by his son in his *De Naturæ Characterismis* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1575). Cp. before, pp 166, 171 ; Prowe, I, II, 217, sq.

nings of the beneficial results of his ceaseless labours : his maps were used everywhere and were very long referred to¹⁾; his books were employed over the whole civilized world, and repeatedly reprinted and translated²⁾, whilst his name was given to one of the asperities of the Moon³⁾. Copernic's editor and scientific executor, Joachim Rhæticus, praised him in 1550 as 'quasi alterum hac ætate Copernicum', adding : 'et, ut par est, <eum> veneror animo'⁴⁾. Half a century later, the English scholar Gabriel Harvey refers, in his famous *Marginalia*, to the *Annulus Astronomicus Gemmæ Frisij*, and calls *eiusdem vsus, etiam efficacissimus, et amplissimus*⁵⁾; at another place, where he enumerates his principal 'Authors', he notes : *Tres exquisiti artifices : Copernici, et Ptolomæi obseruantissimi ; iidemque Gemmæ Phrysii, aliorumque exactissimorum artificum delicie*⁶⁾.

It is not the least of Gemma's merits to have largely contributed to the formation of great men who, in the various fields of intellectual activity, achieved the work of pure, ideal Humanism : he greatly influenced the theologian Suf-
fridus Petri, his countryman⁷⁾; he formed physicians like John van Gorp⁸⁾ and Gisbert van der Lappen⁹⁾; more

¹⁾ Hessels, I, 44, 417.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 258-59; *JesRheinA*, 483; *GemFrisius*, 143-338.

³⁾ In the South-East Quadrant, half-way between Pontanus (π) and Maurolicus (ς); cp. Quetelet, 88; Rambosson, 183.

⁴⁾ In his preface to *Ephemerides Novæ* (Leipzig, 1550): Prowe, I, II, 273, II, 392. Gemma was further praised by William Zenocarus (VAnd., 403), Janus Gruterus (Hessels, I, 365), Lambertus Hortensius (Opmeer, I, 481, a, b), &c; he is mentioned in a letter of A. Sylvius Brugensis to Peter Vulcanius (VulcE, 490), and recommended by laudatory verses in his works or on his portraits by Arias Montanus, Cornelius Grapheus, Francis de Maulde, Didacus Pyrrhus, Joachim Polites and others : *GemFrisius*, 349-58. ⁵⁾ *HarvMarg.*, 212, 299. ⁶⁾ *HarvMarg.*, 213.

⁷⁾ Suf-
fridus Peetersz, Petri, of Leeuwarden (1527-1597): cp. further, Ch. XXV. He was one of Gemma's favourite students; he afterwards wrote his biography : Quetelet : 82, 86-87.

⁸⁾ John van Gorp, Goropius, of Hilvarenbeek, Becanus, was the physician of Queen Eleanor of France; returning from Spain, he started his well-known etymological 'wanderings' at Antwerp, and afterwards lived at Liège : Paquot, III, 27-36; *BibBelg.*, 508-9; cp. further, Ch. XXI.

⁹⁾ Gisbert van der Lappen, Lappius, van Waveren (1511-74), a medical doctor, who after studying in Louvain and Bologna, practised his art at Kampen and Utrecht : Paquot, I, 177-78; *BibBelg.*, 290.

especially the great geographers Gerard Mercator ¹⁾ and Juan de Roxas, who, in 1551, published in Paris his *Commentariorum in Astrolabium quod Planisphaerum vocant Libri Sex*, giving due honour to his master ²⁾; further the astronomer John van Staeyen, Stadius, of Loenhout, who for a time taught mathematics as a Royal Lecturer in France ³⁾; and, finally, his son Cornelius, who succeeded his father as professor of mathematics and as doctor of medicine ⁴⁾.

After more than seven years of struggle with *calculus* ⁵⁾, Gemma Phrysius died on May 25, 1555 ⁶⁾, and was buried in the Church of the Dominicans where his picture was placed

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp 565-69.

²⁾ Quetelet, 88-89; Altamira, III, 577.

³⁾ John van Staeyen, *Stadius*, of Loenhout, 1527-1579, studied in Louvain where he taught mathematics from February 11, 1563 to July 1565, and also, for a time, Roman History. He then turned to astronomy and was in the service of the Prince of Savoy and of Henry III, King of France, working, as mathematician, in what became later the *Collège de France*, from 1576 till his death, June 17, 1579. He published several books; amongst them *Ephemerides Astronomicae*, of which the first issue was published in Cologne in 1556, with a recommendatory letter of his master Gemma Frisius: *Anal.*, xl, 108; *BibBelg.*, 565; Quetelet, 83, 102-104; Prowe, II, 394; Lefranc, 224-382; Jos. Ernaelsteen, *Joannes Stadius*: Brecht, 1927.

⁴⁾ Cornelius Gemma, born in Louvain on February 28, 1535, studied chiefly under his father, and promoted doctor in medicine on May 23, 1570, after having taught mathematics for several years. He succeeded Nicolas Biesius as professor of medicine for the year 1568-69 (*Anal.*, xl, 109), and died in 1578 from the pest with his friend and colleague Peter Beausart. He left a son, Philip, who died as physician at Mons, — and another, Raphael (November 1566-January 21, 1623), Canon and Scholaster of St. Peter's, who was elected Rector of the University on February 28, 1620: VAnd., 47, 220, 221, 233, 236-37, 249, 369, 391; PlantE, I, 128; *GemFrisius*, 117-142; Vern., 300-301; Miræus, 112; Paquot, III, 151; *ULDoc.*, I, 276; Quetelet, 83-84, 89; Hessels, I, 112, 114, 128-32. — Cornelius Gemma wrote several works on medicine, philosophy and astronomy, and is especially known by his *De Naturæ Divinis Characterismis* (Antwerp, 1575); the library of the University in Valerius Andreas' time still preserved several of his poems and a Comedy, *Fabula Mulieris Rediviva*: *BibBelg.*, 149; Opmeer, I, 516; *GemFrisius*, 367-402; *CollTorr.*, 5; *MouvScien.*, I, 291.

⁵⁾ *GemChar.*, II, 21.

⁶⁾ Cp. Mol., 567, 806-7; Opmeer, I, 481, a, b; Vern., 142, 300; VAnd., 233, 236, 249; *BibBelg.*, 258; *SaxOnom.*, 227, 447, 653; *CatCzart.*, I, 38, II, 182; Prowe, I, II, 272-73; *GemFrisius*, 1-52; *MonHL*, 423; *MouvScien.*, I, 228, 291, 300; *RevQSc.*, 1927, 19-27, 57.

with a poem by his friend Rombaut Posthouwer, of Antwerp, in which repeated allusions are made to his symbolic name, and the contrast is duly pointed out between the smallness of his body and the greatness and brilliancy of his mind and heart ¹⁾. In opposition with his son, who unduly indulged in the aberration of his time for astrology and monstrosities, Gemma Reyneri stands in the glory of his sound Humanism, averse to accept unchecked even the seemingly logic conclusions of predecessors and contemporaries, — let alone their whims and weaknesses, — looking out to the future, and bringing to bear his intellectual power and his remarkable inventiveness on difficulties and doubts still crowding the exact sciences, so as to hasten the happy time of the final solution in the radiant clearness of wider and deeper comprehension. Cornelius Valerius ²⁾ hailed him as :

Gemma Academiæ decus immortale Brabantæ,
 Gemma alti decus ingenii, quo clarior alter,
 Sive mathematices inventa insignia spectes,
 Sive salutiferam divini Hippocratis artem,
 Non fuit e dato grege sic qui excelleret unus.

C. GERARD MERCATOR

Gemma Phrysius' name naturally suggests that of his great disciple Gerard Mercator, or de Cremer, who was born on March 5, 1512 at Rupelmonde, where his father had returned after some years of emigration in the duchy of Cleves. He studied first at Hertogenbosch, where he had as master the great George Macropedius ³⁾ ; by 1530, he was in Louvain, in

¹⁾ *SweMon.*, 246-48, with a second epitaph by Maximilian Vrients, of Ghent, contrasting the name *Gemma* and the tumular *lapis* : *GemFrisius*, 352-53.

²⁾ From a poem of 18 lines on the reverse of the title of Gemma's *De Astrolabo Catholico Liber* : Antwerp, John Steels, 1556 (*GemFrisius.*, 330, 355) ; *Mol.*, 567.

³⁾ The brilliant and genial George Langhevelde, Macropedius, born at Gemert about 1475, studied in a school of the Brothers of Common Life, and entered their Congregation, of which he became one of the glories. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Latin language and literature, and generously imparted it in teaching, first at Hertogenbosch, afterwards at Liège, and finally, from 1529, at Utrecht in

the Porc. He felt a bent for mathematics, and continued his training in classics at the *Trilingue*, which was greatly conducive to his aim. There, no doubt, he got the spirit of research that characterizes his life-work, to which he was encouraged by the teaching and the example of Gemma ¹⁾, who had become his master. He applied himself to the making of maps according to Ptolemy, and he became a most clever engraver and constructor of globes and astronomic instruments. Along with Jasper van der Heyden ²⁾, he engraved the spindle-shape segments for Gemma's terrestrial Globes of 1530 and c 1534; similarly he cut with the same Jasper a Myrica the engravings for the sphere of heavens of 1537 ³⁾. He had by then settled in Louvain, where the construction of such globes occupied several scholars and artists ⁴⁾; in September 1536, he married Barbette Schellekens, and in 1540 was born his second son Bartholomew, who was brought up in the trade, and published in Cologne, in 1563, *Notæ in Sphæram, Geographiæ & Astronomiæ Rudimenta suggerentes* ⁵⁾. Gerard was so proficient that his terrestrial globe of 1541, dedicated to Nicolas Perrenot, surpassed that of Gemma.

St. Jerome's school, which he directed, and where he had some brilliant students, from Cornelius van Auwater (about 1530) to William Canter, about 1552, when he retired to rest from his labours at Hertogenbosch: he died there by the end of July 1558. The memory of his attractive and beneficent personality was celebrated by poems, some of which were published by his successor, Christopher Vladeracus. Macropedius, in his zeal to make instruction as agreeable as possible, wrote several dramas, in which he either used popular tales and traditions to make up Terentian comedies, or represented Bible Stories; he even set the example, since his *Asotus*, written in 1507, twenty years before Gnaephueus' *Acolastus*, was, for certain, the forerunner of the long series of Prodigal Son plays in the World's Literature: *BibBelg.*, 263^{bis}-265; Paquot, xii, 204-10; Opmeer, i, 480, a; *BatawMart.*, 34, 74; ValE, 11, 35, 50, 52, 59, 156, 180; Bahlmann, ii, 53-62; Creizenach, ii, 58, 75-76, 94, 113, sq, 124, sq, 148-51, 165-66, 171-73, &c, iii, *passim*; Herford, 87, sq, &c; Saintsbury, 341-44; J. Bolte, *G. Macropedius' Rebellen und Aluta*, Berlin, 1897; D. Jacoby, *Georg Macropedius*: Berlin, 1886; Baumgartner, 612.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 550, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 550.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 550; and *GemFrisingus*, 143-51.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 545, sq, 550, sq; *GemFrisingus*, 147, sq.

⁵⁾ It was based on the *Sphæra* of John de Sacrobosco; he died in 1568, at 28: Mol., 738.

Still the great work of Mercator did not lie in the producing of those helps for study : he wished to draw proper maps. Making use of the methods of planimetry which his master had found ¹⁾, the pupil applied them for smaller districts, which were duly co-ordinated : he thus produced in 1540 the large map of Flanders ²⁾, which at once drew the general attention, in so far that he was requested to make up plans of estates, and consulted when contestations arose. That circumstance came in good stead, when, in 1543-44, he was arrested in the country of Waes, and emprisoned at Rupelmonde, as if he had fled from Louvain for fear of being seized for favouring heresy. The *plebanus* of St. Peter's, Peter de Corte ³⁾, claimed Mercator's enlargement on account of his most honourable pursuit and his academic citizenship ; for his frequent absences in order to make plans and maps were suspected to be connected with heresy and its propaganda. The matter was brought before Queen Mary of Hungary, who was told by de Corte, as the responsible parish priest, of Mercator's exemplary behaviour. He further pointed out that the Abbot of St. Peter's, Ghent, had appealed to the geographer for a plan in a contestation for some lands against the Provost of St. Bavo's ; that the Bishop of Arras also had asked for a similar work ; that the Conservator of the Louvain Privileges was to interfere for a *suppositum* ; in a word Curtius pleaded so well that Gerard was set free after some time ⁴⁾. Meanwhile his work went on, not merely the engraver's business, which had prompted his *Literarum Latinarum quas Italicas, cursoriasque vocant, scribendarum Ratio*, published by Rutger Rescius, in March 1540 ⁵⁾, but a new terrestrial Globe, dedicated to George of Austria, Bishop of Liège ⁶⁾, in 1551, and *De Usu Annuli Astronomici*, 1552 ⁷⁾.

In that year, he removed with his family to Duisburg, in the County of Cleves, since the Treaty of Passau (1552)

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 553.

²⁾ Opmeer, I, 486, b. One copy has survived : it is in the Plantin Museum, Antwerp ; cp. *Jode*, 127, 129. ³⁾ Cp. before, pp 83, 256.

⁴⁾ A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres* : Ghent, 1860 : I, 27, sq ; Quetelet, 112-14 ; *Cran.*, 83, d ; Henne, ix, 59-60.

⁵⁾ NijKron., II, 3525 ; a second issue was published at Antwerp by John Richard, 1540-41 : NijKron., I, 1515.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 132.

⁷⁾ Cp. *BibBelg.*, 280.

granted religious freedom : he became the Duke's geographer, and was requested as a professor for the projected University ¹⁾. Mercator continued his work at the map of Europe, published there on 15 sheets in 1554 ²⁾ ; Plantin reprinted it for him in 1572, and allowed him to insert the very latest discoveries, such as those by Francis Drake.

Still the most important service Mercator rendered to science is the solution he brought for the representing of the round earth on paper. The great difficulty of the maps then proved to be the changing of a spherical reality into a plane surface ; it was not felt for relatively small extents, but was so much the more for larger maps and charts : it made the conformation of lands inexact, and caused trouble to navigation. Mercator therefore invented his cylindrical projection, in which all meridians are straight lines, perpendicular to the equator, and all the latitudes, horizontal ones, parallel to the equator. That system, which was at once accepted and recommended by mathematicians and hydrographers, such as Edward Wright ³⁾, allows the mariner to steer his course by straight lines, instead of having to correct continually the indications of the compass ; it thus revolutionized navigation. The first hydrographic chart with that arrangement was published in 1569 by the inventor, whose name is still connected with that most welcome device as '*Mercator's Projection*' ⁴⁾. It was also thanks to that solution that the great Geographer could take in hand earnestly the drawing and engraving, according to his grand plan, of his magnificent

¹⁾ Heresbach, 159.

²⁾ Hessels, I, 87, sq. 104.

³⁾ Edward Wright, c 1558-1615, educated at Caius College, Cambridge, published in 1599, '*Certaine Errors in Navigation, arising... of the sea-chart, compasse &c... detected and corrected*', — in which he explained and recommended Mercator's projection : DNB.

⁴⁾ Describing the first English map of the World, 1600, by Edward Wright, to which Shakespeare refers in his *Twelfth Night*, III, ii, 88, J. D. Rogers states that it is 'drawn on what are called Mercator's principles of projection', — and adds : 'principles which were discovered, not by Mercator, it would appear, but by Edward Wright' : *ShakEngl.*, I, 174. It is absurd to attribute Mercator's projection, worked out in his chart of 1569, to Wright, who was about eleven at the time, and, vice versa, connect any map of 1600 with Mercator, who then had been dead six years ! Wright's *Errors in Navigation* only came out in 1599.

Atlas, sive Cosmographicæ Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura, which is properly the result of his work; whereas the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1570, of his friend Abraham Ortelius, was merely a reedition of the drawings by others ¹⁾. Although he had published, in 1568, a *Chronologia a Mundi Exordio ad M. D. LXVIII*, based on history, Bible study and astronomy, and prepared some religious writings occasioned by his surroundings at Duisburg, Mercator's work was Geography: he reprinted, corrected and commented on, Ptolemy's *Tabulæ Geographicæ* in 1578 and 1588 ²⁾ and, before all, brought out the first instalment of his *Atlas* in 1585, and the second in 1589. He did not live to see the third and last part printed, which his son Rombaut ³⁾ edited in 1598, whereas his disciple Josse Hondius, of Ghent, published the entire work as an admirable whole for the first time in 1602. At his wife's death (1586), Mercator had remarried; he died on December 2, 1594 at Duisburg ⁴⁾.

3. PHILOLOGY

A. LINGUISTS AND HISTORIANS

Besides divines, jurists and physicians, the *Trilingue* went on training able linguists, who, through their ability, made their way in the world, or, at any rate, were active as

¹⁾ Hessels (I, 73-74, 87-89, 238-40) prints three letters of Mercator to Ortelius, November 22, 1570, May 9, 1572 and December 12, 1580; his work and himself are often referred to in that correspondence; the second letter brought to Ortelius his friend's portrait: Hessels, I, 896.

²⁾ Paquot, I, 87; J. v. Raemdonck, *Gérard Mercator*: St.-Nicolas, 1870.

³⁾ There is a letter of Rumoldus Mercator, March 26, 1596, to Ortelius in Hessels, I, 681-82; cp. PlantE, VI, 97, 98.

⁴⁾ Guicc., 258; Mol., 578; *BibBelg.*, 280-81; F. van Ortroy, *Lettres Inédites de G. Mercator*, Brussels, 1894, 1898; id., *Lettres de Jean Molanus (van der Molen)* (Mercator's son-in-law, teacher at Bremen and Duisburg: Heresbach, 162) à Gérard et à Barthélemy Mercator, Brussels, 1901; & *L'Œuvre Géographique de G. Mercator*, Brussels, 1893, with sources indicated; Opmeer, II, 192, b, 194, b; *FlandScript.*, 60, sq, 111; Quetelet, 110-19; Paquot, v, 437 (2 letters of G. Mercator), XIII, 180-81 (his friend the physician of Duke William of Cleves, Renier Solenander), XVII, 97; *HarvMarg.*, 195; PlantE, I, 234, 264, II, 73, 127, IV, 9; *CollTorr.*, 8; *MouvScienc.*, I, 228-30, 240; *RevQSc.*, 1927, 19-20.

skilled teachers and masters of languages. Their work may have been less glorious, yet it was highly beneficent, not only for the linguistic ability they imparted, but often for the interest they kindled for other branches, as they had been kindled themselves. An admirable example was that given by Joachim Sterck of Ringelberg, who, in addition to Latin and Greek, communicated to his hearers, not merely dialectics and rhetoric, but astronomy and cosmography, optic, physics, and other sciences, of which he exposed the rudiments in his *Κυκλοπαιδεία* of 1529 ¹⁾. It was that eagerness to enlarge their intellectual horizon that prompted many incipient tutors or instructors in languages, making as many experts in some branch or other only summarily touched in their studies, — like Gemma Phrysius, in mathematics and astronomy ; — or turned them to some profession in which they afterwards excelled. Even when accepting the duties of *Ludimagistri*, several zealous workers enriched their teaching and their intellectual life by investigating and putting to good use either pedagogy, or history, or whatever subject was prompted by circumstances, and thus doubled or trebled the benefit they bestowed on their nation and on Humanity at large for centuries to come.

One of those zealous *Ludimagistri* was **Lambert Hortensius** — van den Hove, or Hofmans, — born at Montfoort, near Woerden, in 1500, who studied first at Utrecht, where he had as schoolfellow the John Winter, or Günther, of Andernach, who afterwards was also with him in Louvain ²⁾. Hortensius reached the Brabant town before the spring of 1523, for he heard there the ‘eximium Peripateticum Joan. Lud. Viuem’, as he writes in his preface to Aristophanes’ *Pluto*, as well as John Paludanus ³⁾. He also attended the lectures of Rescius, Goclenius and Campensis, ‘viri’, as he describes them, ‘cum diligentes in tradendo, tum in sua quisque palæstra primi nominis’. With his friend John Winter, he applied himself strenuously to those languages, and spent days and nights reading Greek authors, until, by 1527, Winter went and

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 192-95.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 529-30.

³⁾ Vives left for England about May 10, 1523 (*MonHL*, 6), and Paludanus died on February 20, 1526 (cp. before, I, 190).

studied medicine in Paris ¹⁾, where he eventually was rejoined by another student of the *Trilingue*, John Sturm ²⁾. Hortensius, who meanwhile had become a priest, started teaching in his native country; he devoted to the *ludus litterarius* of Naarden the greater part of his life, and formed there men like the famous physician Gisbert van der Lappen, *Lappius*, van Waveren ³⁾. It was the gratitude of one of his old pupils, Weldam, a nobleman, which saved his life, as the booty of John, Count of Bossu ⁴⁾, when Naarden was stormed, in 1572, by the army of Frederic of Alva, Ferdinand's son; he recognized his old master, who had already seen his natural son Augustine killed under his eyes along with the other inhabitants slaughtered in the unfortunate town ⁵⁾. He died the following year in a suburb of Naarden, *den hooghen Engh*, and was buried in St. Vitus's church with a eulogistic epitaph ⁶⁾. He left, — besides satires, some occasional poetry and a *Chorographia Goylandiæ*, — a few historical reports of the religious troubles in Utrecht and in the Netherlands, especially of Naarden itself, as well as of the wars against the Protestants in Germany ⁷⁾. Still his chief interest lay in humanistic work: he made a metrical translation of Aristo-

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 529-30.

²⁾ Cp. further, p 582.

³⁾ Paquot, I, 177-78; he was one of Gemma's students in Louvain and promoted Doctor in Bologna; he died on January 4, 1574; his grandson and namesake became the historian of Utrecht diocese: Paquot, I, 178-81; cp. before, p 563; Hoynck, III, i, 5, 6, 178, 321; maybe John Lappius, parish priest of St. Salvator's, Utrecht, who founded a scholarship in Standonck College, May 1588 (FUL, 2111), was another relation.

⁴⁾ Opmeer, I, 487, a, II, 27.

⁵⁾ *BibBelg.*, 613-14; *GemChar.*, II, 108; Hoynck, I, ii, 719.

⁶⁾ *SweABelg.*, 508; Opmeer, I, 481, a, 498, a, II, 16, b; *HEpU*, 191; *BibBelg.*, 613-14; *SaxOnom.*, 262, 633; Paquot, x, 2. — Opmeer, I, 498, a, relates that the town authorities of Delft wanting a *Rector* for their school, wished to secure the services of the highly valued Hortensius; the town pensionary, Adrianus Aleidius, wrote on their order such a loftily styled letter with so ideal a description of a *Ludimagister*, that Hortensius merely replied: *Angelum quæritis; homo sum. Valet.*

⁷⁾ *Secessionum civilium Ultraiectinarum & Bellorum... Libri VII*: Basle, 1546, 1548; *De Tumultu Anabaptistarum*, Basle, 1548; *De Bello Germanico a Carolo V gesto*, Basle, 1560. — His *Nardeni Opidi Cædes et Direptio* was still kept as a manuscript in V. Andreas' time: *Bib-Belg.*, 614; Paquot, xvi, 242; *Donk*, 41; Hoynck, III, i, 5, 6, 20, 178 (with Gisbert Lappius' notes), 295.

phanes' *Pluto, Nubes & Equites* ¹⁾, and wrote comments on that play, as well as on Virgil's *Aeneis* ²⁾; in his flight from the ruined town, he saved, as his greatest treasure, his explanations on Annæus Lucanus' *Pharsalia*, which were edited in 1578 ³⁾.

If equal as linguist, Hortensius did not come up, as narrator of contemporary events, to the famous John Sleidan, *Sleidanus* ⁴⁾, the historian of the first years of the Reformation. Like his friend John Sturm ⁵⁾, he was born at Schleiden, Eifel, between 1506 and 1508, as the son of a Philip, which made him take the names 'Philipsohn, Philipson', Sleidanus. He shared, he stated, the lessons of John of Neuburg with Sturm ⁶⁾, and seems to have resided from about 1525 in Cologne where he may have been a printer's corrector ⁷⁾. On his journey to Strassburg in 1528, Sturm, passing through Cologne, found his friend ailing, and took him to Louvain ⁸⁾, where he studied some time under Goclenius and Rescius ⁹⁾. Without doubt Sleidanus gained there, besides his great enthusiasm for Humanism ¹⁰⁾, that mastery of clear and brilliant style which characterizes all his writings; his great debt to his Greek professor was effusively expressed in his letter dated from Liège, May-June 1530, which also refers to Sturm's silence, and sings Melanchthon's praise ¹¹⁾. He was, soon after, requested to tutor Count Thierry von Manderscheid's son Francis ¹²⁾. By 1533, he rejoined Sturm in Paris ¹³⁾, and there and in Orleans ¹⁴⁾, he studied law, promoting licentiate. When Sturm had to leave France for Strassburg, his friend took his place as intermediary between Cardinal du Bellay

¹⁾ Utrecht, 1557. ²⁾ Basle, 1559. ³⁾ Basle, 1578 : Hoyneck, III, i, 295.

⁴⁾ *SturmKück.*, 14; *Mameran*, 15.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, p 579.

⁶⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 46; and further, p 579.

⁷⁾ The name *Sleidanus* is marked as translator for a collection of Greek epigrams in the second edition of 1528, by John Soter, Cologne, the first being dated 1525 : *Sleidan.*, 47. The name of Philipsohn or Sleidanus does not appear in the Cologne registers : Keussen, III, 103.

⁸⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 47; cp. further, p 582.

⁹⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 48.

¹⁰⁾ *SleiKrieg*, 3, 15, sq, 25-28.

¹¹⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 48, sq, II, 1-3.

¹²⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 47.

¹³⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 51, sq. He knew there Bartholomew Latomus; *Corp-Cath.*, VIII, 21, and other former Louvain students,

¹⁴⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 52.

with his brother William, Lord of Langey, and the Protestant Princes in Germany ¹⁾; thus, gaining an intimate acquaintance with public affairs, he decided on starting a chronicle of the history of the Reformation in imitation of Froissart and Comines, whose writings he had translated into Latin ²⁾. In 1544, he settled at Strassburg and published an oration to Charles V, and another to the German Princes, giving as a foretaste of his work ³⁾. The Schmalkalden League, approving of his plan, imposed, however, their censure, and put off his repeated demands to have access to their archives. The failure of the League ruined Sleidanus' prospects, until a journey to England in 1547 revived his hope ⁴⁾. He went to Trent in the winter of 1551-52 with the few Protestant delegates ⁵⁾. In Oct. 1552, he entered the service of the town of Strassburg, which had been reduced under French authority; he resumed his chronicle with the help of James Sturm, who since long had been *stettmeister* there, and thus had been intimately connected with the development of the religious upheaval ⁶⁾.

In 1555, appeared Sleidanus' *Commentarii de Statu Religionis & Reipublicæ Carolo Quinto Cæsare Libri XXVI* ⁷⁾: in his *Præfatio*, he exposes his aim and his method, which sound quite in unison with the principles dear to Erasmus and to the spirit of the *Trilingue*: he breaks off with the old tradition of the *Chronicles* and, as a real Humanist, turns to the sources. He declares that he wants to make known, not

¹⁾ Cp. further, p 583; *Sleidan.*, I, 56, sq, II, 4, sq; *Seck.*, III, 260, a, 569, a, b; *MargAng.*, I, 307; *DantE*, 471; &c.

²⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 55, 69, sq, II, xxiii; *SleiKrieg*, 4, 33.

³⁾ Joannis Sleidani *Orationes duæ*, una ad Carolum Quintum Cæsarem; altera ad Germaniæ Principes omnes ac Ordines Imperii: Strassburg (1541). The first edition was in German, and was signed Baptista Lasdenus (= Sledanus): *Sleidan.*, I, 59-60; *Jedin*, 580, 611.

⁴⁾ *Sleidan.*, I, 82, sq, II, xv, sq, 81-120; *Palear.*, I, 426; *Cranmer*, I, 278-79, II, 1005-1018: letters from Sleidanus to William Cecil, May 1552-April 1553; *PollCranm.*, 320-21; *Cheke*, 38; *Seck.*, III, 569, a, b.

⁵⁾ *Sleidan.*, II, xx, xxi, 159-247; *Jedin*, 441, 619; *SchelAmHist.*, I, 375, sq.

⁶⁾ James Sturm of Sturmeck (1489-1553), a kinsman and favourite pupil of Wimpfeling, was knit up for several years with the destinies of his town; he was *scholarcha* of the school of Sturm, who praised him in his *Consolatio ad Senatum Argentinensem*, 1553: *WimpfLeb.*, 142; *Allen*, II, 302, 13; *MelEBind.*, 37; *RhenE*, 116; *HerMaur.*, 129, 138, 143, 215.

⁷⁾ Strassburg, Rihel; cp. *Seck.*, III, 665, b; *Sleidan.*, I, 97, sq, 104, sq.

only to all foreigners, but to his own countrymen, to his contemporaries, and to posterity, the circumstances and the events of the great religious revolution started by Luther ; he aspires at two characteristic qualities, *veritas* and *candor* ; he has worked on original, printed and manuscript, documents, on orations and letters, to which he does not add, he assures, anything of his own, only normalizing and unifying the style ¹⁾. Still, although he repeatedly attests to his complete impartiality, it suffices just to read a few pages to be convinced of his irremovable prejudice ²⁾, which totally spoils both his judgment and his veracity : he only worked on documents in favour of Reformers and Reformation, and does not even suspect the possibility of 'another view of the question' ³⁾. His history is one-sided and inconclusive, lacking the indispensable base of the necessary authentic documents ; it, moreover, wilfully omits important events which he himself witnessed ⁴⁾. No wonder that the *Commentarii*

¹⁾ *SleiComm.*, a 4, r-a 5, v.

²⁾ He is blind with his admiration for Luther and with his hatred for his contradictor John Cochläus, whose most pertinent *Commentaria de Actis et Scriptis... Lutheri* (Mayence, 1549) he wants to neutralize : *SleiKrieg*, 7 ; he, moreover, is recklessly yearning to realize Cæsaro-popism, and to replace even in matters of faith the Pope's authority by that of secular Princes (Grisar, III, 920), which makes him unbearably unjust, in so far, that, e. g., Jedin, 157, remarks that Sleidanus makes Rome answerable for all the evils that visited Germany, even if they were evidently caused by the wild followers of the Wittenberg Monk.

³⁾ It moreover appears that he could not use the archives of Schmal-kalden League, nor of Strassburg town, except for as far as was allowed and approved of : *Sleidan.*, 105. Cp. F. W. Weise, *Über die Quellen der Commentarien Sleidans* : Halle, 1879. Moreover, he applied in vain to Luther, to the English King, and to several of the German Princes, who did not even answer his insistent request ; in so far that he had to rely mostly on his friend and protector James Sturm, who was far from being unbiassed, and on the information most willingly supplied by Calvin, and especially by Vergerio, who transformed a work, begun for the sake of truth, into a virulent Pro Domo plea : *SleiKrieg*, 7-17. Compared with Sleidan's book, even if only for the sources, the biography of Luther by Cochläus, which he criticized so bitterly, stands out most imposingly with a rich and impartial abundance of references : A. Herte, *Die Lutherbiographie des Johannes Cochläus. Eine Quellenkritische Untersuchung* : Münster, 1915 : 17-59.

⁴⁾ Thus Sleidanus does not connect the Peasants' War with Luther's doctrine as an effect to a cause ; he does not mention the painful

were followed up at once by : *De mille Mendaciis Sledani* ; no wonder that, although calm and apparently equitable, it was charged with partiality from the very beginning by the Catholics ¹⁾, whereas a storm of discontent broke loose even in the opposite camp, on account of indiscretions and disagreeable judgments ²⁾. Sleidan's work, however, long was one of the *loci classici* of the history of his times, and his posthumous *De Quatuor summis Imperiis Libri tres*, of 1556, a short history of the world based on works of Antiquity, remained, or was rearranged as, a manual, used even in Universities for two centuries ³⁾. Such was the dissatisfaction produced by the *Commentarii* that Sleidan was deprived of his office at Strassburg for it, and shown out wherever he applied for a living ; yet he was already ailing when that book appeared ; he had lost his wife, Jola von Niedbruck, in 1553, after seven years' marriage, and he was left with the care of two infant daughters ⁴⁾ : a fever seized on him, and death delivered him, on October 31, 1556 ⁵⁾, from a life of solicitude and affliction ⁶⁾.

impression Luther made even on his followers by his marriage and his unexemplary behaviour ; nor his manifest approval of the bigamy of *Landgraf* Philip of Hesse ; nor the fundamental quarrels within the body of Reformation ; nor many more ἔργα οὐ καλὰ ; it thus happens that since Ranke's History of Germany, 1839-43, Sleidan's work is abandoned by his fellow-believers : *SleiKrieg*, 13-16.

¹⁾ Thus Laurence Surius, Spondanus, Roverus Pontanus, Gaspar von Gennep, John Gropper, &c. Cp. F. W. Kampschulte, *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* : iv, 59, sq ; *SchelAmHist.*, i, 91, 142, sq, 375, sq ; Paquot, v, 188, 418, xiv, 399, sq ; *WiedVarr.*, i, 80, 119, ii, 48-52 ; Seck., ii, 100, b, iii, 437, b ; *Mameran*, 158-59, 185, mentioning Charles V's word about his two *mendaces* : Jovius, by praising too much, Sleidan by vituperating beyond reason. Cp. also, for authors of a later period, Pastor, v, 122 (quoting Ehses), 289, 517 ; Jedin, 157 ; *SleiKrieg*, 11-17 ; Grisar, i, 489 ; &c.

²⁾ *Sleidan.*, i, 99, sq, ii, xxv-vi (Melanchthon) ; *ADB* ; &c.

³⁾ E. Cl. Scherer, *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten* : Freiburg i. B., 1927 : 476-80, 46-48, and *passim* ; *Sleidan.*, ii, xxvii, sq.

⁴⁾ *Sleidan.*, i, 95, sq.

⁵⁾ *Sleidan.* ; AschE, 53, 61, 226 ; Opmeer, i, 479, a, 431, b ; *ADB* ; Janssens, vii, 303, sq ; *SleiKrieg* ; G. Wolf, *Einführung in das Studium der neueren Geschichte*, 186, & *Quellenkunde*, i, 443-5 ; *Heresbach*, 158 ; Gough, 593 ; &c. — Two letters to Sleidanus are preserved in *CollUffWolf*.

⁶⁾ In his last years he experienced misery (*Sleidan.*, i, 95, sq) ; also trouble on account of the various sects amongst the Reformers : he

With Sleidanus and Sturm, whilst students in Louvain, was connected, most probably, judging by his career and his later life, **Peter Plateanus**, de la Rue, a native of the diocese of Liège. He had been trained in the Hieronymite School, where Sturm was a pupil for two years ¹⁾, and he, too, went and studied at the *Trilingue*, where he became intimately acquainted with the languages. He afterwards worked and also taught at Wittenberg, Joachimstal, Chemnitz and Marburg ²⁾, until he finally reached Zwickau, where, in 1535, he succeeded Neander (1527-35) as head of the school which Laurent Strödel ³⁾, Stephen Roth (1517-20) and George Agricola (1520-22) ⁴⁾ especially had made famous, and for which Leonard Natter, Nattherus (1522-27), wrote his well-known organization in 1523 ⁵⁾. The institute had declined since that year; but under Plateanus' lead, it became, with that of Torgau, what Luther called 'andern zwey treffliche, kostliche und edle Kleinoder <im> Lande' ⁶⁾, thanks to his reorganization of 1537, by which he reintroduced the spirit that had contributed to his own formation at Liège and at the *Trilingue*. He is mentioned especially for having continued and developed the playing of Terence's Comedies. He died in 1546 ⁷⁾.

tried to stem the virulence of the Lutheran minister J. Marbach (cp. further, p 588), and to protect from his attacks Peter Martyr and the Italian refugee Jerome Zanchi, of Bergamo (1516-1596), whose wife Violante, daughter of Cælius Secundus Curio, died on November 13, 1556, sending an ultimate message to Sleidanus : *Palear.*, I, 453, 560, II, 406, 594-96.

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp 579-80.

²⁾ He matriculated in Marburg in 1533 as 'Petrus Plateanus Brabantinus' : *MatriMarb.*, 124.

³⁾ E. Herzog, *Gesch. des Zwickauer Gymnasiums* : Zwi., 1869 : 8-10, sq.

⁴⁾ George Bauer Agricola, of Glauchau (1490-1555), founder of scientific mineralogy, had also taught Greek for a time in the Zwickau school in 1510 : *Cran.*, 151, 41.

⁵⁾ Dittrich, 46-47. In a letter to George Agricola, of July 28 <1534>, Plateanus requests him to come and attend Leonard Natter, who had been ill for several weeks : *BeitClem.*, II, 131-32.

⁶⁾ Cp. Luther's letter of January 1, 1542, to the Elector of Saxony, John Frederic : Wette, v, 421 ; Seck., III, 415, b, sq.

⁷⁾ E. Fabian, *M. Petrus Plateanus, Rector der Zwickauer Schule, 1535-1546*, in *Jahresbericht des Zwickauer Gymnasiums* : Zwickau, 1878 : I, sq ; Enders, XI, 213-14 ; Dittrich, 46-47 ; Paulsen, 291 ; *BeitClem.*, II, 105, 130-132.

Although finally ending in a totally different direction, another staunch companion of Sleidan, Sturm and Plateanus at the Louvain *Trilingue*, judging by the similar literary dispositions and religious opinions, as well as by their later connections, was the Antwerp youth, **James Bording**. He was born on July 11, 1511, in the rising Metropolis, where his father Nicolas, married to Adriana Adriaenssen, was a prosperous merchant. He had his first training in the school of his native town, where Nicolas van Broeckhoven was at work ¹⁾, and he afterwards went to Louvain, where he was an inmate of the Castle. After the Arts he studied at the *Trilingue* under Goclenius and Rescius, whereas he used Clenardus' help for the rudiments of Hebrew and maybe also for Greek ²⁾. Already in 1529, he went to France, studying first law at Toulouse; in 1531 he made the acquaintance of Stephen Dolet ³⁾, whom he introduced to the learned Bishop of Rieux, Jean de Pins (c 1470-November 1, 1537), a friend of Erasmus, who resided at Toulouse ⁴⁾. Removing to Paris, he applied himself to medicine, attending the lectures of James du Bois, Silvius. As a sum of money sent for his expenses by his parents was intercepted in 1531 ⁵⁾, he saw himself compelled to earn his living; on John Sturm's ⁶⁾ advice, he accepted the offer of John of Tartas ⁷⁾, head of the College of Lisieux, to lecture there on Greek and Hebrew ⁸⁾. At the news of his father's decease, by 1532, he entered the service of John de la Rochefoucauld, Bishop of Mende, who allowed him to continue his medical training in Montpellier. During those years he remained in correspondence with Stephen Dolet, although the latter seems to have wrongly

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 350.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 507-8, &c.

³⁾ Dolet, 59, 69, 70-73.

⁴⁾ Allen, III, 928, 36.

⁵⁾ He consequently can hardly be meant in Clenardus' letter to Fr. Hoverius of May-June 1531: *satis præmonui alterum qui totum perdidit præter pænulam*: *ClenCorr.*, I, 15, 1-2, II, 25, 29-30.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, p 582.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 193, sq, 476, sq.

⁸⁾ In a letter to John de Tartas, of July 28, 1531, Clenard requests for Joachim Polites, made poor by the Zeeland inundation, the same help as he had just then conferred on Bording: *Velim... ut eandem in hunc ostendas humanitatem quam modo declarasti in Iacobum*: *ClenCorr.*, I, 20, 9-10, II, 29-30.

suspected his friend, which finally caused a chill, to Bishop de Pins' displeasure ¹⁾. Yet when, in November 1531, Dolet sent his *Orationes Duæ* to William Budé, the great Hellenist applied for information to Bording, who had handed the letter : it caused a most gratifying reply ²⁾.

At his master's death, September 24, 1538, Bording went to study in Italy, and met Cardinal James Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, who entrusted to him the direction of a school. He married there Frances Negroni ³⁾ and settled as physician, possibly after having promoted doctor at an Italian University ⁴⁾. As, however, his religious opinions had a strong bias towards the Reformation, he thought it advisable to return to Antwerp, where he practised, and even taught, the medical art. After five years, by 1545, he went to Germany for security's sake, and accepted the position of town physician of Hamburg. In 1550, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg appointed him as his own doctor, and as professor of his art in the University of Rostock, where he chiefly spent his time in presiding the academic debates on medicine. He left in 1556 to become Court physician of King Christiern III of Denmark, and professor of Copenhagen University, where he was repeatedly elected Rector. He died there on September 5, 1560, and was buried in the Cathedral. His widow and his nine children returned to Rostock, where they had a monument erected in St. Mary's ⁵⁾. His son James (1547-1616) became famous as jurisprudent and diplomatist in the service of Christiern IV of Denmark, and of Ulric of Mecklenburg ; he was professor of Rostock, and died in 1616 as mayor of Lübeck ⁶⁾. James Bording left two volumes of *Enarrationes*, viz., his lectures, on *Physiologia*, *Hygieine*, *Pathologia*,

¹⁾ Dolet, 142-53, translating or summarizing six undated letters to, and five from, Bording.

²⁾ BudERép., 237-38 : Budé's letter to Dolet, rightly ascribed to Jan. 24, 1532.

³⁾ She was the daughter of Termo Negroni, patrician of Genua, and Jane de Roschelle ; Frances bore him nine children, who survived him.

⁴⁾ Biographers make him promote in Bologna : yet his name is not mentioned in Knod.

⁵⁾ Foppens, I, 503, copies both epitaphs.

⁶⁾ Melchior Adam, *Vitæ Germanorum Jureconsultorum* : Frankfurt, 1706 : 221-223.

1591, and on Galenus, 1595 ; as well as a collection of *Consilia Medica*, 1615 ¹⁾).

B. PEDAGOGUE & DOGMATIST

When Nicolas Wary became president of the *Trilingue*, there was amongst his students a young man who in after times became one of the most famous pedagogues and politicians of the century, John Sturm. He was born on October 1, 1507 at Schleiden, in the Eifel ²⁾, the son of William Sturm and of his wife Gertrude Hulsen, who had thirteen children. The father was steward to the Count of Manderscheid-Blankenheim ³⁾, who allowed the boy to attend the lessons given to his sons ; John remembered gratefully in later years his first preceptor John of Neuburg, as well as James of Blumenthal, Antony Dalber and Gerard Episcopius ⁴⁾. As he proved very clever the Count of Manderscheid allowed him to accompany his sons, when, in 1522, he sent them to the then famous School of the Hieronymites of Liège ⁵⁾. That institute of the Brothers of the Common Life, had been founded in 1496, and as it was to work in an important town, it could rely on a considerable number of pupils : so that a systematic division into various classes, which was out of the question in the thinly populated schools of smaller places, had been made, according to what existed at Deventer and Hertogenbosch ⁶⁾, and elsewhere ⁷⁾. There were eight such divisions, and the

¹⁾ *SweABelg.*, 357 ; *BibBelg.*, 403 ; Melchior Adam, *Vitæ Germanorum Medicorum* : Frankfurt, 1706 : 44-49 ; Paquot, xvi, 70-75 ; *Dolet*, 70, sq ; *BN* ; *ClenCorr.*, II, 30-31 ; Roersch, II, 80. ²⁾ *Mameran*, 15, 26.

³⁾ Count Thierry of Manderscheid was also lord of Schleiden and Blankenheim from 1525 to 1548 : *LuCha V.*, v, 473-4. ⁴⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 24.

⁵⁾ *SturmKück.*, 9-14 ; *EpClassArg.*, 24, 26, 64, 116 ; — Delprat, 69-70 ; *Corsend.*, 123-24 ; Paquot, III, 262, VIII, 408, XI, 296.

⁶⁾ Woodward, 86 ; there were seven classes at Hertogenbosch, after the seven Free Arts. It is also recorded that under rector Joh. Cele, who died in 1417, the school of Zwolle was divided into different classes, *locis*, whenever required by the number of pupils : Paulsen, 291 ; *SturmKück.*, 11-13 ; Grube, 11, 94 ; *Voecht*, 7, sq ; GrootE, 37-49, 138-45, &c.

⁷⁾ *SturmKück.*, 12 ; it is said to have been used in some of the old abbey-schools when the boys were too numerous ; or when they had to learn different things, e. g., reading, or singing, or writing, as Alcuin mentioned in his *Epist.*, 72, to Archbishop Eanbald of York ; even

boys of each were arranged into *decuriæ* under the lead of a *decurio*, apparently an old custom, practised already before, it is said, in Liège Cathedral school ¹⁾; every year there was a prize day when the boys were allowed to ascend to a superior class, when speeches were held, and books were given as a reward to the most conspicuous pupils ²⁾; dramas were acted occasionally, in which Sturm played a part ³⁾: those and other features were reproduced later on in his Strassburg School.

By 1524, he left Liège and entered Louvain University as a student of the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾. He attended the lectures of Goclenius and Rescius ⁵⁾, but found those of John van Campen far too difficult ⁶⁾, as they were not devised for beginners, but required an already fairly advanced knowledge of Hebrew in order to follow the commentaries worthy of a University teaching, as were those of his two colleagues ⁷⁾. On that account, Sturm took private lessons in that language, and possibly also in Greek, from Nicolas Clenardus ⁸⁾, who, no doubt, with the permission of the University, conducted in public some groups of young men who felt deficient in those matters, although he was not at all appointed officially, neither by the Faculties, nor by the *Trilingue* ⁹⁾. It is most

pupils were separated according to their age and the degree of instruction, and passing from one division to another without the explicit permission of the teacher was severely prohibited: Specht, 162-63.

¹⁾ *SturmKück.*, 12.

²⁾ *SturmKück.*, 13.

³⁾ Thus, in 1522, he played the part of Geta in Terence's *Phormio* on a stage before St. Martin's Church, as he wrote to Michael Bosch: *EpClassArg.*, 64; Dittrich, 36.

⁴⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 112, 114, 120.

⁵⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 120. ⁶⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 112. ⁷⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XVI.

⁸⁾ *EpClassArg.*, 112, 114; *ClenCorr.*, I, 30, II, 14, 19.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 507-8. There is no reference to the name of Nic. Beken Clenardus in the accounts of Nicolas Wary and of Josse van der Hoeven, nor in the latter's Manual, which documents extend from January 1526 to well in 1532, whereas ordinary professors are mentioned regularly for their payments. The reference therefore to N. Clenardus as professor of the *Trilingue* (*SturmKück.*, 14) is evidently a misunderstanding, for, with the permission of the University, he only taught a group of students, publicly, but entirely on his own private initiative: cp. VAnd., 357; and further, Ch. XV. Nor can there be any question, either, of Sturm's having started lecturing in the *Trilingue*, — except again as a private tutor, without any authority imparted by the College, but just as a help to one or more weaker pupils: *SturmKück.*, 15.

probable, even, that from the beginning of his stay in Louvain, Sturm rendered the same service to one or more of the Count of Manderscheid's sons, who had been with him at Liège, and may have come to the University too. For certain by 1529, he tutored a squire of Schauenburg ¹⁾, who, as he declared in his preface to Cicero's *Orationes* (Strassburg, 1540 : 11), attended daily Goclenius' lectures, whereas he himself was then more in connection with Rescius ²⁾.

At any rate by thus devoting five years to the study of languages, Sturm acquired a grace and an ease in speaking and writing Latin, which secured an irresistible popularity both as orator and as author; whereas the influence of a thorough acquaintance with Cicero's style and works spread over his long career as a ray of glory ³⁾. He was also well versed in Greek, and soon became a friend of Rescius, with whom he boarded, and even entered into partnership in order to begin a printing-office at Thierry Martens' departure from Louvain, in the course of 1529. Only seventeen books are recorded for the new concern ⁴⁾, which bore the name of Sturm as well as that of Rescius, the first being *Xenophontis Ἀπομνημονευμάτων Libri Quatuor, Græce*, which appeared in September 1529, and was dedicated to Giles de Busleyden by a letter dated July 31, 1529 ⁵⁾.

Within a year's time, Sturm left Louvain for Paris : it has been said that he went to that great town to further the interest of the printing office ⁶⁾, which seems most preposterous, since no later than 1531, he edited Gerhard's translation of Galen, and had it published in Basle ⁷⁾. It seems rather as if

¹⁾ Cp. *LuChaV*, v, 516 : John († Dec. 1533), Bernard and Christopher, 1547-51.

²⁾ Sturm seems to have had a dislike of Goclenius whom he highly admired, though; in his preface to Cicero's *Orationes*, 11 (Strassburg, 1540), he mentions that he attended most zealously Rescius' lectures 'quas ille omnium optime tradebat... ob eamque causam minus ego Conrado familiaris, qui a Rutgero dissentiebat' <— no doubt on account of his claim for his board and lodging, and of his printing concern : cp. before, pp 330, sq. and further, sect. 5, c> : *SturmKück.*, 15.

³⁾ *SturmKück.*, 9, 14-15; and further, p 589.

⁴⁾ Sturm's name appears with that of Rescius on Clénardus' *Institutio In Linguam Græcam*, published on April 28, 1530, and on books printed up to July 1530 : *Clénard*, 61; *NijKron.*, 1, 585; cp. further, sect. 5, c.

⁵⁾ *Iseghem*, 107, 140, 339-40; *NijKron.*, 11, 4098.

⁶⁾ *SturmKück.*, 15.

⁷⁾ *SturmKück.*, 15-16.

he broke the partnership, chiefly because it did not afford any prospects : there was hardly any likelihood that he would ever find an appointment in Louvain. Moreover, it is certain that he was not nominated by the University, nor by the *Trilingue* either, though he read Cicero's *ad Herennium* ¹⁾ to a small audience of private pupils. He must have found it hard to compete with Goclenius ; nor can he have been ignorant of the mercilessness with which Alard's and Nesen's endeavours to start lectures in connection with the *Trilingue* had been nipped in the bud a few years before ²⁾. Possibly religious opinion may have had some bearing on the decision of removing to Paris, for Sturm seems to have returned from a journey to Bucer's Strassburg, 1528, with most favourable dispositions towards the German Reformers ³⁾. In Paris, Sturm attended some lectures on medicine ⁴⁾ and on other branches, and secured some pupils, to whom he explained Dialectics, and read Cicero and Demostenes ; in that way his eloquence and erudition soon became famous ⁵⁾. He made there several acquaintances ⁶⁾, and married Jane Pison, Ponderia ⁷⁾, who spoke Latin : they took boarders in their house

¹⁾ From the preface to Cicero's *de Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Sturm-Kück., 15, concludes : Sturm bestieg im Jahre 1527 als ein zwanzig-jähriger Jüngling selbst den Lehrstuhl, welchen er zwei Jahre inne hatte. — It is also inexact to think that the fact of attending the lessons in the *Trilingue* allowed him to promote as Master of Arts : Sturm-Paasch, 7.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 318, sq, 453, sq.

³⁾ C. Schmidt, *Vie de Jean Sturm* : Strassburg, 1855 ; Herminjard, III, 57 ; on that journey he found at Cologne his townsman John Sleidanus ailing, and took him to Louvain : *Sleidan.*, I, 47 ; cp. before, p 572. No doubt, Bucer's influence caused a change in religious opinions which he communicated to Sleidanus.

⁴⁾ He then attended the lectures of John Winter, of Andernach ; cp. before, pp 529, 571.

⁵⁾ He gave public lessons, still he was not appointed at all as a proper 'Royal professor' : Sturm-Paasch, 7 ; cp. Lefranc, 92, 120, sq, 137-39, 184.

⁶⁾ He helped James Bording, also an old student of the *Trilingue*, whose supply of money had been intercepted, and advised him to accept a place as teacher in Lisieux College : Paquot, xvi, 71 ; cp. before, p 577.

⁷⁾ Lefranc, 120 ; Sturm married three times, but left neither widow, nor children at his death : Sturm-Kück., 39.

as Rescius did in Louvain. By 1533, Sturm had become acquainted with Queen Margaret of Angoulême ¹⁾, and with several conspicuous people : amongst them, Cardinal John du Bellay ²⁾ and his brothers, the Lords of Langey ³⁾ ; also the Royal Ambassador in Germany, Barnabas de Voré, Lord of la Fosse ⁴⁾ ; he wanted to serve the cause of Reform by making Melanchthon ⁵⁾ and Bucer ⁶⁾ come to Paris to discuss with Francis I a plan of religious reform, and help him to enter into a league with the Schmalkalden Princes ⁷⁾. As, however, both those projects failed, and as a new persecution

¹⁾ *MargAng.*, I, 189, 237, 300, 309; *Imbart*, III, 511.

²⁾ John du Bellay, born in 1492, was first Bishop of Bayonne ; in 1532 he became Bishop of Paris, and was made Cardinal by Paul III, on May 21, 1535. He was one of the promoters of the 'Royal Professors', and served Francis I as an able statesman and diplomatist. He helped him especially in his struggle against Charles V, and went as far as to seek aid amongst the Protestants, pretending to gain them back to the old Faith. At Francis I's death, he lost all the power which he had enjoyed, and being persecuted by the Guise family, he retired to Rome where he had a bishopric at Ostia : he still had a hand in international policy, and died on February 16, 1560. Cp. *Pastor*, v, 53, sq, 74, 101, sq, 164, &c ; *SadolE.*, 252-60, 702-4 ; *Imbart*, III, 536.

³⁾ The brothers William, Martin and René du Bellay, often called Lords of Langey, which title only belonged to William, were most conspicuous men during Francis I's reign : William was Governor of Piedmont, and a shrewd diplomatist : he died in 1543 ; Martin was a literator and a valiant captain ; he died in 1559 as Prince of Yvetot, in consequence of his marriage with Elisabeth Chenu, heiress ; René, his brother's vicar-general, became himself Bishop of Le Mans : *Herminjard*, III, *passim*.

⁴⁾ Barnabas de Voré was sent several times to Melanchthon, Bucer and other Reformers in Germany by Francis I during that period : *Herminjard*, III, 268, 270, 301, 307-8, 310, 322, 357.

⁵⁾ If not the original author of the audacious project of attracting Melanchthon and Bucer to Paris, Sturm served at least as the initial go-between. He wrote most engagingly on that matter to Melanchthon on March 6, 1535 and on July 9, 1535 : *Herminjard*, III, 266-70, 306-12 ; *MeleBind.*, 405, sq ; *WiedVarr.*, 106 ; *Gabbema*, 74-76.

⁶⁾ John Sturm wrote to Bucer on the subject of religion on August 23, 1533, middle of October 1533, and, on the King's invitation, on March 10, 1535, November 18, 1535 : *Herminjard*, III, 72-75, 93-95, 270-74, 362-67 ; *Imbart*, III, 560-61, 565, 573.

⁷⁾ *MargAng.*, 189 ; *Herminjard*, III, 342, 345, 356-57, 366-67, VII, 184 ; *Imbart*, III, 554, sq, 560, sq ; *SturmKück.*, 17-19 ; *Melanch.*, 315, sq, 322 ; *Seck.*, III, 107, a, b ; *CorpCath.*, XVIII, 81, 124.

started in consequence of the 'Placards' ¹⁾, Sturm was pleased to accept the offer to come and teach at Strassburg ²⁾. His French protectors did not lose their interest in him, and in the ensuing years they tried to secure his influence and efficiency for the benefit of the Catholic cause : at the request of Cardinal du Bellay, Sadolet even undertook to attract and reason him and Melanchthon back to the old faith ³⁾. When, in 1538, the *Consilium* for the reform of the Datary was published against the wish of the author, Cardinal Contarini ⁴⁾, John Sturm, at Bucer's request, wrote a criticism in his *Epistola de Emendatione Ecclesiae* : Cochläus replied to it, whereas Sadolet answered with a most affable letter ⁵⁾ : Luther treated it as a devilish trick ⁶⁾ ; Sadolet himself was blamed for it ⁷⁾, and it failed to produce any better result than giving to Sturm the impression that he was worthy to sit as judge over the Pope and his College of Cardinals.

Meanwhile he had started lecturing on dialectics, rhetoric and literature on his arrival at Strassburg, January 14, 1537, with great success, in so far that, a few months later, he

¹⁾ Imbart, III, 558, 573.

²⁾ The offer to come and teach at Strassburg had been made in the name of the town authorities by Bucer in the first days of the summer of 1536 ; Sturm reached Strassburg on January 14, 1537 : *SturmKück.*, 19, 27, sq ; *SleiComm.*, 333 ; *Palear.*, I, 451.

³⁾ On December 24, 1540, Sadolet wrote to Damian a Goes : scripsi prius ad eum quem tu scis <Melanchthon>... & postea ad Sturmium, non tam mea sponte quidem, quam amplissimi Cardinalis Parisiensis hortationibus inductus : *GoesOp.*, g 4, v ; *MonHL*, 618 ; Contarini tried the same policy by 1541 : *Pastor*, v, 308.

⁴⁾ *ContarE*, 249, 107, sq.

⁵⁾ *ContarE*, 108-10, 114, 296-97, 374 ; Card. Sadolet thanked Cochläus on November 30, 1538, for a copy of his reply, and communicated his own kind letter to Sturm : *SadolE*, 735 ; *CochlSpahn*, 235, 263, 267, 361.

⁶⁾ *MelaVers.*, 48-50, 63, 75, 81-82 ; *Pastor*, v, 125-28, 308 ; cp. *CorpCath.*, XVII, xv-xxi, 1-40, reproducing Cochläus' *Æquitatis Discussio super Consilio Delectorum Cardinalium* (against Sturm) : Leipzig, 1538, XVIII, 189 ; Lauchert, 400, 402 ; Jedin, 345-46, 585-86.

⁷⁾ Writing to Goes about his efforts to retrieve Melanchthon and Sturm, Sadolet remarks : ea res... honori mihi non est... In posterum ero cautior, ...quia uideo consilia mea, quæ meæ tantisper oblitus dignitatis, ad Deum cuncta referebam, parum mihi prospere apud plane corruptas & tanquam oppressas pestilentia mentes procedere : *GoesOp.*, g 4, v.

submitted his plan of an ideal School ¹⁾, as well as a proposal to weld the existing small *ludi literarii* into one big institute, of which he was to be the rector and supervisor; he found the most ready help with the town authorities and with the masters already in function. His plan was fully explained in his famous *De Literarum Ludis recte aperiendis*, 1538 ²⁾, which was as the charter of the new institute, and as an expression of his ideal of School Humanism. It gives as aim of instruction and education the *sapiens et eloquens pietas* ³⁾, which especially Vives had been advocating with might and main ⁴⁾. The school was divided into eight classes, like that of the Liège Hieronymites, whose system of *decuriæ* and organization, of prize-days, speeches, play-acting and other details, was closely imitated ⁵⁾. In fact, the new programme, for which he was hailed and is still often praised as the ideal humanistic pedagogue, can only justify that distinction by the clever organizing of the school, and the charm of a convincing style, as it merely codifies what was practised in up-to-date schools of bigger centres ⁶⁾, since, for example, the division into several classes, is out of the question in smaller places, which, however, do realize most effective work if

¹⁾ Paulsen, 290-91 : he remarks that Sturm mixes up his old school of Liège and the ideal school at Strassburg, in so far that they seem to be only one and the same. Yet S. uses for the one the narrative past tense, and for the other the most urgent present. For he did not hide from the town authorities that he had seen the system at work; no doubt, he used it as an argument to bring them to realize what had already proved to be feasible and efficient.

²⁾ Paulsen, 290, sq; Moog, 163; Laurie, 25-26; Woodward, 86, sq; *EpClassArg.*, x-xxi; *BeitBrieg.*, 120, 124.

³⁾ Cp. SturmSohm, 31-123, 296-317; Paulsen, 290, 292; Moog, 163-64, remarks that it is not a theoretic study of *pietas*, but only a practical application; it makes of the school an organism of the State.

⁴⁾ Vives wants ethics to be, if not the direct object of teaching and education, for certain their result, their necessary conclusion: Woodward, 188, sq.

⁵⁾ Dittrich, 71-72; *EpClassArg.*, xii, sq; Mameran, 26; Duhr, I, 237-38.

⁶⁾ Paulsen, 295, 297, for the school of Wittenberg; *id.* 422, sq, for the Jesuit schools; Moog, 167, sq; SturmPaasch, 15-39, who compares the educational system of Sturm with that of Calvin (*ibid.*, 40-75): the summary of the comparison (*ibid.*, 75-78) shows nine similitudes and fourteen differences, mostly explained by the differing circumstances.

they happen to possess really first-rate *ludimagistri* ¹⁾. What Sturm added of his own, shows that he was far better fitted to conceive and advertise big schemes than to work them out ²⁾; that he lacked even common sense, not to mention pedagogic experience : as, for instance, in the perfectly absurd curriculum put in connection with the age of pupils, which is even hardly suited for prodigies ³⁾. The school started with good omen : owing, first, to the novel idea of public announcement ; further, to the personal influence of John Sturm ⁴⁾, and especially to the fact that it was intended to become a nursery for apostles of Reform for France and Switzerland, as well as for Germany and the North, being situated in the centre between Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinistic regions ⁵⁾.

After a few years the first zeal, both of the supervisor and of the teachers ⁶⁾, slackened ; the upper half of the institute

¹⁾ Paulsen, 297.

²⁾ Paulsen, 293, rightly implies that Sturm was not 'ebenso grosser Schulmeister als Klassen- und Stundenplankünstler', stating that he was not at all busy with instruction, but with supervision and direction, lecturing only occasionally in public on Dialectics and Rhetoric ; nor had he much time left to devote to his school with his various political and theological avocations.

³⁾ Thus according to his *De Literarum Ludis recte aperiendis*, boys of six years old, learning Latin for the second year, were to study Virgil's *Eclogæ* and imitate his verses ; in the following class, at seven, they were to read Virgil, Tibullus, Catullus and Horace, and to imitate their verse forms. The rest of the programme is after the same style : it finishes up with the first class, for boys over thirteen with Aristoteles' *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, Mela, Proclus, Demosthenes, Homer and Cicero : Paulsen, 292-93. It did not last long before real teaching and the ideal programme were miles apart : Paulsen, 294 ; Moog, 165-66.

⁴⁾ Paulsen, 294, 297 : Der Unterschied der Strassburger Schule von den übrigen liegt mehr in der Form des Berichts als in der Wirklichkeit : dort eine rhetorisch zugestützte Darstellung des Erstrebten, hier kurze geschäftsmässige Darstellung des Wirklichen und Möglichen.

⁵⁾ Sturm-Sohm, 124-94 ; Paulsen, 291, 293-94 ; Heresbach, 158, 211.

⁶⁾ Among his teachers, Sturm had at one time the Antony de Schore, Schorus, of Hoogstraeten, who taught in Heidelberg, and caused trouble with his subversive drama *Eusebia, sive Religio* : Bahlmann, II, 105 ; he died at Lausanne in 1552 : Paquot, IV, 128-30. He published a *Ratio Discendæ Docendæque Linguae Latinæ & Græcæ Libri Duo* : Strassburg, Josias Rihelius, 1549. The Henry Schore, Schorus, teacher at Zabern and provost of Sourburg, may have been his son ; he edited in 1572 a *Specimen & Forma tradendi Sermonis & Rationis Disciplinas*,

was as good as deserted, so that by 1550, the rigidity of the initial programme was dwindling away. Fifteen years later the state of the '*ludus*' was so bad, that it required a renovation ¹⁾, which Sturm advised by his *Classicæ Epistolæ, sive Scholæ Argentinenses Restitutæ*, addressed, in 1565, to patrons and to each individual teacher then at work ²⁾, correcting what experience had proved to be impracticable ³⁾, and thus finishing up where he should have started.

Moreover the great 'Protestant Pedagogue' had since long been neglecting his school for the interests of the Reformation : he took an active concern in its political recognition ⁴⁾, as well as in the fate of fellow-believers in France and the Netherlands, in Germany and in Switzerland ⁵⁾ ; owing to the acquaintance with numerous personages, made at the *Trilingue* and in Paris, and more especially to the prestige of his eloquence, he was employed on missions to Francis I and

followed by an *Epistola de Linguarum Usu & Utilitate*, with a preface by John Sturm (Strassburg, Josias Rihelius) : Paquot, iv, 131-32. There is a letter from him to the 'probo adolescenti Francisco <de Enzinas> Dryandro', of 1543, amongst the Strassburg *Variorum Epistolæ*, MS v. 73, edited by Ed. Boehmer (*Spanish Reformers*, I, 161).

¹⁾ Since 1553, there were several complaints about the irregularity of some lectures and the remissness of some teachers ; moreover religious controversy had entered the up to then well united staff. At that time John Marbach started kindling dissension, favouring Lutheranism against Calvinism and Sturm's idea of 'common understanding' ; he even did not hide his scepticism about the rector's pedagogic abilities : *EpClassArg.*, xxxii ; *SturmSohm*, 195-274.

²⁾ The new programme takes much more account of reality than that of 1537 : Paulsen, 294-95 ; Moog, 167.

³⁾ Sturm published in 1565 another treatise on pedagogy, his *Scholæ Lauinganæ* ; and that year he started what he schemed to be a Strassburg University, by means of some of his public lectures on philosophy and literature ; although empowered by Emperor Maximilian to create bachelors and masters in philosophy, his own lecture lacked hearers in 1566. He took himself the title of *Rector Perpetuus* : yet the town authorities did not encourage the plan, and the new institute dwindled after the first year : Paulsen, 291, 296-97 ; Moog, 163.

⁴⁾ *Melanch.*, 373, 390, 399, 422 ; Paulsen, 293-94.

⁵⁾ *Palear.*, I, 424, 447, 451, 456, 560-61 ; *EpClassArg.*, xxi ; *Heresbach*, 39 ; *RhenE*, 466, 469, 476 ; *ViglEB*, 21 ; *MelaVers.*, 75 ; *Pastor*, v, 296 ; *Laemmer*, 305, 310 ; *WiedVarr.*, 119 ; *Seck.*, III, 569, a-572, a ; *Herminjard*, VII, 86, 343-44 ; *Jedin*, 432, 616.

Cardinal Granvelle ; he even tried to negotiate a union of the creeds at Hagenau, Worms and Ratisbon ¹⁾. Unfortunately the *pietas* of his ideal aim suffered from the lack of understanding amongst the Protestants. Being himself partial to Calvinism ²⁾, he dreamed of a union of all Reformers : but it had become evident that religion was not any longer a matter of belief, but part of the organization of the various States ; and, whereas Sturm tried to reason away all divergencies between the sects, some of his teachers, led by the Lutheran divine John Marbach ³⁾, kindled even the fire of bitter controversy in his very staff ⁴⁾. It ended in the violent polemic on the Eucharist ⁵⁾ with the teacher of religion John Pappus ⁶⁾, and the dismissal of John Sturm from his school in 1581 by the town authorities of Strassburg at the instigation of the Elector-Palatine Louis VI. The last years of the rector were saddened by blindness, by pecuniary ⁷⁾ and other troubles,

¹⁾ *SleiComm.*, 373, *sq.*, 473, *sq.*, 545, *sq.* ; *Palear.*, I, 553 ; Cheke, 62 ; Herminjard, VII, 360 ; Voigt, 410-11 ; DantE, 471 ; &c.

²⁾ Herminjard, VII, 225, 254, 441, 501.

³⁾ John Marbach, born at Lindau, on the Lake of Constance, in 1521, studied at Strassburg and at Wittenberg. He became minister at Strassburg in 1545, and professor of theology, 1548, at Bucer's leaving. Since 1552, he was superintendent of Strassburg Church and 'visitor' of the school, in which he took a great interest, although he was continually in some bitter quarrel with Sturm, who, from 1561, did not hide his partiality to Calvinism, whereas Marbach was Lutheran before all. He died on March 17, 1581 : *EpClassArg.*, 74-80 ; HerMaur., 279. Marbach had before driven out of Strassburg the Italian refugee Jerome Zanchi (1516-1590), who taught there from 1553 to 1563 : HerMaur., 285 ; *Palear.*, I, 422, 447, 449, 451, II, 406, 594-96 ; *ItalRef.*, 113, 162, 286.

⁴⁾ *SturmSohm*, 195-236 (Marbach v Zanchi), 236-74 (Marbach v Sturm).

⁵⁾ *SturmSohm*, 274-96 ; both Sturm and Pappus had a controversy with the Jesuit John Hay, of Dalkeith : Paquot, XVIII, 239.

⁶⁾ John Pappus, born at Lindau, 1549, was professor of Religion in Strassburg institute, and in his eager controversy with the vain erudite Sturm, he managed to vanquish through him the Calvinistic, Zwinglian and Huguenot tendency of the school, by which Sturm tried in vain to offer a means of uniting all contradictory opinions : through him Strassburg returned to the Lutheran creed. Pappus died in 1610 : HerMaur., 279 ; *SturmKück.*, 36-37.

⁷⁾ Sturm had advanced large sums of money to French Huguenots, which were only repaid some time after his death : it made his last years very disagreeable.

from which death liberated him on March 3, 1589. His friends and admirers celebrated him by epitaphs and funeral orations, published as *Manes Sturmiani* ¹⁾).

Besides the arranging of his school and its completion in 1565 by an initial form of university ²⁾, as well as his influence on some of his great friends, like Roger Ascham ³⁾, Sturm's lasting work is the series of writings which spread his ideas and opinions over a large area ⁴⁾. His pedagogical books suggested the organization of schools; his classical editions, with their introductions and commentaries, as well as his treatises on rhetoric and linguistic study, helped to educate several generations. The greater amount of his pedagogical knowledge, his thorough acquaintance and great culture of Latin, which made him into 'the Cicero of Germany', and, for certain, his understanding and appreciation of antique literature, was derived from the methods and teaching of Goclenius and Rescius, which he closely observed for five years ⁵⁾; his editions of classical books, moreover, are due to the Louvain example of Adrian Barlandus ⁶⁾: he may thus be considered, in a way, as a means through which the benefit,

¹⁾ Opmeer, I, 478, b; Gabbema, 74-76; Hessels, II, 119; *Heresbach*, 158; ViglEB, 21; Ch. Schmidt, *La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm*: Strassburg, 1855; *SturmKück.*, 8-46; *Palear.*, I, 560-61; *EpClassArg.*, ix-xxxi; Enders, XII, 110-12, 260-61; *CorpCath.*, XVII, xv; Friedrich Karl Kaiser, *Johannes Sturm, Sein Bildungsgang und seine Verdienste um das Strassburger Schulwesen*: Cologne, 1872; Gough, 724 (mentioning his being Queen Elizabeth's agent); *SaxOnom.*, 152, 605; Massebieau, 61; *Dolet*, 269-70, 284; *CatSél.*, 268, 341, 513. — A large number of letters from and to him are preserved amongst the MSS of *BbBasle*, of Copenhagen Royal Library and in the *CollUffWolf*.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 587.

³⁾ Sturm greatly influenced the author of *Toxophilus*, Roger Ascham (1515-1568), classic scholar (*DNB*; *CHEL*, III, 290, sq), who was his personal friend: *AschE*, *passim*; Laurie, 58-85 (espec. 67, 69, sq, 77); *Cheke*, 20, 29, 53, 55, 83, 88, 90.

⁴⁾ Woodward, 242; *HarvMarg.*, 119, 183; Ascham, *Engl. Works*: Cambridge, 1904: 202, 261; *EliCritEss.*, I, 347-55, & *passim*, II, 248, 433. — Sturm imitated the Jesuits (*EpClassArg.*, 8, 12, 16) and wanted to surpass their teaching, just as the Jesuits tried to improve on his methods (Duhr, I, 281, 286); if they had points in common, they were ascribed to identical sources (Duhr, I, 291).

⁵⁾ *SturmSohm*, 27. ⁶⁾ Cp. before, I, 226-37, 267-71; *Daxhelet*, 33-186.

generously bestowed by the *Trilingue*, was extended over a much larger part of humanity than that which could, or would, have accepted it directly.

Unfortunately, although he himself was a decided adept of Humanism, and a friend of many disciples and favourers of Erasmus ¹⁾, the spirit of the *Trilingue* did not live in Sturm's school ²⁾. Instead of an ideal education through what Antiquity boasts of as greatest and noblest, with the lofty aim of preparing a body of choice workers, splendidly equipped for all the various forms of intellectual activity, the Strassburg institution intended producing merely well disciplined and efficient collaborators of the State, either obedient officials, or dutiful ministers of creeds, not freely accepted, but authoritatively imposed. Being thus reduced to a mere way of producing faultless Latin letters and unobjectionable orations, Humanism was unable to live in that atmosphere of pedantic formalism, and returned to those happier centres of activity where it was still resorted to as a source of endless potentialities for the ever new fields of research, as well as for the free, esthetic perfecting of human intelligence ³⁾. Sturm's high-flown programmes thus rang the knell of what is called : 'Protestant Humanism'.

¹⁾ Sturm was well acquainted with Beatus Rhenanus, whose life he wrote in 1551 : *RhenE*, 1-11 ; with Conrad von Heresbach : *Heresbach*, 158 ; *HeresMon.*, 5, 10 ; with George Fabricius : *RhenE*, 550-51 ; with Sir John Cheke : *Cheke*, 62, 88, 90 ; with Bartholomew Latomus : *Corp-Cath.*, VIII, xi, 21, 27, 40 ; he corresponded with John a Laski : *Lasco*, 161 ; dedicated writings to Herman de Wied : *WiedVarr.*, 37 ; &c.

²⁾ Harvey pronounced of Sturm's own style : plus Latinæ phrasis, quam Romani Spiritus : *HarvMarg.*, 119. Indeed, it seems as if Sturm, as also Ascham, was solicitous about the very material teaching of Latin, rather than about the spirit of Humanism : Woodward, 237 ; Laurie, 142, *sq* ; &c. For certain, there was in his system many a prejudice, which impaired the efficiency of the measures used : such as, e. g., the order given to the boys to speak Latin amongst themselves, when there was nobody to put right their mistakes, so that *Loquendo, male loqui discunt* : Laurie, 68, *sq* ; also the singular way to let the pupils learn by themselves all the plays of Terence and Plautus, which had to be represented in a continuous flow, so that it became a useless and loathed drudgery : Dittrich, 69-78 ; &c.

³⁾ Moog, 163-64, 168 ; Laurie, 145 ; cp. *Heresbach*, 156 ; Drerup, 20, 25-26, 36, 72.

C. LATINIST & CONTROVERSIALIST

Not long after the time that Sturm and Sleidanus were studying at the *Trilingue*, there was there also the future first 'Royal' professor of Latin in Paris, Bartholomew Latomus. He was a native of Arlon ¹), the son of Henry Mason, or Masson, Lapidica; by 1515, he went to study in Freiburg, Breisgau, where he matriculated as 'Bartholomeus Henrici Arlunensis' on March 10, 1516, and passed his tests to become Bachelor of Arts in the September emberdays (17, 19 or 20) of that same year, as 'B. Henrici Lapidice Arlonensis', which name, grecized into Latomus, is recorded for his promotion

¹) Henry Pantaleon, in his *Prosopographia Heroum atque Illustrum Virorum Germaniæ* (Basle, 1566) : 229, mentions : Latomus... Confluentiæ ad Rhenum octogenarius... etiam nunc superest. According to that statement the year of Latomus' birth may have fallen between 1476 and 1486; generally 1485 is given : Paquot, II, 110, and *BibBelg.*, 106, 108. That birth-year can hardly be correct : since Latomus refers to himself as an *adolescens* in 1521, and prolongs the *adolescentia* from 1516, when he was in Freiburg, to 1529, when he still was in Cologne : letter to Melanchthon, June 24, 1533 (G. Kawerau, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1902 : 140) : *Perspexi adolescens ante duodecim annos...* ; *Defensio adversus Bucerum* (Cologne, 1545 : *CorpCath.*, VIII, 78) ; as the *adolescentia* went from 15 to 30 years, it is clear that Latomus was born in 1498 or 1499 ; Erasmus called him *iuuenis* in 1521 (Allen, v, 1342, 214) : the *juventus* going from 20 to 40. That date is more consistent with the time of the studies ; also with the wild scrapes in which he is said to have taken a leading part in 1520 and 1521 in Freiburg : *Uni-Freib.*, II, 71-115, 332-33. The testimony of Pantaleon cannot be taken as a decided proof, for the Basle physician may have known Latomus only from hearsay. A clue might be provided from the evidence given by Latomus about having been a friend as a child and a school-fellow of the Imperial Vice-Chancellor Matthias Held, his townsman, to whom he dedicated his edition of Cicero's *Oratio pro Aulo Cecinna* : Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1539 : f2, r, ch. xli. Still the birth-year of that great man, whom the Emperor dismissed, as he opposed the conciliatory policy of Cardinal Granvelle and John de Weze, Archbishop of Lund, is only known approximatively as 1498 : Læmmer, 177, sq, 242, sq, 329, 369 ; Sonne, 27, 34 ; ViglEB, 13 (June 1, 1535), 28 (January 3, 1561 : Viglius advises him to found a school at Arlon as his *conterranei* Busleyden and Ruterus), 31 ; Hoyneck, I, i, 12, 18, 74, 96-102, 130, II, i, 122, 164, sq ; Pastor, v, 61, 64, 66, 73, 265, 317 ; PastReun., 101, 104, 481 ; Mansfeld, I, 13, 76, sq, II, 157 ; RhenE, 416-17 ; Enders, XI, 192, 200, &c ; WiedVarr., I, 98 ; HerMaur., 144 ; Mameran, 15, 32-36, 102.

to Master of Arts on October 31, 1517 ¹⁾). He wrote some poetry, and applied himself to the study of laws under Ulrich Zasius ²⁾, whose friend he became ³⁾; meanwhile he probably started tutoring and was consequently admitted to the number of 'regentes' of the Faculty of Arts on January 13, 1518 ⁴⁾. Being allowed to lecture *extra ordinem*, he had some difficulties in July and August 1518 and 1521 as he had taught at hours when other lessons were on ⁵⁾; he was appointed as *conventor* of the *Bursa Aquilæ Auratæ* on August 10, 1518 ⁶⁾, but was suspended for some time on September 2, 1519, for having taken a leading part in a nocturnal riot; and punished again in November 1520 and in June 1521 for trespassing on academic discipline ⁷⁾. In the autumn of 1521, he evidently had revisited his native town, for in November he met Erasmus at Strassburg, and journeyed with him as far as Schlettstadt ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ *MatriFreib.*, 225; *UniFreib.*, II, 195.

²⁾ Ulrich Sigwardus Zäsi, Zasius, of Constance (1461/2-1535), one of the greatest jurists of his time, taught in Freiburg from 1506 to his death. He was one of Erasmus' oldest friends: *MonHL*, 57; *Opmeer*, I, 459, b; *Gabbema*, 529; *Denifle*, I, 319, 334, 844. Prob. Erasmus met Lat. in his first months at the University, either when travelling by that town down the Rhine, or on a visit to Zasius: at any rate on June 29, 1535, Latomus wrote to him from Paris: 'Jam vigesimus annus est, opinor, et amplius, ex quo primum mihi cognitus fuisti': *Allen*, XI, 3029, 55, — unless those words merely apply to an interest taken in the Humanist's works.

³⁾ There is a letter of Latomus to Zasius, dated Treves, December 28, 1515: *ZasE*, 509-12.

⁴⁾ *UniFreib.*, II, 195.

⁵⁾ *UniFreib.*, II, 194-96.

⁶⁾ *UniFreib.*, I, 225; *MatriFreib.*, 225.

⁷⁾ *UniFreib.*, II, 71-115, 332-33; those contraventions were limited to the wearing of forbidden dresses, the carrying of a sword, nocturnal disturbances, quarrels and fights with townspeople, especially at the fairs: they seem more natural to a youth in the first twenties, than to a man of 35 or 36 (if the birth-year were 1485).

⁸⁾ Letter of February 1, 1523 to Mark Laurin: *Inde Slestadtium me confro, comitantibus aliquot; inter quos erat Bartholomæus Latomus Treuir, singulari morum et ingenii dexteritate iuuenis, qui Friburgi moderabatur collegium philosophicum*: *Allen*, V, 1342, 212-214. Consequently, when, on January 4, 1522, Erasmus wrote to Zasius, he requested him to greet Latomus, and to thank him 'pro lepido carmine quo <illum> decorauit': *Allen*, V, 1252, 12-13.

In the summer of 1522, he removed to Treves and he apparently studied in the University whilst tutoring and teaching 'bonas artes' ¹). In the first days of September, when Francis von Sickingen attacked the town, he helped to defend it most successfully : he celebrated the happy event in a poem, imitating the *Aeneis*, which he dedicated to two dignitaries of the Cathedral ²). It may have led to his being entrusted with the preceptorship of John Louis von Hagen, Archdeacon, and his brother Wolfgang, canon, of Treves Cathedral ³). He spent several years there, and as the University does not seem to have satisfied his pupils, he accompanied them to that of Cologne, matriculating on August 28, 1526 ⁴). He there continued his tutoring, and was preparing himself to become *Legum Doctor*, when, owing to the request of some noblemen, no doubt the von Hagen, the town authorities engaged him on April 23, 1528, as lecturer on Livius, whereas in the *Bursa Montana* and in the Faculty of Law he read Cicero ⁵). It shows to all evidence that humanistic studies were his favourite branch : that preference, no doubt, was due to his acquaintance with Ulrich Zasius, as is implied in a letter he sent to him on December 28, 1525, from Treves ⁶), where he seems to have found very few congenial spirits ⁷),

¹) *UniTrev.*, I, xvi, sq ; Keussen, 551, 13.

²) Latomus relates the event in a poem : *Factio Memorabilis Francisci ab Siccingen cum Treuirorum Obsidione, tum Exitus eiusdem* : Soest, Nic. Schulting, 1523 (cp. *HuMünst.*, 191) ; also Cologne, Euch. Cervicornus, 1533. It was dedicated to John von Meitzenhusen, Provost, and James von Eltz, dean, of Treves Cathedral. There was another poem added, *Bombarda*, inscribed to John Louis von Hagen.

³) *UniTrev.*, I, xvii, xix.

⁴) Keussen, 551, 11-13 : Latomus and John Louis von Hagen were inscribed for the study of Law, Wolfgang for that of Arts.

⁵) Keussen, 551, 13. Konrad Kluppel, secretary of Wolfshagen, notes in a letter of April 23, 1528 : *Nona Bartholomæum Latomum ab magnifico senatu Coloniensi ad Livianam lectionem non poenitendo salario conductum invisio* : *Waldecker Chroniken : Konrad Kluppels... Briefe* (ed. by P. Jürges, A. Leitz, W. Dersch) : Marburg, 1914 : 154.

⁶) *ZasE*, 509, 512. The letter has as only date SS. Innocents' Day ; it certainly belongs to 1525, as it mentions Zasius' *Intellectus Singulares*, at which he was working : the book, which was expected, came out in January 1526 : *Stintzing*, I, 166.

⁷) Cp. further, p 595.

and where he probably saw no other outway except in starting the study of theology, which he dreaded on account of the repulsive controversies and of the danger of outspokenness; he had almost decided on it, 'nisi, as he wrote, alia fortuna avocarit'. The removal to Cologne after his long residence in the nearly deserted University of Treves, must have given new courage for the studies of languages and literature, and he effectively worked at Cicero: he prepared an edition of several of his books, starting in September of 1526: they were published in 1536 and 1539 ¹). Only the *Oratio pro Milone* was printed, with notes, in 1528 ²), and dedicated on October 8, 1528, to his pupil John Louis von Hagen; for, besides his disciples and their friends, he does not seem to have found much encouragement amongst the members of the University ³); it was only thanks to the interference of the Senate that he could lecture on Livy ⁴). Quite naturally he longed for an atmosphere of intenser interest in languages and literature; so, after he felt himself sufficiently trained, he went to Louvain: Colonia in gymnasiis egi, donec robustior factus evolavi Lovanium ⁵).

In the Brabant University, where he matriculated on August 1, 1530 ⁶), although he may have arrived much earlier, he was most heartily welcomed, and he found the realization of his wishes in the *Trilingue*. He became an eager disciple and an intimate friend of Goclenius, who had a decisive influence on his formation and on his further career. Latomus secured in Louvain a final perfecting and a completing, which was the more efficient and the swifter, as

¹) Viz., *Pro Roscio*, and *In Verrem* (Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1535); *Oratio Pro Cecinna* (Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1539); *Topica* (Strassburg, Crato Mylius, 1539); *Partitiones Oratoriæ* (Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1539); *Paradoxa* (1539); &c.

²) Cologne, John Soter, 1528.

³) Cologne University was most suspicious about Humanism and Humanists: Bianco, I, *Anlagen*, 299; *UniKöln*, 200, &c, 112, sq, 196, sq.

⁴) Cp. before, p 593, n 5.

⁵) *Responsio... ad epistolam Bucerii* (1544): *CorpCath.*, VIII, 78.

⁶) *LibIntIV*, 25, r: Latomus intended leaving for Louvain by the middle of 1529: he may have been prevented for some time by the fear of the Sweating Sickness, or on account of the printing of his *Epitome Commentariorum Dialecticæ Inventionis Rodolphi Agricolæ* (Cologne, J. Gymnicus, 1530), dedicated to the professor of Law, Henry Olisleger, or Bars (1500-75), who became, in 1534, Chancellor of Cleves: cp. Ch. XXIII.

he was fully ready for it : indeed, his preparation had been as earnest as it had been long. In deep gratitude he dedicated, on May 20, 1531, from Treves his *Terentius cum Annotationibus* ¹⁾ to the 'Eruditissimo Viro Conrado Goclenio, professori Lovanii in Collegio Trilingui, Amico Optatissimo', and already on February 14, 1531, he expressed his thankful appreciation of the Institute, when dedicating his *Carmen Gratulatorium in Coronationem Regis Romanorum ad... Carolum Cæsarem & Ferdinandum Regem*, to the founder's brother, 'Ornatissimo Viro Domino Egidio Buslidio, Præfecto Rationum Cæsaris, Viro primario & patrono suo colendissimo', whom he probably was introduced to during his stay at the *Trilingue* ²⁾).

As results from those dedications, Latomus had returned to Treves, where he rejoined his former pupil and tried in vain to introduce the new spirit that was lacking ³⁾; it probably roused the opposition in one of the authorities — apparently the Provost, later Archbishop, John von Meitzenhusen ⁴⁾. That opposition was so strong, that it made him migrate in July 1531 to Paris, where he was appointed lecturer in St. Barbara College ⁵⁾ under Andrew de Gouvea ⁶⁾, to whom he dedicated

¹⁾ The first edition was probably printed in 1531, in Cologne, by J. Gymnicus, who is mentioned in the preface; still the oldest issue of which a copy is extant is that of 1534 by the same printer.

²⁾ That *Carmen* was printed without name or date : a copy is preserved in Treves Library (Ag. 585).

³⁾ Treves University, thinly populated, lacked all spirit and vitality at that time : *UniTrev.*, xxii; Paulsen, 123; *Trier*, II, 457, sq.

⁴⁾ Latomus refers to that opposition in his *Declamatio Funebis in Obitum Magnanimi & Excellentissimi Richardi* (von Greiffenclau, † March 13, 1531), *Archiepiscopi Treverensis* (Cologne, John Gymnicus, 1531), dedicated to John Louis von Hagen, son of the Archbishop's sister Sophia von Greiffenclau zu Vollraths. Latomus says : *Unius hominis invidiam ac malevolentiam in me... dissimulare non possum... ; monstrabo non eum esse qui... sanis studiis et literis melioribus consultum velit... ex quibus solis in deplorato Gymnasio spes aliqua futura erat... : A 2, r, v.*

⁵⁾ St. Barbara College, of the Faculty of Arts, founded by John Hubert, professor of Laws, 1430, was patronized by Spaniards : Ignatius of Loyola was an inmate there : J. Quicherat : *Histoire de Sainte Barbe. Collège, Communauté, Institution* : Paris, 1860 : I, 223; Maldonat, 536.

⁶⁾ Andrew de Gouvea, born at Beja, Portugal, in 1497, had come to study in Paris in St. Barbara College, of which his uncle, Diego de

on September 17, 1531, the synopsis of Rudolph Agricola's book on Rhetoric ¹⁾ on which he lectured. He especially read works of Cicero, and reaped universal appreciation, as his pupil Peter Siderander ²⁾ wrote from Paris on May 28, 1533, to an old master, James Bedrot, of Strassburg ³⁾ : 'Maximi nominis hic sunt Sturmius et Latomus, nec minus in ore sunt studentibus quam ipsi professores regii' ⁴⁾. Latomus became acquainted with Budé, who highly valued him, and caused him to be appointed by the King as the first Latin professor in the 'Schola Regia' ⁵⁾, although it had been decided before not to have that language taught. The Faculty

Gouvea, was the head. He was well versed in Latin, was famous as poet, and replaced his uncle as president about 1532. As he was far more progressive than pleased his uncle, the latter resumed the leadership by 1534, and even prosecuted his nephew for mismanagement. Andrew directed for several years the Guyenne College of Bordeaux, from 1534, until, in 1547, the King of Portugal invited him to organize a college at Coimbra ; he died there in 1548 : *Bulæus*, vi, 238, 919-20, 977 ; *BatGouv.*, 14-23 ; Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte Barbe*, i, 123, 218, 229, 239 ; *MonHL*, 451.

¹⁾ *Epitome Commentariorum Dialecticæ Inventionis Rodolphi Agricolæ* : Cologne, J. Gymnicus, 1532.

²⁾ Peter Schriesheimer, *Siderander* (son of an ironmonger), of Strassburg, studied in Paris from 1532 ; he afterwards taught in his native town : *Lefranc*, 134 ; *Herminjard*, iii, 54, sq.

³⁾ James Bedrott, of Pludentz, studied in Vienna, and came to Freiburg, matriculating on August 1, 1521 ; he succeeded Latomus as *Conventor Aquilæ Auratæ*, and taught mathematics. On July 3, 1523, he was inscribed as citizen of Strassburg, where, according to his letter to Ambrose Blaarer, October 26, 1527, he taught Greek and Rhetoric. He joined the Lutherans, and was appointed canon of St. Thomas, 1539, and visitor of the school ; he died there on November 20, 1541, from the pest : *MatriFreib.*, 253 ; *UniFreib.*, i, 87, sq, ii, 194, 327 ; *Ep-ClassArg.*, 92, 98 ; *Herminjard*, iii, 54, i, 433, 440 ; *ZasE*, ii, 372.

⁴⁾ *Lefranc*, 134, sq, 138.

⁵⁾ *Allen*, xi, 3029, 20-21 : Prouexit enim me Budæus ad regiam professionem : Latomus' letter to Erasmus, June 29, 1535. It seems as if the Cardinal of Lorraine also had backed his candidature. A while before, he had been invited for October 1, 1533, to teach in the school of Bordeaux, as he announced to Melanchthon on June 24, 1533, and if it did not suit, he wished to go and study law in Toulouse ; his friend Andrew de Gouvea was then at the head of the school of Bordeaux : G. Kawerau, *Ein Brief von Latomus an Melanchthon (Theol. Studien & Kritiken)* : 1902 : 140-47.

of Arts was highly displeased at the rash appointment of a lecturer for a branch which was considered as part of her monopoly ¹⁾, and, moreover, dissatisfaction was expressed at the choice of a foreigner, who, as a German, was naturally suspected to be partial to Luther ²⁾. The teaching of Latomus, chiefly about Cicero, was most prosperous and successful. His introductory lecture on November 1, 1534, '*Oratio de Studiis Humanitatis*' ³⁾, dedicated to Budé, was heartily praised by Erasmus ⁴⁾ and placed him at once amongst the leading promoters of the New Movement, which had still to fight hard for its existence in the University ruled by the Sorbonne. He lived in Paris on friendly footing with John Straselius ⁵⁾, Andrew de Gouvea ⁶⁾ and John Morin ⁷⁾, professors, and with Francis Gryphius, printer ⁸⁾; he had as students Andrew Gerard Hyperius, of Ypres ⁹⁾, and Charles Villinger, of Strassburg ¹⁰⁾. Of course, he remained in intimate

¹⁾ Allen, xi, 3029, 30-36; Lefranc, 120.

²⁾ Allen, xi, 3029, 22-24; Lefranc, 132-33: Contemnit Gallia Gallos, John Voulte wrote in a poem to console a competitor, James Louis Strébée, for being refused.

³⁾ Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1534; cp. Lefranc, 121, 354.

⁴⁾ Allen, xi, 3029, 16, sq. and 3048, 15-19: Erasmus' reply of August 24, 1535; Herminjard, iii, 305-306.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 415-16, 529.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 595.

⁷⁾ Jean Morin was headmaster of the College of Navarre, '*primarius Grammaticorum in Collegio Navarræ*', as Latomus calls him in his dedicace of the *Enarrationes... in Topica Ciceronis*: Strassburg, Crato Mylius, (March) 1539. He had been elected rector on October 10, 1532, but was ordered, by October 15, 1533, not to leave his College, on account of a comedy about Queen Margaret and Gerard Roussel played there: Bulæus, vi, 235, 977; *MargAng.*, i, 178; Herminjard, iii, 94, 107-8.

⁸⁾ He printed several of Latomus' works.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 194, sq.

¹⁰⁾ He afterwards became Imperial Councillor and Baron of Seyfriedsberg. Latomus dedicated to him his *Oratio pro Sex. Roscio Amerino adnotationibus illustrata*: Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1535. Villinger had come to study in Paris in 1533. Maybe he was a son of the Imperial Treasurer James Villinger, who had studied at Schlettstadt, and died before 1531: *WimpfLeb.*, 55, 308, sq; *Geiler*, 445, 447; FG, 441-42; Allen, iv, 1149, pr. He may have studied afterwards at Padua about 1538, and be identical with the *Villingerus*, a friend of Goes and Polites, who was praised for his *auita uirtus*, and as *patriæ gloria magna suæ*: GoesOp, m 2, r; cp. before, p 476.

connection with the various old students of the *Trilingue*, John Sturm ¹⁾ and John Sleidan ²⁾, Joachim Polites ³⁾ and Baltasar de Künring ⁴⁾; also with Vives' old pupil, the Spaniard Rodrigo Manrique ⁵⁾, who came to study there, and he helped to welcome Janus Secundus ⁶⁾ when he passed through the French Capital on his way to and from Bourges.

In the autumn of 1539, Latomus was allowed to go and spend some time in Italy at the King's expense, to get closer acquainted with the studies there and with the remains of Antiquity; he was replaced by Peter Galland ⁷⁾; he passed the winter months in Bologna, where he apparently promoted Doctor of Laws ⁸⁾. He returned, in the summer of 1540, by Strassburg, where he remained some time with his friend John Sturm ⁹⁾; he made there the acquaintance of Bucer and

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 579, sq.

²⁾ *Sleidan.*, II, 73; before, pp 572, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 475, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 383, sq.

⁵⁾ Rodrigo Manrique, nephew of the Archbishop Alonso Manrique, mentioned in his letter of December 9, 1533 : *MonIII*, 427-58, 441, 456.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 443, 383, sq, 475 : Janus Secundus, passing through Paris in March 1532, had been invited to dinner by Baltasar de Künring, and by Joachim Polites, on which occasion he met Latomus, as well as the young sculptor John Swerts : *JSecIt.*, 18; G. Prévot, *Jean Second à Paris (Rev. Belge de Phil. & d'Hist., 1930)* : ix, 554-56.

⁷⁾ Galland succeeded Latomus after having replaced him in 1539-40, and again in 1542-43 : Lefranc, 160, 209, 381, & *passim*.

⁸⁾ Latomus was called *Doctor Legum* in his polemical writings against Bucer : *Scripta Dvo Adversaria D. Bartholomæi Latomi LL. Doctoris, et Martini Bucerii Theologi &c* (Strassburg, Wendelin Rihel, 1544). He had since long decided on that promotion, as results from what he wrote on June 24, 1533, to Melanchthon : he mentioned his intent of accepting a place as teacher at Bordeaux in the beginning of October following, or, 'si id visum non fuerit', he wrote, <transibo> 'Tolosam fortassis propter cognitionem et titulum juris' : G. Kawerau, *Ein Brief von Latomus an Melanchthon (Theol. Studien & Kritiken)* : 1902 : 140-47.

⁹⁾ He had written to Sturm from Bologna, February 11, 1540, expressing his conciliatory views, and his hope on a composition of the contending parties; it was edited in September 1540 by Sturm under the title of *Epistolæ Dvæ Dvorum Amicorum, Bartholomæi Latomi et Ioannis Sturmii, de Dissidio Periculoque Germaniæ & per quos stet, quominus Concordiæ Ratio inter Partes ineatur* : Strassburg, Crato Cratomilianus, September 1540. That letter was repeatedly reprinted : cp. *ArchRefGesch.*, 1933 : xxx, 255-62.

Calvin, and accompanied them to the Hagenau Diet (July 1540)¹⁾, where he met Melanchthon²⁾ and the papal Nuncio Morone³⁾. On his return to Paris, he pronounced as inaugural oration, on Oct. 25, 1540, the relation of his Italian journey⁴⁾.

He did not outstay one whole year, for as his pupil John Ludwig von Hagen had been appointed Archbishop of Treves on August 9, 1540⁵⁾, he was invited to enter his service as councillor, and, notwithstanding Cardinal du Bellay's urgent request, he resigned his professorate in 1542⁶⁾. He had then recently married at Coblenz Anna Zieglein, of Andernach⁷⁾, and on one of his stays at that town, he met Bucer, who had been entrusted by Herman de Wied with the protestantizing of his diocese. As Latomus had lived on friendly terms with him at Strassburg in the summer of 1540, and as he even had freely expressed his views on the necessity of reforms

¹⁾ J. Gropper afterwards appealed to Latomus' testimony when he reproached Bucer with the statements he had made at Hagenau : *Past-Reun.*, 194, sq, 238 ; *Gropper*, 94 ; *Opmeer*, I, 480, a.

²⁾ *MeE*, III, 1063.

³⁾ Laemmer, 276 (report dated Hagenau, June 15, 1540) : *il Sturmio, e Lattomo... sono venuti a visitarmi o per dir meglio a tentarmi* : — the conciliatory movement was backed especially by Cardinal Granvelle and by John de Weze, Archbishop of Lund : *Laemmer*, 179, sq, 211, 223, sq, 425.

⁴⁾ *Oratio Latomi, xxv die Octobris in auditorio dicta* : Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1540 ; *Lefranc*, 121. — He is mentioned in a letter from Eustace of Knobbelsdorf, one of his hearers, to Dantiscus, May 25, 1542 : *DantE*, 438.

⁵⁾ *Cp. before*, p 593.

⁶⁾ On May 18, 1542, Latomus answered, from Zell, on the Moselle, Cardinal John du Bellay's request to take up teaching again, mentioning that far more favourable conditions are offered by the Archbishop of Treves, to whom, moreover, he owed all ; he makes his return conditional on higher wages, especially on account of his recent marriage. The letter, of which the original is preserved in the Paris National Library, *Lat. MS 5584* : 67, sq, has been edited by Jos. Greving, *Briefmappe* : Münster, 1912 : 223-27. *Cp. Lefranc*, 232, 381, 402. He was succeeded in the Chair of Latin by P. Galland, who occupied it until 1559.

⁷⁾ She was the niece of the erudite humanist mayor of that town, Louis Hillesheim, who became an intimate friend of Bartholomew : the latter's son, John Latomus, edited his *Sacrarum Antiquitatum Monumenta* : Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1577 : *Hillesheim*, 27, 60, sq, 81, 83, 117 : on pp 125-26, are verses to the author and the reader by John Latomus, who is praised in 1564 and 1567 as Dean of St. Bartholomew's, Frankfurt : *Duhr*, I, 412, 858 ; *PlantE*, IV, 98, v, 198, &c ; *JesRheinA*, 373.

to be introduced in the Church, as well as on the ruthlessness of the executions for matters of faith, Bucer expected him to become his ally and collaborator for Treves diocese. Latomus refused, and on being charged with duplicity, he replied in a lengthy memoir asserting that, although he had criticized the misuses in the Church, he had never approved of any of Luther's innovations. That letter, which had been intended as strictly private, was published with a very detailed answer by Bucer, who tried to crush him with his apparent approval. Latomus replied with pertinence and soundness : in no time the most bitter controversy was closed by the appearance of his splendidly written *Refutatio Calumniosarum Insectationum Martini Bucer* : Cologne, 1546 ¹).

The rest of Latomus' life was spent in the conscientious fulfilment of his duties as councillor of the Archbishop his friend ²), who died on March 23, 1547 ; still he was continued in his office by the successor, John of Isenburg (1547-1556) ; he even entered the Imperial Chamber of Spire, to which he was appointed on Aug. 9, 1548, through his friend Viglius ³), on account of his sound and prudent perspicacity and elegant and convincing diction : two qualities which made him an admirable debater and a keen judge ; although staunch in his conviction, he could clearly discern as well the wrongs of his own party as what there was reasonable or unavowable in

¹) The history of that controversy is related at length in L. Keil, *Bartholomæus Latomus, Zwei Streitschriften gegen Martin Bucer* (1543-1545) : Münster, 1924 : *CorpCath.*, VIII, xi, sq ; Gough, 465 ; WiedVarr., 200-201, 251.

²) Latomus attended, as delegate for the Archbishop of Treves, the Diet of Ratisbon in 1546, and wrote a *Sententia Literarum de Actibus Publicis Colloquio Ratisponæ*, in the form of a letter addressed to some friends on April 2, 1546, of which there is a summary in the MS 17437, 50, of the Royal Library, Brussels. The *Actorum Colloquii Ratisbonensis ultimi... vera Narratio*, written on the Emperor's order, and printed with his letter of June 14, 1546, at Ingolstadt, which afterwards was translated in German, is also ascribed to Latomus : *CochlSpahn*, 313 ; *Hoffmeister*, 211 (attributing even the translation to him).

³) The letter by which Viglius announces Latomus' appointment as assessor, *ViglEB*, 41, has a mutilated date : <... Kal.> augusti anno 1548 ; Latomus' reply, dated from Coblenz, August 10, 1548, is preserved in *BritMus.*, *Harleian MS.* 7011 (*Plut.* XLVIII, i, f 57). Cp. also *Hoynck*, I, i, 183, II, i, 342.

the sayings or doings of the adversaries. No wonder that he took a leading part in the meetings, up to the Diet of Speyer, June-August 1557 ¹⁾, and the Colloquy of Worms, September 1557 ²⁾, where he was called the Catholic λογοδαίδαλος by the adversaries ³⁾. As the Protestants had wrongly represented the circumstances of Worms Colloquy, broken off by their own dissensions, Latomus wrote a report in German, which was dedicated, on December 29, 1557, to Peter Canisius ⁴⁾ : it occasioned a controversy with the Frankfurt Reformer Peter Dathænus, an extremist ⁵⁾, as well as with the moderate James Andreæ Schmiedlin, of Tübingen University ⁶⁾. Latomus died at Coblenz on January 3, 1570 ⁷⁾, leaving a considerable amount of writings, ranging from the occasional poems ⁸⁾, like the epitaph on Maximilian I, 1519, to treatises on rhetoric and philosophy, commentaries on, and editions of, Cicero and Terence, polemical tracts and orations ⁹⁾, all

¹⁾ MasE, 291-92.

²⁾ SonnE, xiv, 29 ; PastReun., 325 ; and before, pp 509, 511.

³⁾ Melanchthon thus styled him in his letter of November 19, 1557, to John Marbach : MelE, ix, 397 (Plato, Phædr., 266).

⁴⁾ *Spaltung der Augspurgischen Confession durch die neuen und streitigen Theologen* (without name or date). Peter de Hondt, Canisius, born at Nijmegen on May 8, 1521, entered the Jesuit Order in 1543, and died on December 21, 1597 at Freiburg, Switzerland : cp. *JesRheinA.*, passim ; *Canisius*, 83, sq.

⁵⁾ Peter Dathænus, born at Cassel about 1531, was, from Sept. 1555, minister of the Flemish Colony at Frankfurt (Main) ; at its dispersion, 1561, he became preacher of the Palatine Elector Frederic III. He died in 1590 : ADB ; NBW ; GoetLect., i, 81-105 ; Hessels, ii, 82, 128-71.

⁶⁾ James Andreæ Schmiedlin, 1528-1590, provost and chancellor of Tübingen University, was the leader of the moderate party of the Lutherans : HerMaur., 279-81, 285, 292, 296 ; ADB.

⁷⁾ *BibBelg.*, 106-8 ; Paquot, ii, 110-24 ; FG, 379-80 ; Allen, vi, 1252, 12 ; *CorpCath.*, VIII, xi-xxiii, 78 ; Bianco, i, 747-48 ; *JesRheinA.*, 345 ; *Matri-Freib.*, 225 ; Bulæus, vi, 922 ; Keussen, 551, 13 ; L. Roersch, *Barthélemy Latomus* : Brussels 1887 ; Lefranc, 183-84 ; *MonHL*, 441, 456-57 ; Gough, 465 ; before all E. Wolff, *Un Humaniste Luxembourgeois du XVI^e siècle, Barthélemy Latomus, d'Arlon* : Luxemburg, 1902. — A letter of him is preserved in *CollUffWolf.*, and another in *BbBasle*, MS G². i, 19.

⁸⁾ Cp. *DelPoBel.*, iii, 57 ; already in 1517 he wrote an *Elegiacon* of 36 distichs on Philip, Palatine Count, published in 1517 in Philip Engelbrecht's *Carmen Paræneticum* : Basle, April 1517 : J. Neff, *Philip Engelbrecht Engentinus* : Tübingen, 1899 : 20-21.

⁹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 106-108 ; *SaxOnom.*, 99, 594 ; Paquot, ii, 117-24.

characterized by his sound judgment, his rich erudition, his most elegant style and appropriate diction. all of which vividly recall the teaching and the spirit of the *Trilingue*.

No doubt Erasmus recognized that diction and that spirit, for, although not a regular correspondent, Latomus was at once duly appreciated : to his excuse for his silence, which, he hoped, would be understood by the equity and discretion of the Great Humanist ¹⁾, the latter assured him that it was not his wont 'spectatos amicos hoc vulgari officio æstimare'. He sent him, in an effusive letter ²⁾, all kinds of news : from the death of his 'conterraneus' Viandulus, at Tournai ³⁾ to the appearance of the *Concionator*, from Fisher's martyrdom and More's imprisonment to the Pope's intention of creating him a Cardinal. Still the most interesting passage is that in which he encourages the newly appointed Royal professor of France in his trouble, with the allusion to similar difficulties experienced by the Louvain *Trilingue* : Collegiorum primores nihil noui faciunt. Metuunt ne quid decedat ipsorum quæstui, quem plerique vnicum habent scopum. Vix credas quibus machinis Louanij conati sunt obstare, ne Collegium trilingue recipetur. Qua quidem in re vt strenuam nauauī operam, ita plurimum inuidiæ mihi conflauī ⁴⁾.

4. STATE OF COLLEGE

A. PEACEFUL WORK

The forming and enriching of that brilliant group of leaders amongst the scientists and erudites, was continuously going on in the *Trilingue*, like that of flowers in a rose-bush, or that of peaches on the fruit-tree, quietly and silently, as all that is excellent and lasting is brought about in this changeful and blatant world of ours. The wise President and the apt

¹⁾ Latomus wrote on June 29, 1535 : tacui... non obliuione aliqua humanitatis tuæ..., sed quod arbitratus sim, te pro tua æquitate et prudentia etiam silentii amicorum rationem habere : Allen, XI, 3029, 12-15.

²⁾ Basle, August 24, 1535 : Allen, XI, 3048.

³⁾ Melchior Matthæi of Vianden : cp. before, pp 350-51.

⁴⁾ Allen, XI, 3048, 25-29 ; Erasmus also mentions the difficulties created to the school of Languages started at Tournai : cp. before, pp 349-52.

professors toiled most conscientiously, 'building up those' and many more pupils, animating them with the love of truth and that spirit of research, of self-perfection and of beneficent generosity which characterizes all humanistic work. They won the full appreciation of Erasmus, who expressed his warmest congratulations 'Professoribus optimis cum toto φιλογλώττων choro' in one of his most interesting letters to his dear friend the President Wary ¹⁾. The eulogized prudent and considerate devotion of the staff to their ministry was not an easy thing ²⁾ : for they were still exposed to the cavilling of reactionary ill-willers, who, in their blind adhering to the old order, looking upon all study of languages as irrevocably connected with evil and heresy ³⁾, watched for the least sign of a conciliatory disposition towards the Innovators. Most naturally, all noteworthy incidents were communicated to Erasmus, either by letter, or by the word of mouth of his *amanuenses*, who always called at the *Trilingue*, where they found bed and board ready for a few days' rest, before they continued their journey, or started on their peregrinations in the Netherlands ⁴⁾.

It thus, apparently, had been related to the Great Protector of the College that the outspoken zeal of the President or of the professors for the good cause, had occasioned some discontent, probably amongst foreign students, such as Sturm ⁵⁾ or Sleidanus ⁶⁾, who may have been then already secretly partial to the Wittenberg movement. Erasmus expressed his alarm, as it might expose the Institute and its staff to the libelling of fellow-believers. In his reply to that warning message, Wary could announce that the dissatisfaction had not been very important, and had already died out; still he inquired whether there had been any inkling of skits or pamphlets. On March 19, 1528, Erasmus communicated the tranquillizing information that he had no indication of any hostile design; he was pleased to state that his fear had been

¹⁾ August 14, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1856, 68.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 311-15; NèveMém., 99-100, 309-10.

³⁾ One of the last attacks was that of John Paschasius against Greek, by the end of 1526 : cp. before, pp 339-43. ⁴⁾ Cp. *ActaMori*, 77-81.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 579, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 572, sq.

unfounded ¹⁾ and to hear that, in Louvain, there was no reason to be uneasy about the *dissidium*, which, on the other hand, was only known to him from the letters he had received from the *Trilingue* ²⁾. All the same, those letters had given him the impression that the outspokenness ³⁾, which seemed part of Wary's character, might offer the occasion of harming to those who only looked for an opportunity to be offensive; he was also afraid that John van Campen ⁴⁾ was quite as unreserved in his talk. He wrote that he was so much the more solicitous since he had experienced several times how much trouble his own simplicity of mind and his liberty of tongue had drawn upon himself ⁵⁾.

From the rest of Erasmus' letter of March 19, 1528, it is evident that the *dissidium* was not at all a difficulty with the ultra-conservative members of Louvain University, for he expressed his surprise that, whereas in Spain and elsewhere the members of some orders 'vocales sunt plus satis', they seemed to be dumb in Brabant: 'Quam istic monachi muti sint nescio' ⁶⁾. Moreover, if the opponents had been Louvain divines, there certainly would not have been any possibility to gather any *delatio* or *suspicio* from Erasmus, whereas it was only natural that, being in correspondence with several favourers of the Reformation, and living in constant connection with others, he would be one of the first to hear of any hostile action preparing against the *Trilingue*. It all proves that the *dissidium* was a dissatisfaction caused by the

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 11 : Cæterum hanc meam sollicitudinem vanam esse gaudeo.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 3-5 : De dissidio nihil est neque delationis neque suspicionis, nisi quod ex vestris literis conceperam.

³⁾ Subuereor tamen nonnunquam, ne tua libertas quam tibi natura insitam esse video, præbeat aliquam offensionis ansam iis quibus ad lædendum nihil deest præter occasionem, vt habet vetus prouerbiū <ErAdag., 432, A>. Audio et Ioannem Campestrē simili candore prædicatū : Allen, VII, 1973, 5-9.

⁴⁾ The professor of Hebrew : cp. further, Chs. XV, XVI.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 9-10.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 18-20. Most probably a period of comparative peace had started in the last months of 1526, owing to the decease of Vincent Diercks, Theodorici, of Haarlem (August 4), and that of Nicolas Bæchem (August 24, 1526), two irreducible adversaries of languages and of the *Trilingue* : cp. before, p 503.

too frank expressing of orthodoxy, which recalled to Erasmus the *quantum malorum* he had experienced himself through his *simplicitas linguæque libertas* ¹⁾. Yet he adds that he quite understands the hatred which the '*Evangelici*' deserve for so many reasons, and especially because, through them, the *bonæ literæ* languish everywhere, grow cold, sink down and perish; and yet, he asks, what is man's life without them? ²⁾ And what do they replace them with? '*Amant viaticum et uxorem, cætera pili non faciunt!... Satis iamdiu audiuius Euangelium, Euangelium, Euangelium: mores Euangelicos desideramus!*' In conclusion he mentions the urgent necessity of keeping that deceit as far away as possible from his beloved College: *Hos fucos longissime arcendos censeo a vestro contubernio!* ³⁾

If Erasmus' deep solicitude for his *Trilingue* aroused his sense of danger at whatever might harm his Institute, he revelled in its welfare: the letter that is as an outburst of motherly concern, is also one of fatherly pride: for in the initial sentence, which rebukes Wary who did not know what to write ⁴⁾, he declares that there is no more important, nor more agreeable information than that all is well and that work is prosperous: '*multum est mihi que gratissimum quod scribis istic fausta feliciaque omnia, quodque summo consensu negocium literarum gnauiter agitis*' ⁵⁾. Hearty greetings to Goclenius, Rescius, Campensis, and the late President 'Mierbecanus', close that most interesting letter ⁶⁾.

B. BENEFICENT RADIATION

The *summus consensus*, which approved of the active and effective way in which the staff of the *Trilingue* worked out the *negocium literarum*, was not only that of friends and admirers, but appears to have been quite general in Lou-

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 9-10.

²⁾ *Euangelicos istos quum aliis multis, tum illo nomine præcipue odi, quod per eos vbique languent, frigent, iacent, intereunt bonæ literæ; sine quibus quid est hominum vita?* — Allen, VII, 1973, 12-14. Cp. before, pp 39, 347, 556.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 14-17.

⁴⁾ *Negabas esse quod scriberis...*

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 1-3.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 22-23.

vain ¹). An authoritative proof is provided by some scraps copied from the now lost sixth volume of the *Acta Facultatis Artium*, 1512-1533. It appears that Margaret of Austria had, in answer to some complaints, ordered the Inquisitor Nicolas Coppin, Dean of St. Peter's, to investigate whether any suspect doctrines were taught in the Faculty of Arts. The Regents of the four Pedagogies replied that nothing was taught in their schools that was prohibited, and that the authors that had been explained for the last 30 or 40 years, were still read and exposed, although their *scholastici* spoke a language that was more Latin, more elegant, and came much nearer the precepts of Rhetoric than they used to do ²). That very correctness and literary excellence may have caused the alarm, unless the sense of danger had been roused by some members of the University who tutored boys in their houses without sending them to any of the Pedagogies, or by strangers who gave private instruction in Louvain or in the neighbouring villages ³). It appears, at any rate, that there was a fast growing interest in literature, which was, no doubt, due to the *Trilingue*, and which was such that it alarmed the chief favourers of the old tradition, amongst whom the very

¹) It has already been pointed out that the best amongst the divines, John Driedo, caused a complete change in the disposition towards languages of J. Latomus' close friend and disciple, Nicolas Clenardus (cp. before, pp 507, sq); also that probably Dorp, by using some Greek words in his exposition, was admired by the students in theology, although Paschasius had not made his onslaught yet against that language (cp. before, p 504). Those and similar signs are evidently proofs complementary and additional to the more patent facts of the numerous audiences gathered by Rescius and especially by Goclenius, for whom the big lecture room had to be enlarged, and yet was not sufficient even then, as his lesson had to be doubled in 1528: cp. before, p 347.

²) Dicunt regentes, si eorum scholastici habeant nunc plus solito sermonem Latiniorem sive pollitiorem, ac magis ad præcepta Rhetorices accedentem, nihil tamen in eorum pædagogiiis doctrinatur quod sit prohibitum, &c : *AcArExc.*, 122.

³) *AcArExc.*, 122; *ActArtInd.*, 25; — both indicating as source the vith volume of the *Acta*, f 324, v : in the latter reference it is mentioned that John de Carondelet expressed his surprise that students did not attend any lectures in a Pedagogy, as he and his brothers had followed those in the Lily, although they had a preceptor of their own.

Inquisitor Coppin, if the last, was certainly not the least ¹⁾).

It is an evident proof of the efficiency of the action and the influence of Busleyden's Institute on the University in general, that attempts of a reaction were made by those who, up to then, had been uncontested masters of the situation. It was apparently to counteract that overwhelming impulse towards languages and eloquence, that Dean Coppin chose as subject of the usual Oration before the Promotion of the Masters of Arts, in 1528, *De Laudibus Philosophie et Liberalium Artium*, and in 1529, *In Laudem Philosophiæ et Studii Artium* ²⁾; for certain, it indicates the growing importance given to the *bonæ literæ* in the schools of the very Faculty, which, ten years before, had done what she could to prevent the establishment of the *Trilingue*. After a few years' labour, the staff of Busleyden's foundation had asserted its mastery !

C. AFFLUENCE OF VISITORS

The appreciation of the evident superiority and efficiency of the *Trilingue* was not confined to Louvain : the fame of the School spread abroad, and attracted not only students, but even visitors. The time had changed since the days of Nicolas Daryngton, senior fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, who, in 1522, came from Paris to study in Louvain ³⁾, but did not attend any lectures, except that on Mela's *Cosmography* by Vives, whom he calls : 'no mean scholar'; on the other hand, he criticized profusely the meek and sedate discussions of the theologians ⁴⁾, the addictedness of the inhabitants of

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 282-84, 286-88.

²⁾ *AcArExc.*, 123, indicating as sources the vith volume of the *Acta*, ff 337, v, and 350.

³⁾ He wrote from Louvain on February 14, 1522 to Henry Golde, another fellow of his College, that he had come to France in the train of Cardinal Wolsey in August 1521 : *Cran.*, 11, 6; and that, at the rumour of the coming war, he had left Paris for Louvain : Brewer, III, 2052; P. S. Allen, *Some Letters of Masters and Scholars, 1500-1530* (*EngHistRev.*, xxii), 740; *MonHL*, 4.

⁴⁾ Daryngton's assertion that in Louvain the theological discussions were not carried on as in Paris, where 'clamatur vere sardonice, et voce (quod dicitur) stentorea, fremunt aliquando ad spumam usque et dentium stridorem' (Brewer, III, 2052), is an actual eulogy, rather than

the otherwise attractive town to drink, besides their cupidity and their propensity to greasy food. He does not say a single word of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾, which then was either the cause of pride, or the object of hatred in the University town, where he staid long enough to experience that it was a fitter place to study in, than Cambridge, on account of the absence of all formal visiting, of all canvassing for employs, and, consequently, of all slandering by competitors. His silence, if rather suspicious, is of very little consequence, since he himself was so far behindhand with Latin literature, that Vives had to teach him that Suetonius had written a life of Cæsar ²⁾; he for certain was more interested in the quantity of butter used for dishes in Louvain ³⁾, than in the two Cambridge men who had been teaching there a couple of years before ⁴⁾, at least until one of them, Robert Wakefeld, who afterwards rose to be a glory of Cambridge, came to deliver to him a letter of his friend Henry Golde ⁵⁾.

the condemnation for which it seems to have been intended : *MonHLL*, 551 ; cp. before, I, 78, *sq.* — Even the Faculty of Arts in Paris protested about 1530 against the sophistry and the dialectics of the theologians, which made the University an object of mockery for all foreign nations : Bulæus, vi, 227 ; Lefranc, 119-20 ; already in 1526, Francis I, as Vives learned from a friend, had decided : *velle se interesse vociferationibus Sorbonicis, & effecturum vt in posterum disputetur magis e dignitate rej, & loci, & opinionis tantæ Academiæ* : *Gran.*, 202, 30-32.

¹⁾ That silence is suggested as being in disfavour of the College in *ErAllen*, 160-61 ; in reality it proves wilful blindness, if not anything worse — as this *History* amply suggests.

²⁾ The synopsis in Brewer, III, 2052, records : Has learned from him (*vis.*, Vives) that a life of Cæsar was written by Suetonius ; *ErAllen*, 161, reports, on the contrary, that Vives ‘has also expounded to us Suetonius’ life of Julius Cæsar’.

³⁾ Although ‘*de minimis non curat prætor*’, let it be mentioned that the preparation of meat and vegetables with butter, never recalls, in the wildest imagination, ‘the kind of stuff that exhales from fried fish shops’ in England : *ErAllen*, 161, as it is inodorous ; neither is ‘*ex omni parte butyratus*’ exactly ‘soaked in butter’, as Allen translates.

⁴⁾ Robert Wakefeld and Robert Shirwood taught Hebrew in the *Trilingue* in 1520 : one from August to the end of November, the other, in December ; a third Cambridge man, Richard Croke, had been at work in Louvain before them : cp. before, I, 274-77, 379-86, 501-3.

⁵⁾ Daryngton wrote on April 28, and July 16, 1522 to Henry Golde : Brewer, III, 2204, 2390 ; he does not make any further reference to life

The years that followed amply made up for Daryngton's silence : instead of being neglected amongst the various Colleges and Pedagogies of the University town, the *Trilingue* became the first by the important work it achieved and by the fame of its excellence, which was as quick as it was wide in its spreading. Old students and well-wishers, who happened to pass near Louvain, made it a duty and an honour to pay a visit to their late professors, and distinguished men who arrived in the Netherlands wanted to make a personal acquaintance with the staff of that grand Institute. Those visits were, undoubtedly, most gratifying to President and Professors ; yet their number became so considerable that it grew into a burden, and threatened to interfere even with the regularity of the lessons, not to mention the researches. Goclenius bitterly complained to Erasmus, on May 10, 1528, about the 'tanta saluatorum turba', whom, unfortunately, one could hardly get rid of on account of the fame they brought, unless one should get rid also of the College : quam ob famam Collegii effugere non licet nisi Collegio effugiamus ¹).

In his letter of October 7 of the same year, Goclenius relates, for example, that on the preceding day, two ambassadors called on him : Cornelius de Schepper, Imperial Legate, returning from Poland ²), and Claud Liedel, Cantuuncula,

or studies in Louvain, if one can go by the reports in the *Letters and Papers* ; in the latter epistle, he mentions that their 'common friend, Master Wakfelde' had delivered to him his letter written at Rochester. Henry Golde was a fellow of St. John's College, who was appointed successively vicar of Ospringe, Kent, June 17, 1525, rector of St. Mary Aldermary, London, December 10, 1526, vicar of Hayes-cum-Norwood, Middlesex, December 23, 1529, and chaplain to Archbishop Warham. He was Bachelor of Divinity ; perhaps on that account, his advocating Elizabeth Barton, the 'Holy Maid of Kent', and her predictions, was considered as treason by an act of Parliament : he was executed at Tyburn, probably on April 20, 1534 : *GreyFriars*, 37 ; *NarRef.*, 281 ; *Cooper*, 1, 49 ; *Fisher*, 250, 253 ; *Constant*, 1, 488-89 ; *Spillmann*, 1, 60 ; *ActaMori*, 15 ; *Gairdner*, 147, &c.

¹) Allen, vii, 1994^a, 78-80 ; cp. further, p 611.

²) Cp. before, pp 166-71, 385, &c. — He left Burgos about February 20, 1528, with instructions to go on embassy ; on May 21, 1528, he announces from Mechlin to Dantiscus that he is being sent to Poland instead of to

representing his Prince, the Cardinal of Lorraine, at the Court of Mechlin ¹⁾ : the former was an old student and enthusiastic friend of the *Trilingue* ; the latter, who had left Louvain before it was founded, was evidently equally full of admiration for it : both, no doubt, considered it as the symbol of Erasmus, whom they loved so much that it seemed to Goclenius as if nobody could be fonder of the Great Humanist than they were ²⁾.

5. SITUATION OF THE PROFESSORS

A. WAGES AND PRAISES

That the fame of the College was spreading beyond all expectation is amply proved by the fact that the visits by which it was honoured, were so numerous that they became most encumbering to the professors. Entertaining the guests of the Institute blocked up a considerable amount of the time which otherwise would have been devoted to study or tutoring. Moreover the charges which, on that account, they had to bear willingly and, in a way, most unwillingly, were such that they could hardly stand them. On May 10, 1528, Goclenius declared to Erasmus that, even if he should receive twenty-five pounds Flemish every year from some prebends besides what the College pays him, he could hardly make ends meet ³⁾. 'Collegium', he adds, 'nos non alit, nec potest ;

Scotland, as he had expected : he intends making his journey by the North of Germany : DantE, 53 ; Bergenroth, III, ii, 323-32. Cp. Erasmus' judgment on him and on Cantiuncula in the *Ciceronianus*, EOO, I, 1012, A-B ; CantE, 11 ; and further, Henne, v, 38-39 ; NijKron., II, 3069 ; DantE, 444 ; *CatGzart.*, I, 38, 40-42 ; OlaO, 28 ; *PhilHessen*, 559 ; *Hessus*, II, 251 ; *GemFrisius*, 411.

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 361. — Cantiuncula alludes to that visit in his letter to Boniface Amerbach, October 29, 1528, referring to a juridical book by Peter Stella (Paris, Wechel, 1528), in which S. replies to a censure by Zasius of his way of interpretation : C. mentions that he found it in Louvain : Repperi Mechliniæ et Lovanii prostantem : CantE, 43, 44.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 2063, 61-64 : vterque tui tam amans vt vix putem esse alios æque amantes Erasmi.

³⁾ Onera quæ volentibus et nolentibus sunt ferenda, eiusdem sunt vt, cum vltra stipendia quæ Collegii nomine penduntur, accipiam e sacer-

nec ullus alius expectatur fructus quam in diem pabulum' ¹⁾, evidently on account of the visitors, 'in tanta saluatorum turba : quam ob famam Collegii effugere non licet, nisi Collegio effugiamus', as he wrote in that same letter ²⁾).

The last words of that sentence must have sounded as an ominous warning to Erasmus : indeed, the expensive luxury of the numerous callers must have entailed the danger of the continuous temptation set in the way of the successful professors to leave an insufficiently rewarded position to accept a far more remunerative employment at Court, or in another University. It is not the least of Erasmus' benefits to the *Trilingue* to have managed to keep them at their places, notwithstanding solicitations and alluring offers, — such as those which Goclenius refused in the first months of Wary's presidency, when the succession of Vives in Corpus Christi, Oxford, was offered to him by no less a person than Wolsey ³⁾, or when he even declined the honour of tutoring the Danish Prince ⁴⁾. On those occasions, he took particular care to attribute his βραδέως σπεύδειν ⁵⁾ to his wish to please Erasmus ⁶⁾. He felt that solicitude of the Great Humanist, when Rescius made Anna Moons' acquaintance ⁷⁾, and he greatly helped towards the solution he prompted at the marriage, which threatened to break the partnership that had so well begun the grand work ⁸⁾.

dotiis ad viginti quinque libras Flandriæ, vix tamen tolerare possim : Allen, vii, 1994a, 73-76. — Goclenius had been nominated on April 19, 1525, to the first prebend that would be vacant amongst those at the collation of the Chapter of St. Mary's, Antwerp ; yet that appointment by the Faculty of Arts was contested up to 1533 : *Cran.*, 95, c.

¹⁾ Allen, vii, 1994a, 72, sq.

²⁾ Allen, vii, 1994a, 77-80.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 245 : May 1526.

⁴⁾ Allen, vi, 1765, 32 ; *Cran.*, 182, a.

⁵⁾ Ad huiusmodi prouincias suscipiendas semel est decretum βραδέως σπεύδειν : Allen, vi, 1765, 24-25.

⁶⁾ Præterea non mediocriter gaudebam tibi consilium meum de conditione Anglicana et Danica tuo etiam calculo approbari, cuius vnus iudicium mihi semper pluris fuit quam reliquorum omnium : letter of Goclenius to Erasmus, November 12, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1765, 21-24.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 319, sq ; on December 10, 1526, he even expresses to Erasmus the opinion that no difficulties ought to be made to Rescius 'titulo matrimonii, quod olim iure optimo immunitates quasdam accipiebat' : Allen, vi, 1768, 72-73.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 316, sq, 330, sq.

In the past, Erasmus had prevented the loss of any one of the collaborators by appealing to the executors of the Foundation ¹⁾ and to the Founder's brother Giles, whose tight-fistedness he had managed to change into generosity in more than one instance ²⁾. No doubt he applied again to them at the cry of alarm of May 10, 1528, when Goclenius declared that his position grew very irksome, and that he almost regretted having rejected in former years the brilliant prospects offered without his seeking, now that the affluence of the visitors unavoidably warned him that the College did not and could not keep him ³⁾. He also announced that some expectations were again offered in the Court, about which he would ask his Great Friend's advice, as soon as he would know more, and more exact, particulars about them ⁴⁾.

Goclenius' letter of July 14, 1530 ⁵⁾, — the first after what looks like a gap ⁶⁾, — mentions again the scanty wages ; it distinctly implies that, during the interval, Erasmus had appealed to Giles de Busleyden for help in the trouble : no doubt he had asked him a personal contribution towards his brother's grand Foundation ; as, unfortunately, the reply was not encouraging, he requested his interference with the executors, who probably pretexted want of funds, since there was a large amount still due for the alterations in the building, which were only finished under van der Hoeven's presidency, and for which even John Stercke advanced some money ⁷⁾. At any rate, in conclusion of an unsuccessful interference of Erasmus, Goclenius wrote that the tenacity of Giles de Busleyden was known, and that he was even afraid of being liberal with somebody else's goods, for fear of learning to be so with his own ⁸⁾. Still, he added that he felt no

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 241-44.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 242, sq ; and I, 246, sq.

³⁾ Conditionis meæ incipit nonnihil tædere ; ac propemodum suppoenitet quod annis superioribus tot occasiones ultro oblatas omnes sim aspernatus. Collegium nos non alit, nec potest : Allen, VII, 1994a, 70-72.

⁴⁾ Ostenduntur quædam spes iterum in aula : de quibus te consulam, cum eas magis et penitius cognouero : Allen, VII, 1994a, 80-81.

⁵⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, p 619.

⁷⁾ *ManHoev.*, 1, r ; cp. before, p 298.

⁸⁾ Aegidii Busleidii nota est tenacitas ; non audet de alieno esse liberalis, ne quando discat etiam esse de suo : Allen, VIII, 2352, 330-331. Cp. *Busl.*, 21.

less indebted to his Great Friend's concern than if he had actually secured a most ample addition to his salary ¹).

It appears that Erasmus had not lost courage, and devised another means to get a pecuniary help for his College. He induced the executors to apply to Thierry Hezius, who, no doubt, was to obtain a subsidy from his most opulent and generous master and friend, Bishop Erard de la Marck : a request from the 'Provisores' was actually despatched ²). Unfortunately Hezius, who was considered as *amicissimus* ³), was found, by August 1530, to be a most bitter enemy of the Linguistic Institute and of its protector, who, consequently, addressed the Bishop himself on September 7, 1530, apparently without any better result ⁴).

The vivid solicitude shown by Erasmus, even though it lacked success, consoled and satisfied Goclenius, and so it did his colleagues, especially as he also animated them with an enthusiasm for study and erudition which made them forget their want of pelf. They were amply rewarded by the high esteem of the most erudite man alive, who was not sparing in expressing to them his appreciation and hearty affection. He hardly ever wrote to any of them without adding, for the others, a word of praise, a fatherly concern, or a hearty encouragement. 'Hoc tibi persuasum habe', he declares to Wary, on March 30, 1527, 'te ob castissimos tuos mores mihi sic esse cordi vt vix alius. Greet the Hebrew', he adds, meaning Campensis, 'with his sallow countenance and his pure heart ⁵), who would look quite like a Greek, except

¹) *Studio tamen tuo me non minus debere fateor quam si amplissimam salarii accessionem sim assecutus* : Allen, VIII, 2352, 331-333.

²) In the last account given for Wary's management, February 1 to November 30, 1529, is mentioned : *Jtem voor brieuen aan Dominum theodericum hesium te draeghene totter heeren van den Collegien iij st* (probably to have them signed, or at least approved of, by each of them : it apparently happened in November 1529, and Vessem's second visit may be connected with it) : *AccMaroIII*, 84, r ; and further, p 636.

³) Cp. Goclenius' letter of August 28, 1530 and Martin Lips' advice of about November 1531 : Allen, IX, 2369, 25-64, 2566, 173-185, 2587, 64-66 ; — and for Hezius' opinion, before, pp 269-77 ; *BalaRef.*, 552-60 ; *Cran.*, 228, a-e ; *MonHL*, 509-16, and especially his letter to Aleander, Liège, June 15, 1536 : *AléaLiège*, 303-05.

⁴) Letter of Sept. 7, 1530 : Allen, IX, 2382, 7-34 ; cp. further, Ch. XIV.

⁵) The letter has '*nigro vultu, candido pectore*' : Allen, VII, 1806a, 41.

for his beard, which reaches down to his belt' ¹). One year later, on March 19, 1528, he advises them, as a friend, not to be too free of speech with people that might take offence and cause harm ²). Wherever he could, he stimulated the professors, and kept glowing the fire of their eagerness in study and in teaching. Apparently to excite their emulation, he communicated to them, in 1527, a letter in Greek, which, after a few months' study under the guidance of his brother John, the famous Spanish scholar Francis Vergara had written to him ³). He gratefully accepted their help for an occasional service : such as the recovery of the money due by Francis Berckman, which he transferred first to Goclenius, and afterwards to Campensis, as if to coagulate them by all means into an ideal partnership with himself ⁴). Beyond doubt, it was he who created the beneficent atmosphere of the *Trilingue* by his wonderful spirit of study and research, and he kept it alive by communicating to them a phoenix-like enthusiasm as well as a most hearty affection ⁵), in which

¹) Allen, VII, 1806^a, 39-42 : Erasmus closes the letter, in which he had pleaded Rescius' case, with this joke : Quod si singuli duceretis vxores, citius cresceret Collegium : cui precor felicitatem plurimam : *ibid.*, 43-44.

²) Allen, VII, 1973, 5, *sq* ; cp. before, pp 603-5.

³) John Vergara sent his brother's letter to Erasmus on April 24, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1814, 510-514 ; and Erasmus wrote to Franciscus Vergara with great praise on September 2, 1527, mentioning that : Visum est epistolæ tuæ exemplar mittere Louanium ad Collegii Trilinguis, quod ibi florentissimum est, professores, quo magis illos extimularem : Allen, VII, 1876, 11-13.

⁴) Francis Berckman had received some books to be handed to Guy Morillon, which he did not deliver ; as the amount of the value, 13 gold florins, was due to Erasmus, the latter transferred the debt to Goclenius on October 13, 1524. As Goclenius may not have been very energetic, and Berckman, besides not paying that amount, had meanwhile increased his liabilities with the value of seven copies of Beatus Rhenanus' edition of *Tertullianus*, 1521, Erasmus transferred the debt on October 4, 1525, to John Campensis : most probably that professor had himself bought some books from Berckman, or was going to buy some, so that he could make a profitable use of the *syngrapha*, at least for the thirteen florins ; as for the *Tertullianus*, the matter was not settled yet in 1526 : Allen, V, 1507, 1-23, VI, 1696 (letter to Peter Gillis, April 21, 1526), 20, *sq*, 1758 (letter to Erasmus Schets, October 2, 1526), 10-11, ; the reference to the debt of 13 florins in Polydore Vergil's letter of February 17, 1526, is probably sarcastic : Allen, VI, 1666, 23-26.

⁵) Allen, VII, 1806^a, 1-16, 39-45, 1856, 66-67, 1973, 22-23, 2063, 55-56.

was joined the late president John Stercke, who continued to watch over the Institute he had fostered in its infancy ¹⁾).

B. GOCLENIUS THE FAITHFUL

Beyond doubt the strongest link between Erasmus and the *Trilingue* was his hearty affection for Goclenius, who was as his confidant, as his care-taker, as his representative in the country to which he was bound by so many ties, and in which he hoped to spend his last days. Not only did the Latin Professor collect the messages of the friends in order to send them to Basle ²⁾: he even tried to make their number as large as possible, so as to gladden the heart of the Great Humanist. It is touching to hear from one of his letters how, in July 1530, he had waited a few days before dispatching it, on account of the expected arrival of some of the oldest acquaintances, like Mark Laurin, Louis Vives and Francis de Cranevelt, who were expected at the promotion of the University Rector Peter de Corte to Doctor of Divinity, on July 12, and how he had pressed several of them to contribute one more item to the bundle that he was sending off to Freiburg ³⁾.

Goclenius' correspondence provided to his Master not only ample information about the amanuenses, like Cannius ⁴⁾ and Harst ⁵⁾, or his inmates, like Francis van der Dilt ⁶⁾, and Christopher von Carlowitz ⁷⁾; but all possible details about the doings, goings, and sayings of his friends, like Thierry Martens ⁸⁾, James Ceratinus ⁹⁾, or Cornelius de Schepper ¹⁰⁾;

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 22.

²⁾ E. g., the letters of December 10, 1526; January 13, February 28, November 7, 1527; May 10, 1528: Allen, VI, 1768, 48, sq, 1778, 17, 1788, 1, sq, VII, 1899, 14, sq, 106, 1994a, 48, sq.

³⁾ Letter of July 14, 1530: Allen, VIII, 2352, 341, sq, 368, sq; *Cran.*, 83, c; the letter from John van Heemstede, July 14, 1530, relating Eustace van der Rivieren's attack on languages, was one of the letters sent with that of Goclenius: Allen, VIII, 2353.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1857, 27, 2026, 1, 2063, 33-34, VIII, 2352, 1, sq.

⁵⁾ Allen, VI, 1768, 77, sq, 1778, 8-10, VIII, 2352, 15, sq, 270, sq.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1857, 1-26, 1890, 14, 22, 1899, 57, sq, 1994a, 47, 2026, 2, sq, 9, sq, 2063, 51, sq.

⁷⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 100, sq, 110.

⁸⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 67, sq.

⁹⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 111, sq.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, VII, 1994a, 60, sq, 2063, 61.

or about the fate that befell an Adrian Cordatus ¹⁾, or about the vagaries of a Nicolas van Broeckhoven ²⁾ or a Gerard Geldenhouwer ³⁾. Erasmus' enemies were also those of Goclenius, and we hear his indignation at the sly treachery of Francis Berckman ⁴⁾, at the duplicity of Louis Carinus ⁵⁾, as well as at the presumptuous attacks of Francis Titelmans ⁶⁾, or of the anonymous adversaries of the *Enchiridion* ⁷⁾. Since Erasmus treated Vives with reserve, Goclenius did so too ⁸⁾; and the Liège monk Gulielmus Harlemus, who dreaded Erasmus' anger, knew no better plan to avert that calamity, than by softening Goclenius' heart ⁹⁾. Still it was not only as means of information that the Louvain professor was agreeable to the great Scholar : he also helped him most efficiently in his work, providing annotated texts of St. Augustine's writings, especially that of *De Trinitate*, which had been collated with the Gembloux manuscript by Martin van Dorp ¹⁰⁾. He communicated to that effect with Martin Lips, or others who were able to help ¹¹⁾; he tried to secure translators for St. John Chrysostom's Commentaries ¹²⁾, looked out for manuscripts of Seneca ¹³⁾, and promised to provide an edition of Terentius ¹⁴⁾. Early in 1528, he had prepared a

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 110; *HEpH*, 100; *Cran.*, 71, a, 145, 17.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 2063, 38, sq; *Cran.*, xlv, &c; Gabbema, 78, 91, 92.

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1778, 47, sq; *Cran.*, 179, a, 240, a-i.

⁴⁾ Allen, VI, 1778, 1, sq, VII, 1994^a, 82, sq; cp. before, p 614.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 2063, 1, sq.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1994^a, 1-17, 2063, 57, VIII, 2352, 303, sq.

⁷⁾ Allen, VII, 1994^a, 48, sq, 58-60 : Erasmus suspected Lee to be the author, whereas Luis Carvajal (*Dulcoratio*, 1530, f 78) attributed them to Fr. Castellus and Fr. Menesius; cp. VivE, 196; *VivVita*, 115, sq.

⁸⁾ On August 16, 1528, Goclenius wrote : Consilia Viuis nisi e literis tuis non noui. Et animo est sublimiori quam qui nobis quicquam communicet, egoque tuum consilium secutus cum Viue præter ciuilem amicitiam nihil habui commune : Allen, VII, 2026, 3-6. On July 14, 1530, Goclenius announced that Vives wanted to give two *Orationes* to help the sale of his *De Disciplinis*; that he tried in vain to get Rescius to print it; that after his speeches in public, 'huc euasit, vt ostenderet priuatim sese suos commentarios esse prælecturum mercede. Res videtur illi redire ad incitas : Allen, VIII, 2352, 345, sq, 373, sq.

⁹⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 356, sq.

¹⁰⁾ Allen, VI, 1778, 22, sq, VII, 1890, 10, sq, 27, sq, 1899, 14, sq.

¹¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1899, 106, sq.

¹²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 319-326.

¹³⁾ Allen, VII, 2026, 6, sq.

¹⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1890, 26, sq, 1899, 27, sq.

new issue of Erasmus' edition of Cicero's *Officia* ¹⁾ : as, however, Jerome Froben did not want to bring it out before having taken the advice of the booksellers at the Frankfurt Fair, and it thus was only issued in September, he had been compelled to look out for other texts for his lectures, instead of the *Officia* as he had intended. He read some smaller works, whilst waiting for a decisive answer, and, as the printer chose to imitate Q. Fabius Maximus rather than M. Minutius Rufus, he decided explaining Titus Livius, of which copies were at hand ²⁾

That intimate collaboration had since long extended over the more subtle work of struggling through the vicissitudes of existence. Six months before entering his grand climacteric, Erasmus was heartily comforted by, and even assured of, an eternal fame ³⁾, and yet was made attentive to the fact that, in some quarrels, like that with the disagreeable Francis Berckman, it would be better to suffer a small loss, rather than expose oneself to the suspicion of strangers and to the calumny of enemies ⁴⁾. In return, Goclenius was encouraged in the trouble that seemed to have come his way in the first months of 1528. Having been appointed on April 19, 1525, thanks to the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts, to the first vacancy to be disposed of by the Chapter of Our Lady's, Antwerp ⁵⁾, he had accepted a prebend in that very church, which had recently become unoccupied ⁶⁾. As that *Privile-*

¹⁾ The *Officia* with other books were printed by Froben in 1528 for the September Fair, and announced as 'omnia denuo recognita per Des. Erasmum et Conradum Goclenium'; J. Gymnicus reprinted them in Cologne in 1530 : *EraBib.*, II, 18-19.

²⁾ Letter of Goclenius to Erasmus, May 10, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1994a, 29-46.

³⁾ Letter of May 10, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1994a, 51-57 : Ita est meritum tuum in vniuersum genus hominum vt victurus sis in memoria viuorum sempiterna.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1994a, 82-94.

⁵⁾ *LibNomI*, 184, v; he had been nominated on July 18, 1522, to the first vacancy at the collation of the Abbot of St. Bavo's, Ghent, but had resigned it : *LibNomI*, 171, v.

⁶⁾ Probably by the decease of William Heda, of Alphen, on the Rhine, Provost of Arnheim, who had been sent on several embassies by Maximilian of Austria and by his son Philip, and left some historical works in manuscript. He died at Antwerp on November 3, 1525 : cp. *Busl.*, 409-12; *AntoDiercx*, IV, 18; *BibBelg.*, 318-19; Gabbema, 29-31; &c.

gium Nominationum, granted to the Faculty by Leo X in 1513, although confirmed and extended by Adrian VI and Clement VII in 1523 ¹⁾, was not very welcome to the collators of the Netherlands ²⁾, Goclenius' nomination was contested; if not in the beginning, certainly after some time, the Chapter refused to recognize him as canon, as a result of the general discontent, which his friends Peter de Corte and Nicolas Beken also experienced. His adversary had been appointed by the Court of Rome, by dint of a diploma dated about 1527 ³⁾. The matter was brought before the judge, — no doubt the *Conservator Privilegiorum* of the University, at that time the Abbot of St. Gertrude's, Antony van Nieuwenhoven, and, at his death, on December 24, 1526, his successor Peter Was ⁴⁾. It caused him, besides the annoyance, a great loss of time, for he had often to appear before the Court, as he mentioned on May 10, 1528 : still he added that he had good hope : *credo bene fore* ⁵⁾.

To the disagreeable trouble of that lawsuit came the realizing of the insufficiency of the wages, on account of the cost of welcoming the great number of visitors, which was largely at the charge of the popular professor ⁶⁾ ; it far exceeded the very price of living ⁷⁾, nor was it possible avoiding ' tanta

¹⁾ FUL, 4680-4750 ; *ULPriv.*, 65-95, 104-12 ; *ULPrivCon.*, 117-592 ; *VAnd.*, 21-23 ; &c.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 118, b, 141, a-j.

³⁾ Goclenius relates on March 21, 1536, that the adversary had, eight years before, submitted, in the debate, a diploma from the Court of Rome, which had not prevented the sentence being given against him ; moreover that, after so many years, he produced a second Roman diploma, which practically cancelled the judgment already passed, and yet was dated from the same day and year as the first, notwithstanding which he had been put in the wrong : Allen, xi, 3111, 22-37 ; the question subsequently turned into a contestation between the Privy, and the Brabant, Council, and was decided in favour of the latter, and also of Goclenius, by Mary of Hungary, as is related at length in the rest of his letter (*ll* 38-54) and in Ch. XIV.

⁴⁾ *VAnd.*, 70 ; *ULDoc.*, i, 519-20.

⁵⁾ Allen, vii, 1994^a, 67-69 ; *Cran.*, 95, d.

⁶⁾ Collegium nos non alit, nec potest; nec ullus alius expectatur fructus quam in diem pabulum ; &c : Allen, vii, 1994^a, 70-76 ; cp. pp 610, sq.

⁷⁾ Allen, vii, 1994^a, 77-79 ; cp. before, pp 331, sq.

salutatorum turba' ¹⁾ except by leaving the College. Goclenius therefore regretted the opportunities he had not accepted ²⁾, and earnestly contemplated a change, as he announced to his great Friend on May 10, 1528 ³⁾. After that letter, and the hastily written messages of August 16 and October 7, 1528 ⁴⁾, follows a gap of nearly two years, during which happened, amongst other things, Goclenius' suffering from the *lues*, the Sweating Sickness ⁵⁾, of which he was not fully restored yet on July 14, 1530 ⁶⁾. During that interval, Erasmus applied in vain to Giles de Busleyden, who, in his tenacity ⁷⁾, either had not condescended to, or not succeeded in, inducing the executors to an increase of the salary ⁸⁾.

By his readiness to help his friend, and by his constant efforts to provide him with appropriate fees, Erasmus made Goclenius feel as thankful as if he had obtained a most

¹⁾ Allen, vii, 1994a, 77-80 : quam <turbam salutatorum> ob famam Collegii effugere non licet, nisi Collegio effugiamus.

²⁾ Conditionis meæ incipit nonnihil tædere; ac propemodum suppoenitet quod annis superioribus tot occasiones vltro oblatas omnes sim aspernatus : Allen, vii, 1994a, 70-72.

³⁾ Ostenduntur quædam spes iterum in aula : de quibus te consulam, cum eas magis et penitius cognouero : Allen, vii, 1994a, 80-81.

⁴⁾ Allen, vii, 2026, containing just over ten lines, — and 2063, ending with the remark : 'Non vacauit relegere, ita vrgebat nuncius'. As to the letters from Erasmus to Goclenius, there is a gap extending from October 1525, — Allen, vi, 1641, — to the middle of December 1531, — *id.*, ix, 2587, as one letter — which Allen dates October 15, 1527 : *id.*, vii, 1890, — probably belongs to 1524, or may even be the copy of two coagulated fragments : cp. before, pp 171-72, 304-8. — Still, during the just mentioned gap, Goclenius received and dispatched many messages by letter or by word of mouth : *id.*, viii, 2352, 1, 7, 15-20.

⁵⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Boniface Amerbach, October 4, 1529 : Allen, viii, 2223, 11-30. Goclenius may have been laid up with the *Sudor* in the winter months of 1528 or the first of 1529.

⁶⁾ Tum dandum fuit aliquid valetudini nondum satis e proxima lue confirmatæ; he had been dangerously ill : Quod si nuperrime mori contigisset, quo nihil potuit fieri propius... : Allen, viii, 2352, 326-27, 194-95.

⁷⁾ Ægidii Busleidii nota est tenacitas; non audet de alieno esse liberalis, ne quando discat etiam esse de suo : Allen, viii, 2352, 330-31.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 612, *sq.* Sons of the noblest families came to Goclenius' lessons — as, in 1529, a squire of Schauenburg, probably Christopher, later Imp. councillor, or his brother Bernard, sons of John, and Frances of Brandenburg : *LuChaV*, v, 516; cp. before, p 581; so he was often entrusted with their care : cp. Ch. XVI; it enlarged his fees.

important accession to his wages ¹⁾, and as enthusiastic again about the situation which had seemed so hopeless two years before. He wrote to Freiburg that he kept the troublesome Antwerp prebend, although he could exchange it against a '*nequaquam fastidienda pensio*'; for, even if it should prove the shadow for the object, he had means enough to console himself with, having laid by, thanks to God's kindness, what would allow him to live in comfort. Nor were there wanting, he said, brighter prospects, — no doubt, appointments to other prebends, — if he cared to accept them ²⁾).

The letter of July 14, 1530, with those interesting disclosures, is almost taken up entirely by the exact statement of Erasmus' deposit, which Goclenius had in trust ³⁾. Part of it he had taken over from John de Neve, who had received an amount of coins which had lost part of their value whilst they were in his keeping : he had offered to replace the money, which he had passed to Goclenius, by the original coins, of which he had given the list, but was prevented by death. The amanuensis who had copied out the amounts received by Goclenius, had added mistakenly the list of coins to be returned by Neve, as if they were different from those for the value of which he had actually paid the equivalent. Not a shadow of a moment's dissension appears to have been cast on that account on the glorious friendship of the two great men : Erasmus, the over-suspicious, had an absolute confidence in his friend, and entrusted to him a large part of his fortune sent in advance to Louvain ; Goclenius, the trustful, showed the truth of what he wrote in conclusion of his rectification : he identified himself with Phædon, the most generous amongst Socrates' disciples : whereas the others bestowed liberal gifts on their master, but secured a lot to themselves, he gave himself entirely, so that he had nothing left for his own : '*Ego et me et mea omnia iam nunc Erasmo in manum trado*' ⁴⁾. That illimited devotion of Goclenius to his Master was only surpassed by that to his teaching, according to the spirit of the great Humanist : it was such

¹⁾ Studio... tuo me non minus debere fateor quam si amplissimam salarii accessionem sim assecutus : Allen, VIII, 2352, 331-32.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 334-40.

³⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 23-269.

⁴⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 259-66.

that John van Heemstede ¹⁾ wrote to Erasmus, about the *Trilingue*, on July 14, 1530 : 'Exultaret tuus animus si ad professionem concurrentem videres iuventutem, maxime verodum docet noster Goclenius !' ²⁾

C. RESCIUS PRINTER

The visits of the old students were a far heavier burden for Goclenius than for his colleagues : Campensis had only few hearers, and Rescius, although having a *frequens auditorium*, for which Erasmus congratulated him on October 7, 1527 ³⁾, lived in a newly-founded home : he only occasionally came unbidden to the College table, where he kept his place ⁴⁾, although he had abandoned his room ⁵⁾. The growing expenses of the guests to be entertained may have prompted even his leave, as his colleague implied in his letter to Erasmus ⁶⁾ ; no doubt, he found it more profitable to keep house by himself and save the occasional expenses, than enjoy the free board, with the service and the lodging, which he necessarily had to abandon. Indeed, it was money he was after, and therefore he wanted even to make up, in some way or other, for what he was thus constantly forgoing. An opportunity offered in 1529, when his former employer Thierry Martens ⁷⁾, having lost his wife, his son Peter, who was to have succeeded him ⁸⁾, and, with one exception, all his children ⁹⁾,

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XIV.

²⁾ Allen, VIII, 2352, 25-27.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1882, 17-20.

⁴⁾ *StudAtt.*, 24, 27, 33 ; on March 19, 1528, Erasmus sent him his greetings when writing to Wary ; he returned them through Goclenius on October 27, 1528 : Allen, VII, 1973, 22, 2063, 56.

⁵⁾ *StudAtt.*, 25, 28, 33, 35 ; still it always went by his name : *Acc-MarvIII*, 81, v.

⁶⁾ Allen, VII, 1994a, 77-80.

⁷⁾ Iseghem, 164-65 : Martens was nearly an octogenarian at his retiring from business ; he died on May 28, 1534 : Iseghem, S, 11.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, I, 230 ; as far as is known, he only edited four books : in June 1524, Barlandus' *Joci*, and in August 1524, his *Dialogi* ; in 1524, Vives' *Introductio ad Sapientiam*, &c, and in October 1524, Lucian's *De Insomnio* : *NijKron.*, I, 223, 229, 2168, II, 3426. He is mentioned by Goclenius on June 26, 1522, for having taken a letter to Erasmus : Allen, v, 1296, 16.

⁹⁾ Martens had requested Erasmus in 1527 to write an epitaph, which

decided to retire to his native town ¹⁾, where his former teachers, the Guillelmitte Fathers, placed at his disposal the part of their convent built for receiving guests and visitors. He sold his house in Provost Street ²⁾, and removed with his books and manuscripts, maybe also with part of his equipment, to Alost, thus leaving a big vacancy in the University town, for books were more than ever in request. He was succeeded, at least in part of his business, by Servatius van Zassen, Zassenus, of Diest ³⁾, the husband of his daughter Barbara ⁴⁾, who opened a printing office and bookshop '*ad signum Regni Cœlorum*', in Market Place, on the northern corner of Stone (now, Brussels) Street ⁵⁾. In October 1530, he

was affixed in the church of the Guillelmites of Alost : SweA Belg., 686-7. The fourth line :

Fratribus, vxori, soboli notisque superstes.

was objected to by him, as there was yet 'a filia aut neptis monacha Alusti' ; still he accepted the verse by Erasmus as an omen, and thought that time might prove it to be exact, for he felt sure that he would survive her : letter of Goclenius to Erasmus, November 7, 1527 : Allen, vii, 1899, 67-84. The daughter to whom he referred, was, no doubt, the Barbara who married Servatius van Zassen : she may have been for some time a 'bèguine', or *monacha*, at Alost, which bound her to virginity only for the period she spent in the community, in which she still was in November 1527. She actually died before her father, for her daughter Barbara van Zassen, the only heir, was under age, and was placed under the tutelage of her father, besides three wardens of Alost, on August 2, 1534 : Iseghem, S, 10-12. Cp. before, pp 7-8, 11.

¹⁾ The last book which was printed by Martens is Clenardus' *Tabula in Grammaticen Hebræam. Hebraïce* : the dedication being dated January 30, 1529 : Iseghem, 340-42 ; NijKron., ii, 2676.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 7-8 : it afterwards was still used as bookshop, called *De Gulden Toirtse*, 'The Golden Torch'.

³⁾ He may have been a student of the Arts, and was probably in Martens' service ; his uncle and namesake had been nominated in August 1515 to the first vacancy at the collation of the parish priest of Asten, Lierop : *Lib.NomI*, 87, r, which implies that he had been teaching in the University.

⁴⁾ She evidently married Zassen after November 1527 (cp. Allen, vii, 1899, 77, sq), but died before her father, leaving a daughter Barbara, to whom were given three tutors, John van Miggerode, John Viemeel and John Laus, of Alost, on June 10, 1534, her father being named as the fourth on August 2 ; the account of the succession was rendered on March 25, 1535 : Iseghem, S, 10-12.

⁵⁾ Cp. NijKron., i, 1792 (July 1531), ii, 3948 (August 1531). — In front of the *Officina Servatii Zasseni*, groups of professors and of students

published with Gregory de Bonte, of Antwerp, *De Principiis Astronomiæ et Cosmographiæ*, by his neighbour Gemma Phrysius ¹⁾, printed by John Grapheus at Antwerp ²⁾, and in February 1531, Conrad Goclenius' edition of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, printed by Michael Hillen ³⁾. In that same year, he brought out books printed by himself, evidently with the type that used to be his father-in-law's ⁴⁾, and thus, issuing works by Thriverus and Nic. Grudius, Louis de Schore, Barlandus and others ⁵⁾, he started a trade which was continued by his widow and their children ⁶⁾. As Rescius had far more practice of the actual printing than Zassenus, who, moreover, probably lacked all knowledge of Greek, he naturally ambitioned at least a share in the inheritance of the successful business he had helped to build, and he decided on beginning

were regularly assembling — as they used to in front of *taberna Iasparis*, the bookshop of van der Borch, in Oak Street, the *Cancellaria Novorum*, as Glenardus recalled to Vasæus, March 26, 1535 : *GlenCorr.*, I, 51, 32 ; *MonHL*, 319 ; *LouvEven*, 235. Several of the acts of acceptance and insinuation of Nominations were passed there : e. g., *LibNomI*, 291, r (1537).

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 545.

²⁾ *NijKron.*, I, 971.

³⁾ *NijKron.*, II, 3420.

⁴⁾ It is evident from a comparison of the printed text of Barlandus' *Opusculum de Amplificatione* (S. Zassenus, April 1536), with that, e. g., of Barlandus' *Collectanea* (Martens, March 1514) and Pliny's *Epistole* (Martens, April 1516), that Zassen had at least two founts of Roman type that had belonged to Martens : they show perfectly identical capitals and punctuation marks (amongst them the peculiar : as point of interrogation : *Amplif.*, c 4, v, 12, *Pliny*, p 2, v, 14, *Coll.*, a 1, v, 28), as well as quite particular abbreviations for *-que*, *-quam*, &c, and marks of division at the end of lines.

⁵⁾ *NijKron.*, I, p 858, II, p 1004.

⁶⁾ Servatius died in 1554 ; his widow continued the trade, for which she even matriculated in March 1558 as 'Seruatius Sassenus bibliopola louaniensis' : *LibIntIV*, 341, v ; after her death, in 1570, her descendants carried it on until the beginning of the xviiith century : *LouvEven*, 195. Their son Andrew, was beadle for the Faculties of Law, and married a daughter of Bartholomew de Grave : one of their sons, Servatius, S. T. L. M. A. in 1591, was Regent of the Porc in 1598 ; another, Francis, became professor of Medicine in 1618 : *ULPromLv.*, 31 ; VAnd., 46, 213, 222, 238, 257, 315 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 311, 312, IV, 94 ; cp. *LouvBoon*, 321-22, 333, 431. The John van Sassen, or Belleken, priest, living on Keyberg, whose quips and pranks are recorded by Erasmus in his *Convivium Fabulosum* (EOO, I, 764, F-765, E), may have been a relative : he died before March 1533 : *FUL*, 1650.

an *officina formularia* even before Martens had quite settled at Alost.

As he had been the great printer's corrector and inmate for several years, and was thus familiarized with the trade, Rescius had little difficulty in setting up a well equipped office, and he found in the comparative scarcity of handy editions of Greek classic texts, the most plausible justification for taking up that trade along with his professorial duties. He even managed to prevent all objections and criticisms which might have been raised by the College authorities, and especially by that far-sighted protector of the *Trilingue*, Erasmus, by taking into partnership his friend and student, John Sturm, who boarded in his house ¹⁾. That young man invested money in the venture, and, helped by his father, may have procured the 'trium linguarum Hebraicæ, Græcæ et Latinæ characteres, ut in Germania quidem inueniri poterant, elegantissimos', as was mentioned in the introductory letter, dated July 31, 1529 ²⁾, of the first book printed 'Louanij industria & impensis Rutgeri Rescij ac Ioannis Sturmiij', namely Xenophon's 'Ἀπομνημονευμάτων Βιβλία Τέσσαρα, Sept. 1529 ³⁾. It was dedicated to Giles de Busleyden, the great patron of the College ⁴⁾, as if Rescius wanted it to serve as an apology : he refers to the eleven years he had been teaching Greek there, and mentions that he might have reached better results if he had had 'Græcorum exemplarium copia'. He thus seemed to ignore, or at least to belittle, the series of Greek books which Martens had issued on purpose for his lectures ⁵⁾. He owns that he has started a heavy and costly affair, which will bring him much trouble ; instead of being unnecessary and unwelcome, some people already presage ⁶⁾ that the undertaking is, as he deems, most useful, both for

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 318, 581. He mentioned him in the introduction to his first edition as : Assumpto... socio Ioanne Sturmio, iuvene non inerudito : Iseghem, 339.

²⁾ Iseghem, 339.

³⁾ It contains, on 80 in-4° leaves, the Greek text with the Latin translation : Nijkron., II, 4098.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 19 ; and before, p 115.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 116-19.

⁶⁾ Iseghem, 339 : aggressus sum rem quidem grauem,... non tamen inutilem et incommodam futuram, ut multi iam ominantur.

his own teaching, and for those who study other disciplines. For he and his partner intend printing, with the best materials available ¹⁾, and as correctly as possible, the most select books of the large body of authors; before all, he will produce the Greek texts required for his lectures: he states, as ground of his choice of Xenophon, that a year before, he had procured great pleasure to his auditors by reading and commenting the *Œconomicus*, *Cyropædia* and *Hiero* of the great καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς Athenian.

That programme was too wisely devised and too cleverly protected to rouse any contradiction; nor did the following editions justify any criticism. On Nov. 18, 1529, appeared Nicolas Clenardus' edition of *Joannis Chrysostomi Quod multæ quidem Dignitatis, sed Difficile sit Episcopum agere, Dialogi Sex* ²⁾. On November 24, came out John Chrysostom's *De Orando Deum Libri Duo* ³⁾; on December 30, Lucian's *Mortuorum Dialogi* ⁴⁾. Of the same author were printed in the following year 1530, on April 17, *Tyrannicida* ⁵⁾; on April 22, *Dialogus de Parasito* ⁶⁾; and on April 28 was issued Nicolas Clenardus' *Institutio in Linguam Græcam* ⁷⁾. Then followed another series of works by Lucian: on May 7, *Libellus, Delationi non esse temere credendum* ⁸⁾; on May 13, *Libellus, de iis qui Mercede conducti in Divitum Familiis vivunt* ⁹⁾; on May 15, *Fugitivi* ¹⁰⁾; on May 28, *Convivium, seu Lapithæ* ¹¹⁾; on June 14, *Piscator, siue Reviviscentes* ¹²⁾;

¹⁾ Iseghem, 339-40; Rescius and Sturm bought, the former said, 'trium linguarum... characteres, ut in Germania quidem inueniri poterant elegantissimos.

²⁾ It contains 72 in-4° leaves, Latin and Greek texts: NijKron., I, 557.

³⁾ It contains 20 in-4° leaves, Greek text: NijKron., I, 559.

⁴⁾ The *Dialogi* comprise 28 in-4° leaves, chiefly Greek: NijKron., II, 3423.

⁵⁾ It contains 8 in-4° leaves, in Greek, and a few lines in Latin: NijKron., II, 3433.

⁶⁾ Sixteen in-4° leaves, Greek: NijKron., I, 1389.

⁷⁾ It contains 56 in-4° leaves; the colophon gives as date 'Quarto Cal. Maij' — which cannot be but 1530, as the partnership did not begin long before September 1529, and lasted only to July 1530: NijKron., I, 585.

⁸⁾ Eight in-4° leaves, Greek: NijKron., I, 1393.

⁹⁾ Sixteen in-4° leaves, Greek: NijKron., I, 1394.

¹⁰⁾ Eight in-4° leaves, Greek, and a few lines in Latin: NijKron., II, 3425.

¹¹⁾ Twelve in-4° leaves, Greek, and a few lines in Latin: NijKron., II, 3421.

¹²⁾ Sixteen in-4° leaves, Greek: NijKron., I, 1396.

on June 18, *Libellus de Sacrificijs. Eiusdem de Luctu* ¹⁾; and finally, on July 4, Rudolph Agricola's rendering of *De non facile credendis Delationibus Libellus* ²⁾. In between they also published Xenophon's *Convivium*, on June 2, 1530 ³⁾; Basilius Magnus' *Epistola de Vita Solitaria. Eiusdem ad Ambrosium Episcopum Mediolanensium*, on June 23, 1530 ⁴⁾; and John Chrysostom's *Homilia in Dictum Apostoli, Modico Vino vtere*, on July 17, 1530 ⁵⁾.

When those last books appeared, Sturm had left Louvain and the necessarily subordinate position which could not satisfy him, as he was not spurred on by the want of money as his master was ⁶⁾. He went to Paris, where he expected to find more glorious opportunity to make use of the learning gathered at the *Trilingue*, as well as freedom and security, considering his late change in religious opinion ⁷⁾. His departure probably did not affect Rescius at all : he had taken his pupil in partnership at least as much for a palliative as for a financial help, and he realized, after a year's practice that, instead of creating difficulties, the enterprise, by the fine set of texts for his lectures, turned to an unequivocal recommendation of his professorate. He may even have looked out for a pretext to break the superfluous partnership, as he probably considered it far more profitable to join hands with a tradesman, who should not shrink from opening a bookshop. The quarrelsome character, which made Rescius soon part company with those who, for a time, lived or worked with him ⁸⁾, made it probably very easy to free himself from Sturm, which may explain the surprising absence of all

¹⁾ Eight in-4° leaves, Greek, and a few lines in Latin : NijKron., II, 3429.

²⁾ Twelve in-4° leaves, Latin : NijKron., II, 3447.

³⁾ Twenty in-4° leaves, Greek, and a few lines in Latin : NijKron., II, 4099.

⁴⁾ Eight in-4° leaves, Greek, and a few lines in Latin : NijKron., II, 2378.

⁵⁾ Twenty in-4° leaves, Greek and Latin : NijKron., I, 558.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 581 : Sturm certainly did not go to Paris to enlarge the range of the printing concern, as suggested by Ch. Schmidt, *La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm* : Strassburg, 1855 ; *SturmKück.*, 15.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 582.

⁸⁾ Cp. *MotJuris*, 40 : constat eundem Rescium contra propriam suam sororem, item contra suos Latomos, contra etiam M. Bartholomeum Grauium et contra alios non admodum paucos in iudicio grauiter contendisse (1546) ; cp. further, Chs. XXII, XXIV.

reference to the once so highly esteemed professor, in the *Classicæ Epistolæ* of his pupil and late partner ¹⁾. At any rate, Rescius paid out Sturm in the summer of 1530, and published already Terence's *Comoediæ Sex* by himself on October 21, 1530 ²⁾; possibly that same year, for certain from March 31, 1531, he brought out books which he printed in his *officina* on joint account with Bartholomew de Grave, Grauius ³⁾. It did not last long before the promise of producing chiefly such books as were required for his lectures, dwindled into a helpless wish, and all kind of work was accepted and executed, to the prejudice of his teaching : consequently, on May 3, 1532, Erasmus, who had looked on patiently, and hoped all for the best, expressed his deep regret about his leniency : 'in admittendo Rescio cum vxore', he wrote to Goclenius, 'dormitatum est. Principiis obstandum erat !' ⁴⁾ No doubt he had since long become sorry that untoward circumstances had prevented the appointment of James Ceratinus as Busleyden professor of Greek ⁵⁾; for, although shy and *putidulus* ⁶⁾, he would, in the end, have done far more honour indeed to his lectureship than any man whatever, thanks to his exceptional equipment, and, especially, to his vivid spirit of restless research. At the very time that Rescius turned tradesman to get money, Ceratinus published his *De Sono Literarum... Græcarum*, and helped to enrich Learning by an innovation which has been adopted since four hundred years ⁷⁾. Most probably he had set his heart on teaching in Louvain, and having deserted Cologne in 1528, as he had done Leipzig in 1525 ⁸⁾, he had continued his private lessons and his studies in the Brabant University, where he died on April 20, 1530 ⁹⁾. The much less able Greek teacher, to whom

¹⁾ Goclenius, Campensis and Clenardus are mentioned, however : *EpClassArg.*, 112-14, 120.

²⁾ NijKron., I, 1985; he may have issued another book in that same year for his sole account : *id.*, 751.

³⁾ Plato, *Minos, sive de Lege*, ex officina Rutgeri Rescij... Sumptibus eiusdem Rescii, & Bartholomæi Grauij : NijKron., I, 1730 : also 1672, and the lists given there, pp 856-57, and II, pp 1002-4.

⁴⁾ Allen, XI, 2644, 26-27.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 281-82, 294; and pp 323, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 328, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 354-55.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 324, sq, 354, sq.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, p 355.

he had secured both position and renown by tutoring him ¹⁾, does not seem to have left, in any of his numerous publications, the least sign of gratitude or of consideration for the man in whose place chance had set him.

6. RETROSPECTIVE

A. ERASMUS' SOLICITUDE

Wary's presidency was a most prosperous period in the history of the *Trilingue*. The difficulties from without, with which Stercke had to contend, and for which he had to appeal to the highest authorities in Church and country : as well as those from within, which are natural to all beginning enterprises, had been happily moved out of the way, and calm and peace had followed. The effective instruction and the beneficent training proved so excellent that the example given by Busleyden was followed by Kings and Ministers of neighbouring countries, and that, even after the lecture room had been enlarged on account of the affluence of hearers, some of the lessons had to be given twice. In a few years' time young men had been formed who did honour to their work in the various ways of life, as well in the social and political world, as in that of science and erudition. The magnificent results realized were due to the aptness of the foundation and of its statutes, and to the eminent spirit that animated the select staff in their teaching and training the youth. That spirit was, — let it be repeated, — for the studies, the return to the sources, to what is true and real ; and for the formation, the principle that, whatever makes the mind and the intelligence richer, must also make heart and soul purer and better, and bring man nearer to the ideal of the Eternal Good and Truth ²⁾. That principle and that spirit had been proposed as aim and as sole object by Erasmus, and he saw to its realization.

All those years, indeed, he lived in close connection with the College established through his intervention and his

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 17, 26 ; and before, pp 323-24.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 315-16.

relentless efforts : his interest was kept lively by the coming and going of amanuenses, like Harst ¹⁾ and Talesius ²⁾, who always resorted to Goclenius, whenever they were in the Netherlands, or by the frequent visitors, like van der Dilt ³⁾ or Carlowitz ⁴⁾, who, after having stayed at the College, came to spend some time in the Humanist's home in Basle. And, in between the gaps, an opportunity often offered to send a message by a friend bound on the journey ⁵⁾, in which case a letter was written, which was mostly superfluous where inmates or *familiares* were used. It explains the comparative scarceness of the correspondence between Basle and the *Trilingue* ⁶⁾, and yet, notwithstanding that scarceness, the few epistles extant are most suggestive of the lively interest which Erasmus took in his Institute.

That interest was not confined to the readiness in recommending it to parents in search of a school for their children, — as when, in October 1525, Erasmus sent his former pupil Thomas Grey to Goclenius for his son ⁷⁾. Nor did it merely consist in an exchange of civilities with an occasional piece of news, such as the circumstantial description of the explosion of a store of powder in one of the towers of the Basle town-wall on September 19, 1526, considered by some ἐπιφύται as a judgment for the religious aberrations : it inspired to Erasmus, who witnessed it, the regret that some inventions are actually curses on, or degenerations of, humanity ⁸⁾. That benevolence extended much farther : on August 14, 1527, he dedicated to his old friend the President, his edition of the Greek text of St. John Chrysostom's *De Babyla Martyre* ⁹⁾, as an unequi-

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 142-45.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 310, 488-501.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 171-76, 301, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 390-93.

⁵⁾ It sometimes happened that the occasional letter-bearer did not inspire great confidence : Per hunc, Goclenius wrote to Erasmus, on February 28, 1527, περὶ τοῦ τυγχόντος non est visum scribere... Reliqua scribam per Danum aut certiore : Allen, vi, 1788, 15-16, 33-34.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 603, 615, sq, 619.

⁷⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Goclenius : Allen, vi, 1641 ; cp. before, pp 365-67.

⁸⁾ Erasmus saw the flash of the explosion in Froben's garden, where he had gone to enjoy a rest and some work : letter of September 26, 1526 : Allen, vi, 1756, 4, sq, 44, sq ; cp. before, pp 312, sq.

⁹⁾ Allen, vii, 1856 ; the book came out at J. Froben's office, Basle, August 1527.

vocal proof of his profound esteem : for the greatest amongst the contemporaries held it as the highest honour to have their names inscribed on the immortal works of the famous Erudite. Here it was more than a personal esteem ; it was as one more link between Erasmus and his College. For he had intended the text to be read there, as it joins piety to eloquence, and no better model, in his opinion, could be proposed to youth. Compared to that little book, Aphthonius, Lysias or Libanius fell far short, he said, not only on account of the subject treated, but even through the elegance of the diction, the fitness of the arguments, and the riches of the ideas. Quid autem vtilius isti ætati, he concludes, quam vt linguam simul et eloquentiam protinus imbibant ex his autoribus quorum oratio non minus Christum spirat quam Demosthenem ? ¹⁾

That advocating of Christian authors, far from being a mere advertising, is the result of a well defined decision of founding a proper Humanistic School, one which improves as much the soul and mind in morals and piety, as it enriches and cultivates the spirit and the intelligence by the great literary works of Rome and Greece. That dedication thus becomes as the expression of Erasmus' conviction on that head, and the 'programme' of his Institute. For he intended *De Babyla Martyre* of the *vere aureus artifex*, to be a typical example of the books to be explained in the lessons. 'I know many adepts of classic literature', he declares, 'with whom nothing finds favour except it be as far away as possible from Christ ; I think, on the contrary, that pagan authors should rather be read by the professors, for the sake of the elegant diction, than taught to young boys' ²⁾. He therefore greatly approves of Wary, because he has always taken to heart to arrange the study of languages so that it pleases both the learned and the unlearned, by trying, namely, to send back the sons to their parents, not only better spoken, but more pious, too, and of better morals. For whilst the

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1856, 5-14.

²⁾ Noui multos huic literarum generi deditos quibus nihil arridet nisi quod a Christo sit alienissimum ; quanquam ethnicos autores ob sermonis elegantiam professoribus legendos arbitror potius quam adolescentibus prælegendos : Allen, VII, 1856, 21-24.

novelty of the best things breeds envy, the ordinary man generally attributes morals to studies, although they are not necessarily connected ¹⁾).

Erasmus fully appreciates the way in which the professors help to realize that aim : they carefully avoid giving any occasion of criticism or of calumny to the enemies of linguistic studies, but are as models of incorrupt and modest life, in so far that they seem teachers of piety rather than of philology. They, moreover, abstain from censuring any other profession, but concentrate all their attention on the knowledge of languages, which is as the safeguard from many errors, as he, only recently, pointed out in his answer to Noel Bedæ's attacks ²⁾).

Finally, he praises Wary and his collaborators for the great utility they offer to all kinds of studies, as well as for the genteel and suitable way in which that advantage is bestowed : for often a kindness is ruined by the unhandiness of the giver, and it is meet, for teachers like for parents, to bear for a time the dislike and the ingratitude of those whom they instruct, until age and experience make them understand the greatness of the benefit they receive ³⁾).

B. GRATITUDE

Erasmus showed an equal interest in the professors as in the College, and never omitted an occasion to praise or encourage them. He helped and, if necessary, admonished them. No doubt Campensis needed as little exciting as a waggon rolling down a declivity wants pushing. Rescius caused more trouble ; for his attention was not always riveted on research and teaching, although he realized that he had been appointed at a time that he was hardly qualified for his task ⁴⁾). When the presence of a much abler Hellenist within the same smallish town, made him feel insufficient, and

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1856, 24-31 ; cp. before, pp 312-13.

²⁾ Allen, VII, 1856, 32-46. Erasmus had published in August 1526, his *Prologus in Supputationem Calumniarum Natalis Bedæ*, and the *Supputationes Errorum in Censuris Natalis Bedæ*, in March 1527 (Basle, J. Froben). Cp. Allen, VI, 1664, VII, 1804, 69-71.

³⁾ Allen, VII, 1856, 47-66.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 279, 293-94.

consequently dejected, Erasmus preached patience and relentless study, to which he even used his marriage as incentive¹). To the clever and zealous work of Goclenius, nothing could be given but praise and admiration : he not only proved the best of the staff, but actually the very base of the whole Institute. Erasmus heartily rejoiced in his unique success, which made the lecture room too small, and his lessons too few²) ; he recommended him to More³), and took a great pride in the offers made him by Wolsey and the Danish Court⁴). In fact, during Wary's regency, the erudite and eloquent Latinist had become as the embodiment of the whole *Trilingue*⁵).

Far from attributing to his own qualifications and his own work the success which brought him favour and even fortune, by the increasing number of private students from most conspicuous families, Goclenius returned to Erasmus all the glory that fell to his share. The latter warmly and repeatedly congratulated him on that prosperity, and declared that he, better and more successfully than any man alive, was honouring and exalting the *optimæ literæ*, as well by his extraordinary erudition as by his zeal and cleverness in teaching⁶). Goclenius, in reply, declared that he would try and avoid doing anything which would be unworthy of the favour of Erasmus, the Prince of universal Erudition⁷). 'In reality', he wrote to him, 'just that which you congratulate me for, is only due to you. For if, through my zeal and care in teaching, I rendered some service to good letters, I did it entirely under your auspices, and even by dint of your own most rich supplies : up to now, indeed, I have done this '*militia*' only with the help of your writings, and following out your excellent advice ; its burden has become most sweet,

¹) Cp. before, pp 316-20, 323, sq.

²) Cp. before, p 347 ; Opmeer, I, 461, a, 476, b.

³) Cp. before, p 113.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 245-46.

⁵) It follows from the large amount of his visitors : cp. bef., pp 610, sq.

⁶) Erasmus wrote : I congratulate you as friend : verum etiam quod bene cupiam optimis literis, quas et tu et eruditione non vulgari et profitendi diligentia et ingenii dexteritate sic vel ornasti vel euexisti, vt vix alius felicius : Allen, VII, 1890, 1-6 ; cp. before, pp 301-10.

⁷) Letter of November 7, 1527 : Allen, VII, 1899, 1-5.

since I perceive that I am bringing off very ample satisfaction from the most praised and best of commanders' ¹⁾). To Goclenius, Erasmus was the identification of the welfare and the prosperity of Humanism, and he availed himself of every occasion to give an expression to his deep admiration. On December 10, 1526, when he sent to Basle the very gratifying encouragements from Charles V, from Mercurino de Gattinara, from John Maldonatus, and from other great personages in the Imperial Court, then in Spain ²⁾, he declared that the success and help granted by the favour and the intervention of those powerful protectors to the *Trilingue* and to the studies to which it was devoted, made him congratulate Busleyden's School, but most of all Erasmus: 'You see', he added, 'how far they now extend themselves, those studies of piety and of good letters, to which you restored spirit and life! What you had in mind as principal aim, you fully reached! Other things, such as no great heart could neglect, have come to you as well: amongst them the immortality of your name, which is sure far to outlast even that of the most renowned men of this and of the past centuries. Nor is there any doubt that, considering the disposition of this present time, after vanquishing all your rivals and ill-willers, you will secure even more ample fruits of your labour and constancy' ³⁾).

C. REACHING THE AIM

Without any doubt the *Trilingue* caused a hearty joy and a well-earned pride to Erasmus: with the help of its exemplary professor Goclenius, with its wise and prudent President and its staff, it was the actualization of his grand ideal. He often mentions its great success and its prosperity to those amongst his correspondents who were sincere lovers of study and

¹⁾ Nam si nonnihil assiduitate et diligentia profitendi literis bonis profui, id totum tuis non solum auspiciis, verum etiam copiis est effectum, cum tuis lucubrationibus adiutus tuumque optimum secutus consilium hactenus hanc militiam militauerim: cuius mihi onus nunc dulcescit, cum a laudatissimo optimoque imperatore video me amplissimum fructum reportare: Allen, VII, 1899, 7-12.

²⁾ Allen, VI, 1731, 1742, 1747, and 1768, 18-34.

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1768, 35-44.

erudition : he thus announced to Joachim Camerarius, in the first weeks of 1528 : quod agimus Louanii pulcre succedit, frustra frementibus theologis ac monachis ¹⁾. Nor did he forget his College when, on January 22, 1527, he drew up his first will, and wished for a complete edition of his works : he decided that, of the twenty sets which were to be *diligenter concinnanda*, one was destined for the *Trilingue* : ‘duodecimam <summam mittant> ad Collegium Busleidianum Louanii, in eius bibliotheca reponendam’ ²⁾. And, as already mentioned ³⁾, no news was more important, nor more gratifying to him, except what Wary considered as hardly worth mentioning, namely that all was well in the College, and that work was going on actively ⁴⁾.

In fact, thanks to the prudent and wise management of Wary, much of the old hostility was dying down : far from being suspected, he was even known, with the professor of Hebrew, for the outspoken orthodoxy of his speech and his teaching ⁵⁾. Moreover, instead of keeping aloof from University life, he, and his excellent collaborator Goclenius, had been constantly in intimate connection with the Faculty of Arts, and so broke down much of the antipathy and of the prejudice that used to be felt against the *Trilingue*. Wary had acted as ‘procurator’ for his *Natio Gallica* for the three months following on Febr. 1, 1515, May 30, 1517, Febr. 1 and Sept. 30, 1518, Sept. 30, 1519 and Febr. 1, 1521 ; he had officiated as Dean for the three months after Sept. 30, 1517 and June 1, 1520 ; and as receiver, during the year beginning on June 23, 1521 ⁶⁾. On his return from Rome, whereto he had been sent, on June 2, 1522, to further the interests of his Faculty, he was elected Dean on September 30, 1525, in

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1945, 5-6 ; also 1876, 11-12 : letter to Francis Vergara, September 2, 1527 : Visum est epistolæ tuæ exemplar mittere Louanium ad Collegii Trilinguis, quod ibi florentissimum est, professores.

²⁾ Allen, VI, p 505, *appendix XIX*, 97-98.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 605.

⁴⁾ Letter to Wary, March 19, 1528 (answering one of the first weeks of that year) : Negabas esse quod scriberes, imo multum est mihi gratissimum quod scribis istic fausta feliciaque esse omnia, quodque summo consensu negotium literarum gnauiter agitis : Allen, VII, 1973, 1-3.

⁵⁾ Allen, VII, 1973, 5-10 ; and before, p 604.

⁶⁾ *LibNomI*, *passim* ; cp. p 299.

acknowledgment of the successful way in which he had conducted the affairs of the *Privilegium Nominationum* ¹⁾; he afterwards exercised once more the functions of procurator, for the three months following on February 1, 1526. As to Goclenius, he was admitted to the Council of the University as a member of the Faculty of Arts on February 29, 1524 ²⁾; he officiated in it as procurator for the *Natio Hollandica* three months from June 1, 1525, whereas, on June 1, 1526, he was elected Dean ³⁾.

The prosperous and comparatively peaceful management of Nicolas Wary, which is certainly one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the *Trilingue*, unfortunately did not last very long. He died on November 30, 1529 ⁴⁾, and was laid to rest in St. Peter's, near the altar of his patron-saint ⁵⁾. His memory was celebrated in an epitaph by his friend and fellow-student, the Mechlin Councillor Francis de Cranevelt ⁶⁾. Bartholomew van Vessem, who had been advised by a letter from John Stercke ⁷⁾, came to the College, where, in that month, he had already made a stay from the 6th to the 11th, and a second afterwards ⁸⁾. Wary may already have been suffering, and on that account, in foresight of the sad event, measures may have been taken during the first, apparently

¹⁾ *LibNomI*, 187, v; *ActArtInd.*, 24; *Cran.*, 141, g-i; *AléaLiège*, 300-02.

²⁾ *LibActVI*, 21, v.

³⁾ *LibNomI*, 185, r (Conrad Wackers Goclenius), 200, r.

⁴⁾ Valerius Andreas (and those who quote him : *ULD* Doc., iv, 497; *NèveMém.*, 388; &c) is evidently wrong in dating the decease 'vi Non. Oct', October 2, 1529 : *VAnd.*, 277; for the fourth and last account of Wary's regency was drawn up to November 30, until which day his wages as president were paid to the succession : cp. the following notes ; *Allen*, ix, 2570, 7. ⁵⁾ *VAnd.*, 277.

⁶⁾ Jespersen sent his and Cranevelt's epitaphs on Wary and on Cera-tinus to Erasmus on November 19, 1531 : *Cran.*, lxxv; *FG*, 192, 23-24; *Allen*, ix, 2570, 5-6.

⁷⁾ Jtem vuer den bode die te Meester Jans van Meerbeke brieuen droucht to Mechelen aen heer bertolomeus Canonick van Mechelen als Meruilla ooverleden was : *AccMarvIII*, 84, r.

⁸⁾ Jtem voor de ghelaeghen van heer bertolomeus voors. met den ghenen die hy mede ghenoot hadde van den vj Nouembris totten xj eius-dem. — Jtem dander Reise als de selue heer bertholomeus wederomme jnde collegie quam jn Nouembri vuer syn gelaghen ende die hij mede ghenoot hadde : *AccMarvIII*, 84, r.

also the second, visit ¹⁾ : — although the latter perhaps was caused by an attempt suggested by Erasmus to move the opulent Bishop of Liège into subsidizing the *Trilingue*, so as to ease the financial situation of Goclenius : that attempt was conceived as a joint request of the ‘Provisores’ of the College, Busleyden’s executors, to the Bishop’s confidential councillor Thierry Hezius, who, at least at that time, was considered to be ‘Erasmio amicissimus’ ²⁾).

Wary’s executors, two of his dear friends, one, his predecessor, John Stercke, and the other, one of his future successors, Nicolas van der Borch ³⁾, rendered the fourth and last account of his regency, for the period from February 1 to November 30, 1529, up to which day his salary as president was paid ⁴⁾ ; like the other accounts ⁵⁾, it was checked and passed by Bartholomew van Vessem ⁶⁾.

Wary left to his successor John van der Hoeven a most prosperous and well regulated Institute with its highly valuable staff, and, moreover, the example of a sagacious, considerate management and of a prudent, unobjectionable behaviour, ‘which’, as Erasmus wrote ⁷⁾, ‘causes infinitely

¹⁾ Probably Judocus van der Hoeven may have been appointed provisionally as successor and assistant of Wary : cp. Ch. XIV, 1, A.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 613 ; and further, Ch. XIV.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXII : he was President from 1539 to 1544.

⁴⁾ The account reads : In den eersten vuer den salaris van den president... voor tien daghen ende thien maenden terminerende den lesten nouember a° xv C xxix : *AccMarvIII*, 78, r : as the salary was paid yearly from January 21, when he entered on duty (*AccMarvI*, 107, r, *AccMarvII*, 64, v), it corroborates the date of his decease. — A Didier Wary, B. Can L., was clerk of Etain in 1516 : *LuChav*, v, 136.

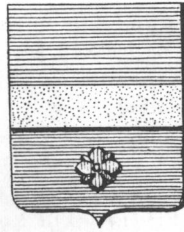
⁵⁾ Marville’s first account, Jan. 21, 1526-Jan. 21, 1527, was checked by van Vessem and Nispen on September 5, 1527 ; the second, Jan. 21, 1527-Jan. 21, 1528, by the same executors, on September 5, 1528 : *FUL*, 1450 (*AccMarvI*) and 1451 (*AccMarvII*) ; the third has not survived.

⁶⁾ The account of Wary’s executors, *FUL*, 1451, Febr. 1 to Nov. 30, inclusive, 1529, was checked on September 21, 1530, by Bartholomew van Vessem, in presence of John van der Hoeven, President : *AccMarvIII*, 86, r ; *AccHoevI*, 50, v ; *ManHoev.*, 3, r. — It mentions a few of the Founder’s books sold by the College to his brother Giles, for ‘1 Rf’ : no doubt they interested the family more than the *Trilingue* ; amongst them may have been the *MS* of his *Lusus* : cp. *Busl.*, 163 ; *AccMarvIII*, 2, r.

⁷⁾ Allen, vii, 1856, 55-65.

more good than the ways of those who, like some do in Germany, add to the disadvantage of novelty and to the displeasure of petulance, the suspicion of the want of all religious feeling. On account of that happy disposition of the President and his staff', Erasmus continues, 'the College is, thanks to God, most flourishing, and it will go on thriving even more if the same method is continued. That splendid result must come to the knowledge, and gladden the pious heart, of Jerome de Busleyden, who certainly was inspired from above when he bestowed such an eminent gift as the *Trilingue* on our native country'.

THE END OF THE SECOND PART

*Merito & Tempore*

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
Ground-plan of the <i>Trilingue</i>	pp 46
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	50
Ormendael and neighbourhood	58
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	94
Nicolas Cannius	139
Corridor leading to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	224
<i>Wendelsteen</i>	296
Entrance to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	386
Door-way to Lecture Room	515
The Founder's Crest and Device	637

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

On p 85, nn, l 1,	please read	1560	instead of	1540
» 92, n 5, l 1,	» »	ortum	» »	ortium
» 137, l 7,	» »	messages ⁴⁾ .	» »	messages.
» 166, n 4,	add : Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.			
» 166, nn, last l but one,	read	⁵⁾	instead of	⁶⁾
» 269, l 18,	»	1530	» »	1529
» 323, l 12,	»	B	» »	E
» 358, n 6, l 7,	»	<i>PolE</i> Fr	» »	PolE
» 359, n 6, l 1,	»	Wotton	» »	Wotten
» 403, l 1,	»	dus,	» »	dus ⁷⁾ ,
» 517, l 27,	»	Thomas	» »	William
» 636, l 16, & n 6, l 3,	»	Josse	» »	John

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHIEFLY USED IN THE NOTES

The Roman numerals, added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, indicate the volumes if in capitals, and the parts of those volumes if in minuscules; the figures and *italicized* Roman numerals indicate the pages — unless stated otherwise: viz., by the adding, at the end of the title, of an asterisk, *, when they are meant for letters and lines; or an °, for lines, e. g., in MSS; or an s, referring to the numbers used by the authors themselves. The 'P. C.' (i. e., pagination continued) betoken that the paging of a book, which is stopped in the copies, is resumed and continued to the end. — The Roman letters, a, b, added to a number, refer to the obverse or reverse sides of a page or to the columns; the Italic letters, *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., to the various paragraphs of a preface (= *pr*) to a letter or a poem. The very small figures indicate the lines.

Ch. & Chs., followed by Roman figures, indicate the chief divisions in this work, of which this volume is the second part: references to passages in it, quote the page or pages, preceded by *p* or *pp*; those to the first part, are pointed out by '1', followed by the number of the page(s).

In order to reduce the length of this list for the benefit of the text, a rather Procrustean method has been resorted to, liberating the titles from all superfluous wording: e. g., the mention that the treatises or the histories refer to the sixteenth century, the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation; or that the persons whose biography and letters are offered to the reader's attention, were foremost in their rank and period. On that account no author's name is repeated in the enouncing of the title if it is already expressed in the abbreviations or *sigla*; that of the editor or the translator is pointed out by *ed* or *tr*. The number of volumes is indicated between brackets, without adding *vols*. Finally the names of some towns which often recur, have been shortened: namely Ant(*werp*), Amst(*erdam*), Brg (*Bruges*), Brl (*Berlin*), Brs (*Brussels*), Camb(*ridge*), Coi(*mbra*), Col(*ogne*), Edb (*Edinburgh*), Frb (*Freiburg i. Breisgau*), Frf (*Frankfurt on the Main*), Hdw (*Harderwijk*), Innsb(*ruck*), Knb (*Königsberg*), Ld (*London*), Lg (*Liège*), Lpz (*Leipzig*), Ls (*Lyons*), Lv (*Louvain*), Mchl (*Mechlin*), Mdr (*Madrid*), Mnst (*Münster in Westphalia*), Mun(*ich*), NY (*New-York*), Oxf(*ord*), Pdb (*Paderborn*), Pr (*Paris*), Rat(*ishon*), StO (*St.-Omer*), Strb (*Strassburg*), TH (*The Hague*), Tr(*eves*).

The academical MS documents referred to are those of Louvain University, 1427-1797, unless stated otherwise. Some usual abbreviations such as *Acct* (account), *exc*(ept), *indic*(ated), and, of course, *CTril*. (Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense) are also employed.

- AcArExc.* = Excerpta ex Actis Fac. Artium, 1427-1797 : *Louvain MS.*
AccEdel. = Acct. of *CTril.* for Jan. 26-June 22, 1539 = FUL, 1450.
AccGocl. = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Sept. 10) 1537-38 = FUL, 1451.
AccHoevI = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Dec. 1) 1529-30 = FUL, 1451.
AccHoevII = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Dec. 1) 1533-34 = FUL, 1451.
AccMaroI = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Jan. 21) 1526-27 = FUL, 1450.
AccMaroII = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Jan. 21) 1527-28 = FUL, 1451.
AccMaroIII = Acct. of *CTril.* for Febr. 1 to Dec. 1, 1529 = FUL, 1451.
AccMeerb. = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Oct. 18) 1520-21 = FUL, 1450.
Acolast. = G. GNAPHEUS, Acolastus : ed J. Bolte : Brl, 1891.
ActaMori = H. DE VOCHT, Acta Thomae Mori (*HumLov.* 7) : Lv, 1947.
ActArtV = Lib. V Act. Fac. Art. (*Nov. 1482-Sept. 27, 1511*) = FUL, 712.
ActArtVI = Extracts from *Liber VI Act. Fac. Art.* <lost> = FUL, 726.
ActArtInd. = Libr. VI-XIV Act. Fac. Art. Index (1511-1676) = FUL, 729.
Adagia = Adagia : Proverbiorum &c Collectio (*BB*, e, 139) : Frf, 1670.
ADB = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56) : Leipzig, 1875-1912.
AdriBurm. = C. BURMANNUS, Hadrianus VI : Utrecht, 1727.
AdriE = GACHARD, Corresp. de Charles V et d'Adrien VI : Brs, 1859.
AdriHöf. = C. v. HÖFLER, Papst Adrian VI., 1522-23 : Vienna, 1880.
AdriReus. = E. REUSENS, Doctrina Adriani Sexti : Lv, 1862.
AgricE = K. HARTFELDER, Briefe von Rudolf Agricola : Karlsruhe, 1886.
Agrico = Rod. AGRICOLÆ Lucubrationes (2) : Cologne, 1539.
AgripE = AGRIPPA ab Nettesheim, Epistolæ (*Op. Omnia*, II) : Ls, c 1600.
Ailli = P. TSCHACKERT, Peter von Ailli : Gotha, 1877.
AireSP = J. ROUYER, St. Pierre d'Aire : *Mém. Ant. Mor.*, x, ii : StO, 1858.
AleaE = J. PAQUIER, Lettres de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-40 : Pr, 1909.
AléaJour. = H. OMONT, Journal du Card. Aléandre, 1480-1530 : Pr, 1895.
AléaLiège = J. PAQUIER, Aléandre et la Princip. de Liège : Pr, 1896.
Aléandre = J. PAQUIER, Jér. Aléandre, 1480-1529 : Pr, 1900.
Alexandre = P. ALEXANDRE, Histoire du Conseil Privé : Brs, 1894.
AllCorRea. = P. ALLEN, Early Corpus Readerships : Oxf, 1905.
Allen = P. & H. ALLEN, Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi (11) : Oxf, 1906-47*.
Almeloveen = Th. ab A-, Amoenitates Theol.-philologicae : Amst. 1694.
Altamira = R. ALTAMIRA, Historia de España (4) : Barcelona, 1900-11.
Altmeyer = J. A-, Précurseurs de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas (2) : Brs, 1886.
AltRel. = J. ALTMAYER, Relations avec le N. de l'Europe : Brs, 1840.
Anal. = Analectes p/s à l'Hist. Ecclés. de la Belgique : Lv, 1864-
Anima = J. SCHMIDLIN, Gesch. der S. Maria dell' Anima : Frb, 1906.
AnEmBr. = Annales d'l Société d'Emulation : Brg, 1839-
AntvAnn. = D. PAPEBROCHIIUS, Annales Antverpienses (5) : Ant, 1845-8.
AntvDiercx. = Antverpia X^o Nascens et Crescens (7) : Ant, 1773.
AntvEpisc. = [J. FOPPENS] Hist. Episcopatus Antverpiensis : Brs, 1717.
AntwChron. = Chronycke van Antwerpen, 1500-1575 : Ant, 1843.
AntwHist. = MERTENS & TORFS, Gesch. van Antwerpen (8) : Ant, 1845-53.
AntwInscr. = Inscriptions Funéraires d'Anvers (6) : Ant, 1856-
AntwKan. = GOETSCHALCKX, Kanunn. van O. L. V. Antwerpen : Ant, n d.
 APPENDIX IV = Goclenius' correspondence (*in next volume*).
 APPENDIX V = *NanOF.* APPENDIX VI = *StudAtt.*

- ArchRefGesch.* = Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte : Lpz-Brl, 1903-
AschE = R. ASCHAM, Epistol. Libri IV. With J. Sturmii Epp. : Oxf, 1703.
AugO = S. Aur. AUGUSTINI Opera Omnia (ed. Migne : 12) : Pr, 1841-49.
Bahlmann = P. B-, Die Erneuerer des Antiken Dramas (2) : Mnst, 1893-6.
Baius = F.-X. JANSEN, Baius et le Baianisme : Louvain, 1927.
BalaRef. = BALAN, Monum. Reformationis Lutheranae 1521-5 : Rat, 1881.
Bale = J. B-, Index Britanniae Scriptorum (ed Poole-Bateson) : Oxf, 1902.
Barclay = The Ship of Fools transl. by Alex. BARCLAY (2) : Edb, 1874.
BarlHist. = Historica Hadriani BARLANDI : Cologne, 1603.
Barthold = F. B-, Geschichte der Deutschen Hansa (3) : Lpz, 1862.
BatauD. = B. de JONGHE, Desolata Batavia Dominicana : Ghent, 1717.
BatauMart. = P. OPMEER, Historia Martyrum Batavicornum : Col, 1625.
BatauSac. = < v. HEUSSEN, > Batavia Sacra, II : Brs, 1714.
BatGouv. = M. BATAILLON, A. de Gouvea du Coll. de Guyenne : Coi, 1927.
Baumgartner = A. B-, Die Literatur der Christlichen Völker : Frb, 1925.
BaxH = BAX, Historia Univ. Lovaniensis (11) : MS 22172, Roy. Lib., Brs.
BB = Bibliotheca Belgica, by Ferd. van der HAEGHEN, &c : Ghent, 1880-
BbBasle = University Library of Basle.
BbCzart. = Biblioteka Pulawskiej XX. Czartoryskich, Cracow.
BbKorn. = Biblioteka Kornickiej, Posen.
BbOssol. = Biblioteka Ossolinskich, Lwów.
BbUpps. = Bibliotheca Regia Upsalensis, Uppsala.
BbVat. = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
BeitBrieg. = Festschrift zu ... Theodor Brieger : Lpz, 1912.
BeitClem. = O. CLEMEN, Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch. (3) : Brl, 1900-3.
BeitSchlecht. = Beiträge z. Renaiss. & Ref. an J. SCHLECHT : Mun, 1917.
BelgAcM = Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique : Brs, 1820-
BelgArch. = Doc. at the General Archives, Brussels.
BelgChron. = CASTILLION, Sacra Belgii Chronologia : Ghent, 1719.
BelgDom. = B. de JONGHE, Belgium Dominicanum : Brs, 1719.
BelPU = GAILLARD, Influence de la Belg. sur les Prov.-Unies : Brs, 1855.
BERép. see *BudERép.*
Bergenroth = G. B-, Calendar of Statepapers... at Simancas : Ld, 1862-
Berger = Samuel BERGER, La Bible au Seizième Siècle : Paris, 1879.
Bergh = L. vd. B-, Corresp. de Marguerite d'Autriche (2) : Leyden, 1845-7.
BerghAutr. = HALKIN, C. de Berghes et G. d'Autriche, Pr.-Ev. : Lg, 1936.
Berlière = U. B-, Evêques Auxil. de Cambrai et Tournai : Brg, 1905.
Bianco = F. v. BIANCO, Die Alte Universität Köln (2) : Cologne, 1856.
BibBelg. = Val. ANDREAS, Bibliotheca Belgica : Lv, 1643.
RibBelgMan. = SANDERUS, Bibl. Belgica Manuscripta (2) : Lille, 1641-4.
BibRefNe. = Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica : TH, 1903-
Bludau = A. B-, Die Erasm.-Ausg. des N. T. und ihre Gegner : Frb, 1902.
Blunt = J. H. B-, Reformation of the Church of England (2) : Ld, 1896-7.
BN = Biographie Nationale : Brs, 1866-1939.
Bömer = A. B-, Lateinische Schülergespräche (2) : Brl, 1897-99.
Bonilla = B. B-, Luis Vives y la Filos. del Renacimiento : Mdr, 1903.
BrabCon. = A. GAILLARD, Le Conseil de Brabant (3) : Brs, 1898-
BrabConMS = Hist. du Conseil de Brabant (3) : MS, CartMan., 1762-64.

- BrabNobl.* = (J. vd LEENE,) Noblesse du Brabant : Lg, 1705. PC.
Brants = V. B-, La Faculté de Droit de l'Univ. de Louvain : Brs, <1917>.
BrArEc. = A. d'HOOP, Inv. d. Arch. Ecclés. du Brabant (6) : Brs, 1905-32.
Brecht = W. B-, Die Verfasser der Epist. Obscur. Virorum : Strb, 1903.
Brewer = Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. 1509-30 (4) : Ld 1862-^{*}
Briart = Vita Io. Briardi Atensis, by G. Morinck : *MorMS*, 392, sq.
Bridgewater = J. B-, Concertatio Eccl. Catholicae in Anglia : Tr, 1589.
BritMus. = British Museum Library, London.
Brom = G. B-, Archivalia in Italie (3) : TH, 1908-14.
Bruchet = M. BRUCHET, Marguerite d'Autriche : Lille, 1927.
Brug&Fr. = J. GAILLARD, Bruges et le Franc (6) : Brg, 1857-64.
BrugErVir. = A. SANDERUS, De Brvgensibvs Claris : Ant, 1624.
BrugInscr. = GAILLARD, Inscript. Funéraires de Bruges (3) : Brg, 1861-6.
BrugSDon. = Comp. Chron. Eccl. Cath. S. Donatiani Brug. : Brg, 1731.
BruxBas. = <J. B. CHRISTYN,> Basilica Bruxellensis (2) : Mchl, 1743.
BruxHist. = HENNE & WAUTERS, Histoire de Bruxelles (3) : Brs, 1845.
Budé = L. DELARUELLE, Guillaume Budé : Pr, 1907.
BudERép. = DELARUELLE, Répert. d/l Corresp. de Budé : Toulouse, 1907.
Bulæus = C. E. B-, Historia Vniuersitatis Parisiensis (6) : Pr, 1665-73.
BulBiB = Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge : Brs, 1845-
BullAcBelg. = Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique : Brs, 1836-
BullCoHist. = Bull. de la Commiss. Roy. d'Histoire : Brs, 1834-
Burman = P. B-, Sylloges Epistolarum (5) : Leyden, 1727.
Buschbell = G. B-, Reformation und Inquisition in Italien : Pdb, 1910.
Busl. = H. DE VOCHT, Jerome de Busleyden (*HumLov.* 9) : Turnhout, 1950.
BuslGén. = de PATOUL, Généal. de la Famille de Busleyden : Brs, 1892.
BW = van der AA, Biogr. Woordenb. der Nederl. (21) : Haarlem, 1852-78.
Canisius = O. BRAUNSBERGER, Petrus Canisius. Lebensbild : Frb, 1917.
CantE = A. RIVIER, Claude Chansonnette et ses Lettres : Brs, 1878.
Cardauns = L. C-, Kirchl. Unions- und Reformbestreb. : Rome, 1910.
CartMan. = Fonds Cartulaires et Manuscrits, *BelgArch.* (ms. inv.)
Cartwright = J. C-, Christina of Denmark, 1522-90 : Ld, 1913.
Carvalho = J. de C-, Epistola de Clenardo a Colombo : Coimbra, 1926.
CatCzart. = Catal. Codicum MS. Musæi Czartoryski (2) : Cracow, 1908-13.
CatHalle = Gesch. des Humanismus. *Katalog XLV* von J. HALLE : Mun.
CatSél. = J. WALTER, Catal. d/l Biblioth. de Sélestat, III : Colmar, 1929.
CeltE = H. RUPPRICH, Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis : Mun, 1934.
Cerejeira = M. G. C-, Clenardo : Coimbra, 1926.
Cheke = W. NATHAN, Sir John Cheke und Engl. Human. : Bonn, 1928.
CHEL = Cambridge History of English Literature (14) : Camb, 1907-16.
ChronGreyFr. see *GreyFriars.*
ChronMét. = E. vd. LINDEN, Évén. Météorologiques to 1834 : Brs, 1924.
Clénard = CHAUVIN ROERSCH, Nicolas Clénard : Brs, 1900.
ClenCorr. = A. ROERSCH, Correspondance de N. Clénard (2) : Brs, 1910.
ClenE = Nic. CLÉNARDI Epistolarvm Libri Dvo : Ant, Plantin, 1566.
ClenHum. = H. de VOCHT, N. Beken Clenardus Humanist : Ant, 1942.
CMH = The Cambridge Modern History, I & II : Camb, 1904.

- CochlHerte* = A. HERTE, Die Lutherbiogr. des J. Cochläus : Mnst, 1915.
CochlHum. = Carl OTTO, Joannes Cochlaeus der Humanist : Breslau, 1874.
CochlSpahn = M. SPAHN, Johannes Cochläus : Berlin, 1898.
CollRhed. = Rehdigersche Briefsammlung of Breslau Town Library.
CollTorr. = TOURNEUR, La Collection L. Torrentius (*medals*) : Brs, 1914.
CollUffWolf. = Suppellex Epistol. Uffenbach & Wolf, in Hamburg Libr.
ConPri. = Hist. du Conseil Privé (2) : MS, *BelgArch.*, *ConPriv.* 765-6.
ConPriT = Tableau Hist. du Cons. Privé : MS, *BelgArch.*, *ConPriv.* 768.
Constant = G. C., La Réforme en Angleterre (2) : Pr, 1930-39.
ConstConc. = CONSTANT, Concession (*des*) Deux Espèces (2) : Pr, 1923.
ContarE = F. DITTRICH, Briefe des Card. G. Contarini : Braunsberg, 1881.
Cooper = C. & T. C., Athenæ Cantabrigienses (2) : Camb, 1858-61.
Coppens = J. C., Het Bisdóm van 's-Hertogenbosch (5) : H., 1840-44.
CorpCath. = Corpus Catholicorum *i/d* Glaubensspaltung : Mnst, 1920-
CorpInq. = P. FREDERICQ, Corpus Doc. Inquisitionis (5) : Ghent, 1889-02.
Corsend. = J. LATOMUS, Corsendonca : ed J. Hoybergius : Ant, 1640.
CorvE = P. TSCHACKERT, Antonius Corvinus (2) : Hannover, 1900.
Gran. = H. DE VOCHT, Literae ad Craneveldivm (*HumLov.* 1) : Lv, 1928.*
Crane = D. C., Joh. Secundus, Life, Work, Infl. on Engl. Lit. : Lpz, 1931.
Cranmer = J. STRYPE, Memorials of Th. Cranmer (2) : Oxf, 1812.
Creighton = M. CREIGHTON, Early Renaissance in England : Camb, 1895.
Creizenach = W. C., Gesch. des Neueren Dramas, II, III : Halle, 1901-11.
CrenFasc. = Th. CRENIUS, Fascis Exercitationum (5) : Leyden, 1697-
CTril. = Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense.
Custos = J. ERNALSTEEN, Joannes Custos Brechtanus : Brecht, 1925.
Ćuvelier = J. C., Dénombrements de Foyers en Brabant : Brs, 1912.
DantCar. = St. SKIMINA, Joannis Dantisci Carmina : Cracow, 1950.
DantE = DANTISCI et Amic. Epistolæ: repertory by H. de Vocht (*p* 170, *n* 2).
DantKop. = F. HIPLER, Dantiscus u. Kopernikus, Gedichte : Mnst, 1857.
Daxhelet = E. D., Adrien Barlandus (*HumLov.* 6) : Lv, 1938.
DBL = BRICKA, &c, Dansk Biogr. Leksikon (27) : Copenhagen, 1933-
Dekkers = R. D., Humanisme en Rechtswet. in de Nederl. : Ant, 1938.
Delisle = L. D., Procès-Verb. d/l Fac. Théol. de Paris 1505-33 : Pr, 1899.
DelPoBel. = Delitiæ C. Poetarvm Belgicorvm (4) : Frf, 1614.
DelPoGer. = Delitiæ Poetarvm Germanorvm (6) : Frf, 1612.
Delprat = Brüderschaft des Gemeins. Lebens : tr MOHNIKE : Lpz, 1840.
Denifle = H. D., Luther und Luthertum (2) : Mayence, 1904-09.
DiaBiTril. = Dialogus biling. ac trilinguium = App II (*bef.* I, 547-74).°
Diest = F. RAYMAEKERS, Kerkelijk en Liefdadig Diest : Lv, 1870.
Dirks = S. D., Hist. Bibliograph. des Frères Mineurs en Belg. : Ant, 1885.
Dittrich = P. D., Plaut. u. Terenz in Pädagog. der Human. : Lpz, 1915.
DivAntiq. = P. DIV.EI Antiquitates Belgarum : Lv, 1757.
DNB = Sidney LEE, Dictionary of National Biography (22) : Ld, 1908-9.
Dolet = R. C. CHRISTIE, Étienne Dolet : Ld, 1899.
Donk = F. RÜTTEN, Martin Donk, Duncanus, 1505-90 : Mnst, 1906.
DorPaul = M. DORPPII Oratio de laudibus Pauli : Basle, 1520.
DorPapol. = Dorpii Apologia Menardo Mannio, Abbati : *MonHL*, 61-112.
Drerup = E. D., Der Humanismus in seiner Geschichte : Paderborn, 1934.

- Drieux* = A. de SCHREVEL, Remi Drieux, II^e Evêque de Bruges : Brg, 1898.
Duhr = B. D., Gesch. der Jesuiten in Deut. Ländern im xvi. Jh : Frb, 1907.
DürerD = WOLFF, Dürers Briefe, Tagebücher u. Reime : Lpz (Voigtl.)
EckDed. = Eckius Dedolatus : ed S. Szamolski : Brl, 1891.
EE = Des. ERASMI Epistolæ (2 ; = EOO, III) : Leyden, 1703.
EETS = Early English Text Society Publications : Ld, 1864-
EHR, EngHistRev. = The English Historical Review : Ld, 1886-
EliCritEss. = G. Greg. SMITH, Elizabethan Critical Essays (2) : Oxf, 1904.
Enders = E. ENDERS, Martin Luthers Briefwechsel (17) : Frf, &c, 1884-
Ent. = L. ENTHOVEN, Briefe an Des. Erasmus : Strb, 1906.
Enzinas = C. CAMPAN, Mémoires de Franc. de Enzinas (3) : Brs, 1862-3.
EOO = Des. ERASMI Roterodami Opera Omnia (10) : Leyden, 1703-6.
EpClarHisp. = A. BONILLA, Claror. Hispan. Epistolæ : *RevHisp.*, VIII, 250-
EpClassArg. = J. STURM, Classicæ Epistolæ : ed J. Rott : Strb, 1938.
EpMagNos. = Epistola de Mag. Nostr. Louan. = App III (*bef.* I, 583-602).°
EraBib. = F. vd HAEGHEN, Bibliotheca Erasiana (3) : Ghent, 1893.
EraCab. = ALONSO-BATAILLON, Erasmo. Caballero Crist. : Mdr, 1932.
EraCat. = Catalogi dvo Operum D. Erasmi. — Vita. Epitaphia : Ant, 1537.
ErAdag. = Des. ERASMI Collectanea Adagiorum Veterum = EOO, ii : 1703.
ErAge = P. S. ALLEN, The Age of Erasmus : Oxford, 1914.
ErAilen = P. S. ALLEN, Erasmus. Lectures and Sketches : Oxf, 1934.
ErasDrum. = R. B. DRUMMOND, Erasmus (2) : Ld, 1873.
ErasEm. = E. EMERTON, Des. Erasmus of Rotterdam : NY, 1899.
ErasFroud. = J. A. FROUDE, Life and Letters of Erasmus : Ld, 1905.
ErasIncl. = H. D. VOCHT, Involed v. Eras. o/d Eng. Tooneellit. : Ghent, 1908.
ErasJort. = John JORTIN, The Life of Erasmus (2) : London, 1758-60.
Erasmiana = A. HORAWITZ, Erasmiana I-IV : Vienna, 1878-85.
EraSpain = M. BATAILLON, Erasme et l'Espagne : Pr, 1937.
ErasPort. = M. BATAILLON, Erasme et la Cour de Portugal : Coi, 1927.
EraVita = D. Erasmi Vita & Epistolæ : ed P. Scriverius : Leyden, 1649.
ErColTran. = H. D. VOCHT, Earl. Transl. of Eras.' Coll. (*HumLoc.* 2) Lv, 1928.
ErmArCa. = Archivium Capituli Warmiensi, Frauenburg.
ErmArEp. = Archivium Episcopale Warmiense, Frauenburg.
Ermland = A. BÖTTICHER, Bau- u. KunstDenkmäler i. Erml. : Knb, 1894.
ES = Englische Studien, edited by Joh. Hoops : Leipzig.
Et&Aud. = Fonds de l'Etat et de l'Audience : *BelgArch.* (*ms. inv.*)
ExTest. = Execut. Testamentariæ in Un. Lovan. 1485-1557 = FUL, 5613.
Excerpts = from *LibIntIII*, by H. DE VOCHT, (in *EHR*, xxxvii, 89-), 1922.
Féret = P. F., La Faculté de Théologie de Paris (7) : Pr, 1900-10.
FG = J. FÖRSTEMANN & O. GÜNTHER, Briefe an D. Erasmus : Lpz, 1904.
Fisher = Fr. van ORTROY, Vie du B. Jean Fisher : Brs, 1893.
FlandAnn. = J. de MEYERE, Annales Rerum Flandricarum : Ant, 1561.
FlandCon. = J. FOPPENS, Histoire du Conseil de Flandre : Brs, 1869.
FlandIll. = A. SANDERUS, Flandria Illustrata (3) : The Hague, 1735.
FlandOHR = Hommes Remarq. de la Flandre Occid. (4) : Brg, 1843-49.
FlandScript. = A. SANDERUS, De Scriptoribus Flandriæ : Ant, 1624.
Foppens = J. F. FOPPENS, Bibliotheca Belgica (2) : Brs, 1739.
FoxE = P. & H. ALLEN, Letters of Richard Fox 1486-1527 : Oxf, 1929.

- Franklin = A. F., Diction. des Noms, Surnoms Latins (1100-1530): Pr, 1875.
 Froude = J. A. F., History of England, 1529-88 (12): London, (1870).
 Fruin = R. F., Archief der O. L. V. Abdij te Middelburg: TH, 1901.
FugRom. = A. SCHULTE, Die Fugger in Rom 1495-1523 (2): Lpz, 1904.
FugZAlt. = R. EHRENBURG, Zeitalter der Fugger (2): Jena, 1912.
 FUL = H. DE VOGHT, Inv. d. Archives de l'Un. Louv., 1426-1797: Lv, 1927.
 Gabbema = S. GABBEMA, Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ: Harlingen, 1669.
 Gachard = Voyages des Souver. d. Pays-Bas, II (exc. indie): Brs, 1874.
 Gairdner = J. G., The English Church from 1509 to 1558: Ld, 1902.
GallChrist. = Gallia Christiana (15): Paris, 1716-1860.
 Gand = M. DE G., Recherches ... sur Thierry Martens: Alost, 1845.
GandErVir. = A. SANDERUS, De Gandavensibus Claris: Ant, 1624.
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LIST OF PERSONAGES

Besides the personages of the xvth and the xvth century, this list records classic authors and writers of books of a secular use; also, *in italics*, some living bodies, as abbeys and universities, as well as details or general remarks intimately connected with the matter treated. The figures refer to the pages; if they are printed in **heavier types**, they indicate biographical information of some importance about those whose names are set in CAPITALS. The '1' added after the name, before the figures, announces that a full notice about that personage has already been given in the first volume of this *History*.

To shorten as much as possible this list, — which is necessarily burdened by the two, or even more, names by which people of any significance were designed in the xvth century, — the names of the possessions of some aristocratic families are added to those of the personages, but are not made into special items in the alphabetical enumeration, except when they are generally employed to indicate the individuals. Moreover ample use is made of abbreviations :

1^o) sigla for family connections : *a* (aunt), *b* (brother), *d* (daughter), *f* (father), *gd* (granddaughter), *gs* (grandson), *n* (nephew, niece), *r* (relative), *s* (son), *si* (sister), *u* (uncle), — which letters are doubled if they indicate two or more personages : *bb*, *ss*, &c.

2^o) abbreviations of some titles : *alderm(an)*, *ambass(ador)*, *chan(cellor)*, *controv(ersionalist)*, *exec(utor)*, *fam(ily)*, *geogr(apher)*, *gov(ern(or))*, *neighb(our)*, *nunc(io)*, *pens(ionary)*, *prov(ost)*, *secr(etary)*, *treas(urer)*, &c.

3^o) sigla for functions or professions : *Abp* (Archbishop), *bCL* (brother of Common Life), *bk* (banker), *bl* (bailiff), *Bp* (Bishop), *bs* (bookseller), *cc* (councillor), *cn* (canon), *ct* (courtier), *dv* (divine), *gr* (grammarian), *hb* (hebraist), *hm* (humanist), *jp* (jurisprudent), *Kt* (knight), *Ld*, *Ly* (Lord, Lady), *lm* (ludimagister), *lt* (literator), *mch* (merchant), *md* (medical doctor), *mk* (monk), *mn* (minister), *ms* (musician), *nav* (navigator), *pc* (preceptor), *pd* (pedagogue), *pf* (professor), *pp* (parish priest), *pr* (printer), *pt* (painter), *rf* (Reformer), *rg* (regens, head of college), *rs* (renascence scholar), *sc* (scientist), *st* (student), *sv* (servant), *tm* (tradesman), *wr* (writer).

A

Aa, Peter van der, *jp*, 217.

AARTRYCKE, Ertteryke PHILIP VAN,
st, 151-52 ; — *f*, Hector, 152.

Accursius, 213 260.

Adagia, 112-14 479 481-82.

Adriaenssen, Adriana, 577.

ADRIAN OF UTRECHT, Card. Dertus.,
1, 2-3 22 63 210 262 268 269 309 339
373 505 518 543 551 ; — ADRIAN VI,
64 200 255 259 261 264 267-69 276
293 297-98 300 305-6 309-11 315
334-5 344-5 348 447 618.

Adrianus, Matthew, *pf*, 1, 9 12 15
40 44 89 135 502.

- Adrichem, Cornelia of, Adrichoma, 377.
Adwert Abbey, 1, 471.
 Ægidius, Peter, *see* Gillis; — *b*, Giles, Ægidius Nicolai, *cn*, 67.
 Ægineta, Paul, 522 529.
 Ægranus, John Wildenauer, Sylvius, 33.
 Ælius Adrian : *see* Barlandus.
 AERDT, WERNER, of Nijmegen, *dv*, 512.
 Aerschot, Marquis of, 381; *see* Croy.
 Æschines, 416.
 Æsop, 332.
 Æsticampianus, John Rack, Rhagius, *hm*, 354.
 Aeth, James of, *pc*, 379.
 Aetius, 523.
Afflighem, Abbey of, 61.
 AFINIUS, HENRY van (den) Eynde, a Fine, *md*, 25 67 545; — *r*, Johannes Lirensis, *st*, 25.
 Agapetus, 19.
 Ager, Antony, *st*, 26.
 AGRICOLA, GEORGE, Bauer, *sc*, 391 576.
 Agricola, John, *rf*, 30 415.
 Agricola, Rudolph, *hm*, 1, 13 14 15 121 142 205 596 626.
 Ailly, Peter d', *dv*, 291.
 Ainay, Abbot of, 61.
 Aire, Chapter of, 47 364.
 Alard of Amsterdam, *hm*, 1, 2 36 121 142 202 205-6 223 240 346 499 582
Alcala Univ., 41 353; — *Ecclesia magistralis*, 353.
 ALCIATI, ANDREW, *jp*, 77 152-3 156 165 214 442-43 447 466.
 Alcuin, *pd*, 579.
 Alderete : *see* Gracian.
 ALEANDER, JEROME, *nunc*, 9 117 197 199 269 270 275-77 283 293 294 295 300 305-6 309-11 399 613.
 Aleidius, Adrian, 571.
 ALGOET, (h)Alsberghe, Goethals, Panagathus, LIVINUS, 136-39 170 243 279 362 384 466 488.
Alkmaar School, 178.
 Alliopagus : *see* Knobbelsdorf.
 Alobera, Abrilensis, *Dr*, 411.
 Alopecius, H., *pr*, 391.
 Alsberghe, Catherine, 139; — Livinus : *see* Algoet.
 Alva, Ferdin. Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of, 147 183 404 409 424 571; — *s*, Frederic, 571.
 Amantius, Barth., 543.
 Ambrose, St., 19 235 410 626.
 Amerbach, Boniface, *jp*, 25 27 141 144 152 165 174 384 497 610 619; — *bb* Basil, 25 326; Bruno, 326.
America, discovered, 543.
 Amerius, Antony (= Rob. Barnes), 16.
 Amerot, Adrian, Suessonius, *pf*, 1, 10 84 195 223 239 (*coll*).
 Ameyden, Henry, *jp*, 453.
 AMMONIUS, LIVINUS van den Zande, de Harena, Carthusian, 190 191 192 355 463 466-7 469 493 497 499 532
 Amour, Zeger, 228.
 Amorelle, Robert, of Aire, *st*, 364.
Anabaptists, 454.
 Anacreon, 449.
Anchin, Aquacinctinum, S. Savour's Abbey, 196.
 Andernach : *see* Winter.
 Andreas, Valerius, *histor.*, 111 177 221 236 477 561 564 571 635.
 Andree, Lambertus, *st*, 22.
 Andrelini, Fausto, *lt*, 1, 3 92 (*lack of morality*) 197.
 Andronicus, Parthenius, Tranquillus, *lt*, 1, 26 31.
 Angoulême, Margaret of, Queen of Navarre, 583 597.
 Annoot, Catherine, 138.
Antwerp : — *Bp of*, 511; — *Abbot St. Michael's*, 186; — *Grammar School*, 184-8 350; — '*Antwerp Confession*', 509.
 Aphthonius, 630.
 APIANUS, Bienewitz (Benne-), PETER, *pf*, 543 544 546 553-54; — *s*, Philip, *pf*, 543.
 Apostole, Peter l', *cc*, 127 419.
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 288 348.
 Arande, Michel d', 166.
 Arbara, Augustine, 217.
 Ardenne, Remacle d', *lt*, 444.
 Arias Montanus, Bened., *dv*, 484 486-87 563.
 Aristophanes, 9 43 68 116 358 570-72.

- Aristotle, 11 30 117 161 299 337 415 586.
 Arnollet, Baltasar, pr, 523.
 Arras, Bp of, 567 : *see* Granvelle.
 Arsenius, Walter, Renier & Ferdinand, *bb*, engravers, 555.
 ASCHAM, ROGER, lt, 589 590.
 Assendelft, Gerard of, Ld of Crailingen, presid. of Holland, 498.
 Astydamas, 114.
 Asulanus, Aldus & Andreas, prs, 517.
 Athanasius, St., 313 314.
 Audet, Nicolas, dv, 507.
 Augustine, St., 1, 12 140 301-4 363 503 504 ; — *edition of his works by Erasmus*, 494 616.
 AUROGALLUS, MATTHEW, Goldhahn, Chumotoviensis, pf, 135.
 Ausonius, 10.
 Austria : Emperor Maximilian I of, 61 124 132 181 287 372 382 512 551 601 617 ; — Philip the Fair, Archduke, 60 68 125 129 190 192 213 380 382 617 ; *see* Castile, Jane ; — Archduch. Margaret, 44 61 68 87 110 125 161 213 245 265-66 275-77 283 287 300 305 310-11 352 372 376 382 407 436-38 441-42 451 464 525 553 606 ; — Emperor CHARLES V, 38 43 57 61 65 79 97 124-26 131-2 138 150 156-7 163-5 167 169 170 174 180-1 188 191 198-9 218 236 247 264-6 277 280 282 284 287-90 295 308-10 335 343 345 352-4 362 368-70 372 376 380-3 386-7 393 399 408-9 413-4 422 426 438-9 440-2 446-7 451 461-2 464 469 509 511 532 543 547-8 554 561 562 573 575 583 591 595 633 ; — Empress Isabella, 139 353 409 ; — King Ferdinand, 132 141 265-6 355-6 373-4 392 404 595 ; — Archduchess Eleanor, Queen of Portugal & France, 380-1 ; — Emperor Maximilian II, 162 587 ; — Don Juan, governor, 370 407 ; — Archduke Matthias, 162 ; — — Archdukes Albert and Isabella, 176 537 ; — Emperor Joseph II, 273.
 AUSTRIA, GEORGE OF, Bp of Brixen and Liège, 132 199 550 555 567.
 Austria, George of, Provost of St. Peter's, 59.
 AUWATER, CORNEL. VALERIUS VAN, pf, 112 119 177 236 352 451 453 463 479 480 481-2 486 554 560 565.
 Auxtruyes, John, cc, 420 ; — *d*, Margaret, 420.
 Avicenna, 518-21 523-24 531 533.
 Avogadri, Andrietta degli, 287.
 Axpoele, Pauline of, Ly of Axpoele and Hansbeke, 190 : *fam.* 155 ; — *see* de Waele.
 Aytta, Viglius of, *see* Viglius ; — *f*, Folcard, 98 145 ; *b*, Rintzius, 145 ; *u*, Bernard, *see* Bucho.
- B**
- Backer, Jerome de, 307.
 Backer John Diericksoen de, Pistorius, 86.
 Baden, Catherine Margaret, Marchioness of, 124.
 Badius Ascensius, Judocus, pr, 1, 197 497.
 BAECHER, NICOLAS Jacobi, of Egmond, EGMONDANUS, dv, 1, 2 (Camelus), 92 93 250 (Κάμηλος) 251 253-55 256 257 259-60 264-65 267 269 270 271 272-76 278-9 282-83 287 289 290 295 303 318(†) 334-35 338-39 342 344 366 503 604.
 Baecx, Adrian, rg, 59.
 Baenst, Adriana de, Ly of Santvelde, 465 470.
 Baers, Barsius, H. : *see* Vekenstyl.
 Balenus, And. : *see* Gennep.
 Balistarius, Baltasar, pf, 234.
 Balling, Dirk, John & Nicolas, sts, 483.
 Bang Kaup, Willy, pf, of English & Oriental philol., 448.
 BANISIUS, JAMES, de Bannissiis, secr, dean, 551.
 Barbier, Barbirius, Peter le, secr, 3 137 182 254 263 494 497.
 Barcher, Antony, 308 407.
 BARCLAY, ALEXANDER, lt, 20.
 BARLANDUS ADRIAN Cornelii, pf, 1, 7 10 11 13 14 19 85 98 99 108 111 112 124 125 173 202 220 240 258 264 345 464 489 504 528 557 589 621 623.

- BARLANDUS, Adrian ÆLIUS Jacobi, 518 521 **522**.
- BARLANDUS, HUBERT, md, **518-23** 524 537.
- BARNES, ROBERT, Bp, **16 17** 19 20.
- Baronius, Card. Cæsar, 219 514.
- Bars, H. : *see* Olisleger.
- Bartholinus, Ricardus, 489.
- Bartholus, 213.
- Barton, Eliz., 609.
- Basil the Great, St., 314 336 390 493 522 523 626.
- Basle : Town Council*, 275 ; — *explosion of the Schniderturm*, 312 629 ; — *Univ.*, 8, 347 (*decline*).
- Bassery, Fr. Daniel, 476.
- Baten, Bartholomew, rf, 471.
- Bathenius, John, pr, 428.
- BATMANSON, JOHN, Carthusian, 5.
- Batt, James, pc, 1, 379 461.
- Bauc, Nicolas, de Dacia, st, 22.
- Baudeloo, Joannes, Abbot of, 185.
- Baudouin, Francis, jp, 217.
- Bausanus, Peter, 150.
- Baussele Elizabeth de, 169.
- Bavaria, George of, Count Palatine, Prov. of Bruges, Bp of Speyer, 179.
- Bave, Anne, 147.
- Bay, Michael de, dv, 239 (*College*) 510 513.
- Bayer, Wenceslas, md, pf, 528.
- Beausart, Peter, md, pf, 562 564.
- Bebel, John, pr, 141 195.
- Becanus, Arnoldus de Beca, pf, cc, 74.
- Becanus, Joannes : *see* Gorp.
- Becker, John, of Borselen, hm, 1, 82 86 108 456 460-64 489 518-19 526.
- Becker, John de, joiner, 52.
- Beda Natalis, dv, 252 255 261 263 286 313 362 388 631.
- BEDROT, JAMES, lm, **596**.
- Beer, John de, Ursus, lm, 335 346.
- Beka : *see* Leeuwe.
- Beken, Adrian van (der), a Rivo, Rivulo, 173.
- BEKEN, ARNOLD VAN DER, pf, cc, **74-75** ; — *d*, Gulielma, **74**.
- Beken, Nic. : *see* Clenardus ; — Peter : *see* Rivo.
- Bellarmin, Cardin. Robert, 219.
- BELLAY, Cardinal, JOHN DU, 572 **583** 584 599 ; — *bb*, Martin, Prince of Yvetot, 583 ; René, Bp of Le Mans, 583 ; William, Ld of Langey, 573 583.
- Belleken, John : *see* Sassen.
- Bellerus, John, pr, 428 429.
- Belzer, Rombaut, md, 535.
- Bembo, Card. Pietro, lt, 157 443 449 467.
- BEMYNG, Beyming, HENRY, pf, 31 32 **35**.
- Benedixius, Dominic, 207.
- BENEITO, Benedictus, FRANCIS, 406 412 **415**.
- Benese, Sir Richard de, Merton cn, 18.
- Ber, Louis, 392.
- Bérault, Nicolas, Beraldus, hm, 1, 13 14 43 156 195.
- BERCKMAN (Birck-, Byrck-), FRANCIS, bs, 166 173 307-8 **614** 616-7 ; Arnold, bs, 219-20 544 553-4.
- Berghe, Franck van den, cc, 472.
- Berghes John VI, Govern. of Namur, 1, 61 82 87 ; — *bb*, Antony, abbot St. Trudo's, 87 ; Henry, Bp of Cambrai, 12 431 ; — *s*, Antony, Prince of Berghes, st, Ld of Walhain, Grimberghe, &c, Govern. of Namur, 1, 87 518 521 ; — *gs*, Robert, Bp of Liège, 65 ; *nn* (children of his *b* Cornelius) Maximilian, Kt, Ld of Zevenbergen, Noordeloos, Heemskerk, &c, cc, 462 ; Cornelius, Bp of Liège, 132 ; Margaret (wife of Flor. of Egmont), 125 ; (*s* of Dismas) Maximilian, Abp of Cambrai, 426 ; — *a*, Anna, 461.
- Bergheyck, Arn. of : *see* Oridryus.
- Beringi fratres, prs, 534 540.
- BERNAERT, VULMAR, jp, pf, 86 183 217 421 **425-27** 512 560.
- Bernaerts, William, md, pf, 538.
- Bernard, St., 19.
- Bernuy, Ferdinand de, alderm., 175 ; — *d*, Cornelia, 175.
- Beroaldo, Filippo, rs, 11.
- Berquin, Adriana de, 156.
- Berquin, Louis, rf, 257 388 467.
- Berselius, Paschasius, hm, 1, 15 342 530.

- Berthelet, Thomas, pr, 19.
 Bertholff, Gregory, Friesl. Presid., 460; — *d*, Christina, 460.
 Bertolf, Bertulphus, Hilary, aman., 100 441.
 Berwick and Alva, Duke of, 409.
 Bessarion, Cardinal, 186.
 Beuckelaer, Nicolas de, cn, 230; — *b*, Philip, mch, 230.
 Beyers, Nanning, 177.
 Bibaut, William, Carthus. General, 191
Biblia Complutensis, 41.
Bibliotheca Colombina, Sevilla, 474.
 Bienewitz, George, pr, 543; — *b*, Peter, *see* Apianus.
 Biesius, Nicolas, md, pf, 536 538 564.
 Biglia, Count Louis de, 370.
 Billick, Everard, Carmel. Prov-inc., 413.
 Bilney, Thomas, 16.
 Birchinshaw, Maurice, 404.
 Birckman, Byrckman : *see* Berck-man.
 Bitner, Jonas, lt, 206.
 Blaarer : *see* Blaurer.
 Bladel, Elizabeth de, or de Blioul, 431 447 453.
 Blaesvelt, Guy of, 181.
 Blankenheim, Thierry, Ld of : *see* Manderscheid.
 Bla(e)sere, James de, Fland. cc, 190 192 469; — *f*, John, cc, 190; — *s*, James, cc, 190; — *a*, Adri-enne, 158.
 Blaurer, Blaarer, Ambrose, hm, 40 543 596.
 Blioul, Eliz. de : *see* Bladel.
 BLIOUL, LAURENT DU, Ld of Sart, cc, secr. Gold. Fleece, 213-14 451; — ss, Jerome, jp, 131, 211, 214; Laurence, 214; — *r*, Francis, abbot of Grimbergen, 539.
 Bloex van Duvenede, Elizabeth, 452.
 Blossius, pap. scr., 270 273 275 294.
 Blondel-Joigny-de Pamelc, Ann de, Mons Canoness, 382.
 Blount, Blontus, Charles, 182 183 495; — *f*, William : *see* Mount-joy.
 Blum, Mich., pr, 28.
 Blumenthal, James of, lrn, 579.
 Boerio, John & Bernard, 174.
 Boetiusz, de Dacia, mgr. st, 22.
 Bogaert, Adam, md, pf, 1, 82 83 520; — *f*, James, md, pf, 1, 82.
 Bois, James du, Silvius, pf, md, 577.
 Boisot, Peter de, cc, 159 369 370; — *d*, Catherine, 159; *s*, Peter, treas. gen., 159; *gss*, Charles, gov. of Zeeland & Louis, admiral, 159; — *b*, Didier, 159; *n* Charles, his son, cc, 159; *n* Adrian, st, 159.
 Bok, Boccius, Francis, rf, 470 471.
 Boleyn, Thom., Viscount of Roche-ford, 494; — *d*, Ann, 308 483 : cp. *AntvAnn.*, II, 183-84.
 Bollaert, Roland, pr, 544.
Bologna Univ., Jurispr., 212 215.
 BOMBELLI, JEROME, st, 131 553; — *f*, TOMMASO, silk merch., 131-32 553; *si*, Sute, 131; *b*, James, 132; — *uu*, Gerard & Vincent, 131.
 Bomberg(h)en, Daniel van, st, 120; — *r*, Isabella, 175.
 Bommel, Arnold of, dv, 414.
 Bonte, Bontius, Gregory de, pr, 167 185 208 478 544-45 553-54 557 623.
 Bonvalot, Francis, 174 495.
 Bonvicini, John Goetgebuer, dean, 179.
 Boogaerde, John v. d., pr, 514.
 Borch, Jaspas van der, pr, 623.
 Borch, Nicolas van der, a Castro, Presid., 73-128 364 636.
 Borculous, Herman, pr, 448.
Bordeaux, Coll. of Guyenne, 596.
 BORDING JAMES, st, md, 577-79 582; — *f*, Nicolas, 577; *s*, James, jp, 578.
 Boreels, Catherine, 491.
 Borgher(s), Burgher(s) : *see* Poli-tes.
 Borgia, John of, Duke of Gandia, 405.
 Borgia, Lucrezia, Duchessa di Fer-rara, 449.
 Borre, Henry vanden, neighb, 237-38.
 Borselle, Wulfaert van, 385.
 Borselen, Ann of, Ly of Veere, 379 462; — *f*, Wolfhart, Ld of Veere, 379.

Bosch, Michael, 580.
 Bosche, John, of Loon, pf, 235.
 Böschenstein, J., hb, 120.
 Bosco Rondo, John de, 545.
 Bossemius, Matthias, dv, 207.
 Bossu, John, Count of, 571.
 Botzheim, John von, 304 361.
 Boulangier, Catherine, 156.
 Bourbon, Charles of, Constable of France, 214.
 Bourbon, Card. Louis de, 124.
Bourges Univ., 147 153 217 442.
 Bousingen, Nicolas of, 181.
 Brabant, Charles V, Duke of, 4.
 Brabant chancellor, 74; — *Brabantinorum vafricies*, 552.
 Brachelius, Jeremy : see Thriverus.
 Bracle, Godfrey de, Abbot of Eename, 535; — Josse, Ld of Courtenbois, cc, 428.
 Brahé, Tycho, 555.
 Branchon, Ld of la Mure, Antony, cc, 158.
 Brandenburg, Card. Abp Albert of, 6 326 338 496.
 Brandenburg, Elector of, 218.
 Brandenburg, Frances of, 619.
 Brant, Sebastian, hm, 20.
 Brassicanus (John Alex.), hm, 2.
 Brederode, Yolande de, 470.
 Brenz, John, rf, 414.
 Briart, John (Athensis, Atensis, Noxus), dv, 1, 251 252.
 Brie, Germain de, 14, 281.
 BRISSET, PETER, md, pf, 531-32 534-35.
 Brixen, Bp George of : see Austria.
 BROECKHOVEN, NICOLAS VAN, of Hertogenbosch, Buscoducensis, lm, 259 349 350 577 616.
 Bronckhorst, Andrew de, cc, 146.
Bruges : St. Donatian's history, 181; *Provost George*, see *Havaria*; — *offer of the town to the Tril.*, 239 349.
 Bruges, James <Wittebroet> of, pc, 377.
 Bruges, Rodolphus of, geogr., 551.
 Bruhesius, Peter, 558.
 Bruinius, Hugonis, John, 501.
 Brunsfels, Otto, sc, 1, 205.
 Brunswick-Luneburg, Henry, Duke of, 542.

Brusly, Peter, rf, 159.
Brussels : N. D. du Sablon, 13 160; — *canal*, 383.
 Brussels, George of, 67; — John of, 366; — Nicolas of, see Heems.
 Bruyreus, Nicolas, st, 180-81.
 Bruys, G. du, mch, 368.
 BUCER, MARTIN, 141 414 582-84 588 594 598, 599-600.
 BUCHO, of Aytta, BERNARD, cc, 84 85 86 97-98 145 146 248 250 432 433 453 456.
 Budé, William, 14 197 210 233 338 354 362 404 406-7 578 596-97.
 Bullock, Bovillus, Henry, fellow of Queen's Coll., Cambr., 366.
 Burch, Peter van der, Kt, 158.
 Bureau, Nic., Bp of Sarepta, 197.
 Buren, Counts of : see Egmont.
 Burer, Albert, secr., 4 23.
 Burgens, Martin, pr, 403.
 Burgos, Pedro Alonso de, st, 417.
 Burgundy : Duke Philip the Good, 461 517; Duke Charles, 129 423 464; Duchess Mary, 161.
 Burgundy, Antony of, Ld of Tournehem, 379; s, Philip, Admiral, cc, 379 461; gs, Adolphus, Admiral, Ld of Beveren & Veere, 379 461 63 493 522; — *ggss*, Philip, 461-62; MAXIMILIAN, Kt, marquis of Veere, Lord of Beveren & Flushing, Admiral, 201 355 456 461-64 489 493 520 522 523.
 Burgundy, Charles of, Ld of Fallais, 470; — s, James of, 470, r, Francis de Fallais, poet, 437, 470.
 Burgundy, Philip of, Admiral, Bp of Utrecht, 461.
 Burgundy, Maximilian of, Lord of Fromont, Abbot of Middelburg, 336 461 464; — (s ?), Maximilian of Bourgogne, st, 464.
 Burman, Caspar, 348.
 Burmania, Irenicus, Renick, 454.
 Burns, Robert, poet, 103.
 Bury, Richard of, 337.
 Busche, Herman von dem, hm, 1, 209 291.
 Busconius, Peter : see Gherinx.
 BUSLEYDEN, JEROME DE, 9 (*praise*) 34 42 (*will*) 50-2 56 64 67 70-1 74 79 (*praise*) 89 104-5 127-8 129 130

- 150 158 190 (*booklover*) 227 **233-4** (*erudition*) 236 (*id*) 238-9 242 249 299 311 313 (*his spirit in the Tril.*) 325 341 353 356 363 365 371 461 515 518 591 595 612 628 636 **637**; — *his MSS*, 234-36; — *his Ludus*, 636; — *his books*, 232-6; — *his coat of arms*, 49 53-4 56; — *his will*, 42 56 226 307 317 319 332; — *his foundation*, 1-3 49 54-5 61 226 228-30 556; — *his executors*, 44 331 333 612.
- BUSLEYDEN, GILES I DE, father of Jerome, **129-30** 158; — *ss*, Giles II (*see next paragr.*); — FRANCIS, Abp of Besançon, 60 **126-7** 129; — VALERIAN, Ld of Aspelt, Guirsch & Falkenstein, **129**; Val's s, Francis, 129 518; — *dd*, Mary, 130 158; Catherine, 130; Jacqueline, 130; — *fam*, 4.
- BUSLEYDEN, GILES II DE, Jerome's brother, 1, 75 76 77 78 89 103 104 105 107 115 126 128 **129** 156 **230** 240 242-43 248 249 323-24 329 361 363 371 419 439 441 581 595 **612** 619 624 636; — *ss*, Francis, 371; NICOLAS, cc, Viscount of Grimberghe, 75 **126-28** 176 371 441; JEROME, cn, **126** 127 **128** 371; Gillis III, Lord of Guirsch & Herent, 128 176 439 441; John, 128; William, 128.
- Busldianus de lucemburgo, Joannes, st, 130.
- Butselle, John van, 49.
- C**
- Cæsar, Julius, 477 608.
- Cæsar Mart. : *see* Keyser.
- Cæsarius, John, pf, 1, 26 323 353 387.
- Cakaert, Dominic, jp, 73 420 425-26 560.
- Calaber, John, md, 1, 14 23.
- Calaber, Quintus : *see* Smyrna.
- Calentyn, Peter, chapl., 342.
- Callimachus, 472.
- Caluwaerts, Mary, 494.
- Calvete de Estrella, J. C., 169.
- Calvin, 574 585 599.
- Calvus, Marco Fabio Calvi, rs, 517.
- Cambrai, Bp of, 64; *see* Berghes, Croy; — *O. Lady's Chapter*, 299.
- Cambridge Univ. : *Colleges*, 45; *St. John's*, 607.
- CAMEN, Cammen, Kamen, ADRIAN VAN DER, Mchl pens., **494**; — *f* Bartholomew, b John, A's successor, 494.
- Camerarius, Joachim, 134 173 248 390 391 634.
- Caminade, Augustine, pc, 24.
- CAMMINGHA, HAIO, Phrysius, Ld of Amnia, cc, 15 164-66 423 454 **455-60**.
- Campeggio, Card. Laurence, 282 343 361 408.
- CAMPEN, JOHN VAN, CAMPENSIS, pf, 1, 67 76-8 93 99 100 102 **120-22** 135 223 240 241 307 360 389 **396-97** 435 508 513 548 **549** 550 570 580 604 (*his outspokenness*) 605 **613-4** 621 627 631 634.
- Campensis, Cornelius : *see* Kempen.
- Candida, Giovanni, of Naples, 438.
- Canisius, Peter de Hondt, 601.
- CANNE, CANNIUS, Kan, NICOLAS, secr, **139-142** 193 194 201 203 205 208 301 303 **304** 457 489-90 492 496 499 501 615.
- Canobio, Julius de, st, Bologna, 372.
- Canter, William, hm, 566.
- CANTIUNCULA, Chansonnette, Liedel, CLAUD, jp, 246 **361** 374 495 **609-10**.
- Capella, Nic. de : *see* Heems.
- Capito, Wolfgang Fabricius Köpfel, 26.
- Capnio, John : *see* Reuchlin.
- Caraffa, Peter John, Bp of Chieti, Card., Pope Paul IV, 266 278.
- CARINUS, Carcinus, LOUIS KIEL, pc, 1, 24 25 **26-28** 114 147 171 172 302 391-92 530 616.
- CARLOWITZ, a Carlebiczy, CHRISTOPHER VON, st, cc, **390-93** 615 629; — *u*, George, cc, 390 393; *r*, Nicolas, cc, 393.
- Carmina Burana*, 336.
- Carondelet, Abp John de, chanc., Abp of Palermo, 43 92 93 212 265 285-86 338 340-41 343 347 361 446

606.
 Carvajal, Luis, *controv.*, 616.
 Cassander George, *hm*, 1, 180-82 471.
 Cassius, Iatrosophista, 485.
 Castel, Roland de, *pf*, 93.
 Castelle, Digo, *st*, 417.
 Castellus, *Fr.*, 616.
 CASTERE, JAMES VAN, of Hazebroeck, *Castricus*, *md*, 82-83 88 525-26.
 Castile, Jane of, Charles V's mother, 380.
 Castillo, Joannes de, *st*, 417.
 Castro, Jaspas de burgoys, de, *st*, 417.
 Castro, Louis a, *mch*, 492 494.
 Castro, Nicolas a : *see* Borch.
 Catullus, 440 443 449 586.
 Caversson, Catherine van, *neighb*, 47-48.
 Cawood, John, *pr*, 20.
 Cebes, *philos.*, 10.
 Cecil, William, *mn*, 573.
 Cele, John, *bCL*, Rector of Zwolle, 579 (*cp. Voecht*, 631).
 Cellarius, *Christ.*, *pc*, 192.
 Celsus, Aurelius, Cornelius, 527 539 541.
 CERATINUS, JAMES TEYNG, of Hoorn, *hm*, 1, 98 99 101 241 316 323-25 327-30 331 338 349 354 355 615 627.
 Ceratinus, James Dierckx, of Hoorn : *see* Dierckx.
 Cerda, Juan de la, Duke of Medina Celi, 183 ; — Don Luis, 183.
 Cervent, Clara, 406.
 Cervicornus, Eucharius, *pr*, 554 593.
 Chamberlayne, T., *ambass*, 169.
 Chansonnette,, Claud : *see* Cantiuacula.
 Chantraines de Broucsault, Peter de, *govern* of Quinzy, 427 ; — d Louise, 427.
 Chapuys, Eustace, *ambass*, 175.
 Charitæus, Gurdus, L. (401) : *see* Vives.
 Chartres, *See of*, 64.
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 527.
 Cheke, Sir John, 590.
 CHEMNITZ, Kemnitz, MARTIN, *rf*, 509 510.
 Chenu, Elisabeth, Princess of Yvetot, 583.
 Chevallon, Claud, *pr*, 120.
 Chieregati Francesco, *nunc*, 263 293 303.
 Chilius, Adrian, *lm*, 68 498.
 Choler, John, *prov. of Chur*, 149 496.
 Chrétien, William, 235.
 Christophorus, (Padua) *st*, 476.
 Chrysoloras, Manuel, *gram*, 336.
 Chrysostom, St. John, 14 42 281 304 312-14 328-29 336 390 466-67 493 616 625-26 629.
 Chrysostom, Dion, *philos.*, 185.
 Cicero, 11 16 29 30 85 109 110 111 199 206 216 396 407-8 581-2 586 589 591 593-4 596-7 601 617.
 Claeys, Roland, *Ld of Zegerscapelle*, 168 385-86 ; — *ss*, Roland & Arnold, & d, Jacqueline, 385.
 Claisson of Walebeke, Barbara, *Ly of Hundelghem*, 162.
 Clamanges (Cle-), Nicolas de, 291.
 CLAVA, ANTONY COLVE, *Ghent alderm*, 1, 138 491.
 CLAYMOND JOHN, *pf*, 42 357.
 Clement VII, 80 166 266-72 274-79 281 295 300-1 304-6 (*Quirinus*) 310-11 (*id*) 316 343-45 399 402 438 489 (*Quirinus*) 539 559 618.
 CLEMENT, JOHN, More's *secr.*, 43 358 404.
 CLENARDUS, NICOLAS BEKEN, 2 121 220-24 338 397-98 400 (& *Erasmus' death*) 402-3 (*id*) 415 445 473-76 504 507-8 548 577 580 581 606 618 622-3 625 627.
 Clericus : *see* Leclerc.
 Cles, Bernard of, 392.
 Cleves & Jülich, Duke John III of, 144 145 389 452 454 527 ; — Duke William, 389 493 568-69 ; — Anne of, 17 145.
 Clichtove, Jacqueline de, 168 385 ; — f, Cornelius, 168 385.
 Clichtove, Judocus, 205.
 Clusen, Catherine van der, 143 144 145
 Clutinck, Cloetinck, John, 227 ; — d, Jane, 227.
 Cnapp, Joannes, Erfurt, *pr*, 38.

- Cobel, Cuebel, Cobella, Cobela, Anna, 445 446 450; — *bb* Arnold, receiv. gen., Philip, cc, Francis, 445.
- COCHLÆUS, JOHN, Dobneck, dean, 212 215 413 492-93 **574** 584.
- Cock, Simon, pr, 177 206 260.
- Cocquiel, Jacobina, 369.
- Cognatus, Gilbert, aman., 499.
- Coimbra Univ.*, 207-8 596.
- Cokin d'Aragon, Charles, Abbot of St. Saviour's, Anchin, 196.
- Colayne* (= *Cologne*), 20.
- Colet, John, Dean, 5.
- Colibrant, Francis, secr., 25.
- Colin, James, chapl, 416.
- Colines, Colinæus, Simon de, pr, 338 529 532.
- Colloquia Familiaria*, **24** 25 26 67 140-41 (*Cyclops*) 203 204 253-57 263 267 295 468 (*Talorum Lusus*) 489 500.
- Colm, Nicolaus petri, st, 22.
- Colman, Coelman, Coolman, John, dir. Delft, 201.
- Cologne*: — *Univ.*, 40 291 (*divines v poets*) 347 (*decline*) 353-55 (*languages taught by Three Kings*) 594 (*anti-humanistic*); — *Bursa Corneliana*, 353, *Montana*, 593, *Tricoronatum*, 193 354. — *Cologne Abp*, 375.
- Colon, Don Fernand, 474; — Diego, 474.
- Contio, Acontius, Giacomo, 471.
- Colt, John, More' father-in-Law, 367.
- Colve: see *Clava*.
- Comes: see *Grave*.
- Comines, Philip of, historian, 573.
- Comte, Mary le: see *Grave*.
- Conincx, Goswin, 541.
- Consardus, John, 192.
- Contarini, Cardinal Gasparo, Datary, 278 584.
- Coornhuuse (-huyse), Cornelius de, bl, 169 385.
- Cop, William, 277 284-85.
- COPE, ALAN, wr, **486-87**.
- Copenhagen Univ.*, 578.
- Copis, John, archdeac, 66.
- Coppens, Giles, pr, 139 170 544 554 557.
- COPPERNIC, Cop(p)ernicus, NICOLAS, cn, sc, 548 **549** 556 **558-59** 560 563.
- Coppier, James, Ld of Calslagen, 477; — d. Margaret, 477.
- COPPIN, NICOLAS, Dean of St. Peter's, inquisitor, 1, 86 257 261 282-84 286-88 503 606 **607**.
- Coracopetræus: see *Ravestein*.
- Cordatus, Adrian, hm, 616.
- Cordus, Euricius, lt, 32 37 38 327 390.
- CORNARIUS, JANUS, Hagenbutt, st, md, 388 **389-90**.
- Cornelis, Mary, 434.
- Corneput, John, lm, 465.
- Corona, Lopez de la, mch, 156.
- CORTE, PETER DE, Curtius, hm, dv, **83-84** 86 151 192 **256** 261 263 289-90 304 340 378 427 504 505 509 510 567 615 618.
- Corte, Curtius, James de, jp, 150.
- Cortius, Joannes, jp, 192.
- Corvinus, Antonius, 35.
- Coster, John de, Custos, of Brecht, lm, gr, 1, 186 210 211 215.
- Coster, Laurent, 485.
- Cotrel, Peter, archdeac, 1, 328 349 352 363.
- Cottureau, Valerie, 382.
- Coutriau, Thibaut, Ld of Glabbeke, cc, 128.
- Coverdale, Miles, dv, 16.
- Covos, Francis de los, secr, 411.
- Crabbe, Antony, dv, 290.
- Cranevelt, Francis de, cc, 1, 87 97 127 140 144 158 169 172-3 182 199 200 212 221 250-1 261-63 303 336 340 355 373 419 437 439-41 451 490 493 504-5 615 635.
- Craston, John, 324 338.
- Cratomilianus, Crato, pr, 598.
- Cremer, Gerard de: see *Mercator*.
- Cremona, Gerard of, geogr., 551.
- Creppi, Mattheus de, sv, 461.
- Cricius, Andrew Crzycki, Bp of Plock, Abp of Gnesna, 394.
- CROCUS, CORNELIUS Petri Safræen, poet, 136 142 196 **202-208** 346 478 499 500; — *b*, Gerard Alberti, 204.
- Croke, Richard, Crocus, hm, 1, 203 326 338 357-58 608.

Crom, Matthew, pr, 539 540.
 CROMBACH, JOHN VAN, Kt, mayor, 370-71; — s or r, James, st, 370.
 Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, 17 483.
 Croock, Hubert de, pr, 139 428 525.
 Croy, Cardinal, William de, Bp of Cambrai, Abp of Toledo, 3 221 404; — *bb*, Charles, Bp of Tournai, 198 351 424; Robert, Bp of Cambrai, 244 250 272 307.
 Croy, Philip of, Duke of Aerschot, govern, 198; — *ss*, Charles & Philip, 198; — *r*, Louise de, 464.
 Crucius, Livinus van den Cruyce, lm, poet, 1, 2 415.
 CRUYCE, JOHN VAN DEN, Crucius, Gutius, pf, 84 85 86 183.
 Cruyken, Cruucke, Crucquius, James de, 421 422.
 Cuelsbrouck, (-broeck, -broyck), Gerard, Abbot of Mont-Blandin, 189 192.
 Cujas, James, jp, 215.
 Cunha (Cugna), Nuno da, Prorex Indiæ, 397.
 Cuper(us), Martin: *see* Cuyper.
 Curiis, Joanna de: *see* Dantisca.
 Curio, Cælius, Secundus 576; — *d*, Violante, 576.
 Curio, Val., pr, 193.
 Curtius: *see* Corte.
 Cusa, Card. Nicolas de, 291.
 Custineus, Hubert, mk, 210.
 Custos: *see* Coster.
 Cuyper, Martin de, Cuypers, Cuper(us) prior Carm., Cambrai Suf-frag. (Berlière, 94-103; Paquot, xi, 209-14), 73 (C. Martin & John, the second mistakenly in *Acc-HoevII*, 42, for the same man, Lic. & D. S. Th.), 342 513.
 Cyprian, St., 19.

D

Daele, Engelbert van den, cc, 265.
 Daelenbroeck, Ld of, 472.
 Daesdonck, William van der, 228.
 Dalber, Antony, pc, 579.
 Damant, Peter, ct, 147; — *d*, Jacqueline, 147.
 Damast, Catherine, 370.

Dameraw, Fabian, 411, 447.
 DAMHOUDER, JOSSE DE, jp, 148 427-30 (cp. *LuCha V*, 408); — *f*, Simon, Bruges treas, 427; *s*, Louis, cc, & *dd*, Ann, Catherine and Frances, 428.
 Dammas, Vincent, bl, 378.
 DANÈS, PETER, pf, 416.
 Dante, 449.
 DANTISCUS, JOHN, ambass., Bp of Culm & Ermland, 67 137 168-70 175 182 190 386 394-95 400 401 408 410-11 418 425 435 437 438-39 441 445-47 449 465 468-70 489 536 538 546-48 549-50 555-56 558-60 562 599 609.
 DANTISCA, JUANA, de Curiis, 410-1.
 DARYNGTON, NICOLAS, dv, 404 607-8 609.
 Dasypodius, Hasenfuss, Peter, lm, 187.
 DATHENUS, Dathenus, PETER, rf, 601 (cp. *BelPU*, 43-6, 168; *Eggen, Invl. v. Z. op N. Ned.*: Ghent, 1908: 40, sq, 91-6).
 Decius, Francis, pf, 405.
 Deelen, Delenus, Peter, 471.
 Deiotarus, Zacharias, 490-91 494-95 498.
Delft, St. Agatha's, 201.
 DELGADA, ISABEL, 410.
 Delphenses Fratres, sts, 203.
 Delrio, Martinus, dv, 220.
 Demosthenes, 116 117 312 416 582 586 630.
 Denmark: Christiern II, King of, 20 21 22 166 167 245 307 408; Queen Isabella, 167 185; their *s*, Prince John, 611 632; — Frederic I, 167-8; Christiern III, 578; Frederic II, 484; Christiern IV, 578.
 Denny, Nuns of St. Clare, 367.
 Denys, md to King of Portugal, 532.
 Deurnagele, Ld of Vroyland and Zegershove, Philip de, 158.
Deventer School, 188 336.
 Deventer, James of, geogr., 367.
 Deynse, Duysens, John van, Abbot of Baudeloo, 185.
 Diaconus, Paulus, 180.
dialectics, misuse of, 264.
 DIAZ, JUAN, 414; — *b*, Alonso, 414.

- DIERCKX, Theodorici, JAMES of Hoorn, Ceratinus, pf, dv, 37 **327**.
 DIERCKX, VINCENT, Theodorici, of Beverwijk, dv, 1, 93 252-53 257 260-62 264 267 269-70 **271** 272-74 276 279 283 287 289 (+) 295 318 (+) 335 344 503 604.
 Dies, Jacobus, st, 417.
 Diest, Giles of, pr, 451 554.
 Diether, Andreas, lt, 206.
 DILFT, FRANCIS VAN DER, Ld of Doorne and Leverghem, ambass., 27 134 142 169 **171-76** 184 186 187 **301-2** 394 491 496 499 615 629; — *f*, John, 171; *b*, Erasmus, st, 171; *s*, Edward, 176; *d*, Anne, 176; *gd*, Catherine, Ly of Leverghem and Doorne, 176.
dioceses, new, 511.
 Dioscorides, Anazarbeus Pedanius, 406 517 519 520 523 533.
 Dircks, Haza, 498.
 Dixar, Jerome, 407.
 Dobbe, Cornelius, mayor, 206.
 Dobbele, de Schepper, John de, vice-admiral, 166; — *s*, Cornelius: *see* Schepper.
 Doheneck, Job of, Bp of Pomerania, 32.
 Dobneck, John: *see* Cochlaeus.
Doctrinale, 188 189 204 215.
 DODONEUS, JUNIUS REMBERTUS, **120** 528-29.
 Doerne, Doorn, a Dorna, Michael, 146 465.
Dôle Univ., 456 (*dull*).
 Dolet, Stephen, 577 578.
Dominicans: *inquisitors*, 337; $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\zeta$, 252.
 Donct, George van der, cn, 179.
 Dorat, Joh, Auratus, pf, 416 472.
 Dorlandus, Peter, Carthus., 410.
 Dorne, Thorne, John, bs, 43.
 DORP, MARTIN VAN, pf, 1, 12 16 61 76 81 82 146 161 162 178 200 212 233 251 255 257 **258** 261 **263** 290 (+) 292 302-4 337 350 **502-5** 508 606 616.
Donai Univ., 217 352; *Queen's Coll.*, 466.
 Downs, Abbot of the, 181; *see* Onderberg.
 DRACH, DRACO(nites), JOHN, Bp of Pomerania, **32** 34 35 37 **38** 39.
 Drake, Francis, nav, 568.
 DRIEDO, Driedoens, JOHN Nys, of Turnhout, dv, 208 218 222 257 261 268 290 **505-7** 508 **543** 545 606.
 DRIEUX, MICHAEL, Driutius, pf, 86 127 **421-22** 425 560; — *f*, Adrian, 421; — *n*, Remi, Bp of Bruges, 422 424.
 Driveere, Jerome de, md, 532; — *s*, Jeremy: *see* Thriverus.
 Dryander, John Eichman, 554.
 Dryoxylus, Adolf: *see* Eichholz.
 Duffie, Cecil van, 528.
Duisburg, Univ. of, 568.
 Dumæus: *see* Haghen, v. d.
 Duplicius, Cornelius: *see* Schepper.
 Dürer, Albert, 131 204 370 553.
 DUTRY, GERARD, secr, 306 **309**.
 Duysens, John van, Abbot of Baudeloo, 185.
- E**
- Eanbald, Abp of York, 579.
Easter, its date, 545.
 Eberbach, Philip, lm, 134.
 Ebrardus, Eberhard of Bethune, wt, 336.
Eccius Dedolatus, 326.
Ecclesiastes, 85 86.
 Eck, John, controver, 496 543.
 Edenberg, Luke, 10.
 EDING(I)EN, OMER OF, Edingus, Ld of Op-Hasselt, secr, **189-90** 191-92 466 469 471 473 493; — *f*, Francis, procur, 190; — *s*, Peter, 190; — *d*, Agnes, Ly of Op-Hasselt & Mombrouck, 190 466 473.
 Edwards, David, pf, 360.
 Eename, Abbot Gerard of, 535; *see* Bracle.
 EETVELDE, JAMES VAN DEN, pf, md, **518**.
 Egmond(anus), Nicolas of (Ec-): *see* Baechem.
Egmond Abbey, 177.
 EGMONT, GEORGE OF, Ld of Hoogwoude, st, Bp of Utrecht, **123-25** 145 447 450; — *f*, JOHN III, COUNT OF EGMONT, govern. of Holland, **124**; — *gf*, William,

Ld of Egmont, Ysselstein, Leer-
dam, &c, 124; — *bb*, John IV,
Count of E, & Philip, Ld of Baer,
124.
EGMONT, MAXIMILIAN OF, Ld of Ys-
selstein, Count of Buren, st, army
leader, 1, 124 **125-26** 451; — *f*,
FLORENT, Ld of YSSELSTEIN, first
Count of BUREN, govern. of
Friesland, **125** 228; — *gf*, Frederic,
Ld of Ysselstein, 124; — *d*,
Anne, Ly of Ysselstein, 126.
Egmont, Counts of, 123, 460; La-
moral Count of, 428 471.
Egnatius, Baptista, 467.
Egonis de Dornū, Meinardus, st, 24.
Eichholz, Dryoxylus, Adolf, pf,
143 354.
Eichman : *see* Dryander.
Elcano, Juan Sebastian de, nav, 551
Elche, Marquis of, 409.
Eliaseas, Ant., st, 417.
eloquence, 163-4 422, *sq* 503 630.
Eltz, James von, dean, 593.
Elzevier, brothers, prs, 254; Louis,
453.
Emden, resort of *rfs*, 350 471.
Emeren, Nicolas van, 541.
EMSER, JEROME, contro, **326** 391.
Enchiridion, 271 379-80.
ENCKENVOIRT, WILLIAM OF, Card.,
63 **64** **65** **66** 124 300 305 309 311
373 375; — *b*, Godefredus, ct, 65;
si, Isabella, 65; *nn*, Michael &
William : *see* Lombarts.
Enckeuort, Sigerus, of Aix, 66.
Engelbrecht, Engentinus, Philip,
hm, 601.
England : King Richard III, 42;
Henry VII, 42, 366; Henry VIII,
5 17-8 260 292 308 337 357 359 392
442 483 490-2; Queen Catherine,
308 359 392 (divorce) 448 490 91
(divorce); Queen Ann Boleyn,
308 483; King Edward VI, 18 484
487; Mary, Princess, 18 169 175;
Queen, 470 484 539; Elizabeth,
470 486.
England, Foreign Congregations
in, 471.
Enzinas, Dryander, Francis de, 471
587.
Eobanus : *see* Hesus.

Episcopus, Gerard, pc, 579.
Episcopus, Nicolas, pr, 144 335 448.
Eppendorf, Henry of, 1, 39 143 520.
ERASMUS, 1, 2-6 **7** 8-15 18 19 21 23-
27 **31** 32 **33-36** 37 **38-39** **41** 42
43 44 51 60 61 62 64 66-9 74 **75-6**
77-84 **85-91** 92 93 95 **96-98** 99-
102 109 **110** 111-14 119 123 125
126 132-44 146 147 149 151-54 156
161-64 167-68 170-76 179-80 182-83
186 94 199 **200** 202-4 208-11 222
224 233 236-45 **246-7** 248-61 **262**
263-95 297 300-7 **309** 310-13 315-6
318 320-21 323-25 **326** 327-36 338-
41 343-48 **349** 350-51 354-58 360-
63 365-67 379-80 384-5 388-95 **397**
398-401 403-4 406-9 418-9 421 431-
32 435 439 443 **446** (return to
Brab.) 448 454 456-59 461-69 471
479 482 488-93 (removal to Engl.)
495-9 500 502-3 507-9 511 515 518-
20 524 526-7 530 532 573 577 590-2
596-7 602-4 609-13 **614** 615-6 **617**
619 **620** 621-4 627 **628-31** 632
633-4 635-6 **637**; — *Er. and the*
Lily, 34 **81** 87 88 90 **256**; *house*
in Basle, 25; *his return to Bra-*
bant, 90-1 96 98 138 173; *his pen-*
sions, 156 279; *invited to France*,
243, *to Oxford*, 245 359; *his will*,
243 267; *Er. & musical instru-*
ments, 312. — *His amanuenses*,
136 603; *his messenger George*,
90; *his maid Margaret*, 26.
ERASMUS and the TRILINGUE : *his*
room, 90-1 100 123; *his solicitude*,
334 **610** *sq*; *his spirit*, 614;
method of teaching languages,
313; *Christian authors preferred*,
312-3, *moral aim*, 313, *unobjec-*
tionable teachers, 313.
ERASMUS, ideal Christian erudite,
35 37; *his fidelity to the Church*,
280; *his outspokenness*, 605; *E.*
and Luther, 280 293-94; *E. and*
Aleander, 294; *E. and Clenar-*
dus, 400.
ERASMUS' troubles, 243; *threefold*
cause, 287-8; *protected by edicts*,
284-88; *his books used in Lou-*
vain, 84 255; *proscribed*, 398-99.
Erbornen, Cornelius, dv, 73.
Erdorf, Cornelius, 130.

Erfurt Univ., 32 34 37-39 (decline)
 327 (*id*) 347 (*id*).
 Ericksen, Godschalk, chanc, 166
 446.
 Erpe, Thomas van, pf, 194.
 Errteryke : *see* Aartrycke.
 Escluse, Charles de l', botanist, 475.
 Esschen, John van den, 339.
 Estius, Guill., dv, 202.
 Estoile, Peter de l', Stella, jp, 193
 195 610 ; — s, Louis, st, 195.
 Estrompes, Jeanne d', 156.
 Etrobius, John, 169.
 Etten, Embrecht van, 227.
 Etten, Cornelius van, secr, 373 374
 375 ; — Cornelius, chapl, 357 ; —
 Peter, 259.
 Eunapius, 484-85.
 Euripides, 10 116.
 Eusebius, 180.
 Eustathius, 485.
 Eutropius, 180.
Evangelici, censured by Erasmus,
 605.
 EVERAERTS, NICOLAS, Everardi,
 Everts, of Middelburg, Pres. of
 Holl. & Mechl., 127 172 259 260
 335 419 **430-32** 433-35 **436-37**
439 444-45 453.
 Eycken, Leonard van der, 218 ; —
 John : *see* Hasselius.
 Eynde, H. v. d. : *see* Afinius.

F

Faber Stapulensis : *see* Lefèvre.
 FABER, JOHN HEIGERLIN, of Leut-
 kirch, Bp of Vienna, 285 **356**.
 Faber, John, of Augsburg, Domi-
 nican Vic. Gen., 262 294.
 Faber, John, pr, 28.
 Faber, Martin, pc, 133.
 Fabri, John of Heilbronn, dv, 109.
 Fabricius, George, 590.
 Facuwez, James de, secr, 428.
 Fagius, Paul, hb, 119.
 Fagnanus, Fa(igniano, James,
 mch, 551 552.
 Fallais, Francis of Burgundy de,
 437 470 ; — cp. Burgundy,
 Charles, James.
Faquez, Fauquez, Rent of, 227.
 Farel, William, 166.

Farrea Officina, pr, 530.
 Felix, jp, *correspondent of Eras-*
mus, 392.
 Feria : *see* Figueroa.
 Fernand, Charles, lt, 1, 233.
 Fernandez, Alonso, archdeac, 409.
 Ferrara, Duke of, 449.
 Fèvre, Ld of Hemstede and Lys-
 velt, John le, 158 ; — d, Cornelia,
 Ly of Hemstede, 158.
 FEVYN, JOHN DE, cn, 1, 251 303 490
 519 **522**.
 Feyerabendt, Sigismond, jp, 217
 218.
 Feyten, Severinus, a Feyta, 146
 432 560.
 Figueroa, Don Gomez Suarez de,
 Count of Feria, cc, 554.
 Filelfo, Francesco, rs, 112.
 Filonardi, Ennio, Bp of Veroli, 305.
 Fine, Eust. de : *see* Rivieren ;
 Henry de : *see* Afinius.
 Fine, Wilhelmus de, of Zomeren,
 69.
 Fisher, John, Bp, 5 203 360 365 452
 602 ; — rr, Christopher, 41 ; Ro-
 bert, 365.
 FLACCUS, Matthew, Vlacich, Fran-
 cowitz, ILLYRICUS, **509**.
 Flanders, Louis of : *see* Praet.
 Florenas : *see* Herco.
 Follis, Petrus de, st, 151.
 Fonseca, Mgr Joannes de boua-
 dilla, st, 417.
 Foreest, Peter of, Forestus, md,
 542.
 Fortius : *see* Sterck.
 Fox, RICHARD, Bp of Winchester,
 1, **42** 233-34 356 359 360.
 Foxe, Edward, Bp of Hereford, 17 ;
 — John, martyrologist, 16.
 France, Kings : Louis XI, 161 ;
 Francis I, 43 80 133 243 249 292
 330 332 (*fidei frangens*) 360-3 441
 530 583 587 596 608 : *see* *Paris*
Univ. ; Henry II, 416 ; Henry III,
 564 ; Queen Eleanor, 563.
 France, Constable of, 214.
 Franck, Sebastian, Eleutherius,
 389.
 Franks, 179 181.
 Fraxinis, de : *see* Leuze.
Freiburg Univ., 40 592.

Frensze, Ld & Ly of, 375.
 Friesland, Governors of, 97 98.
 Froben, John, pr, 4 24 26 27 67 87
 96 114 120 122 176 253-54 295 301-
 5 312 324 336 351 355 366 629 631 ;
 — ss, Jerome, pr, 111 141 335 391
 399 448 460 463 497 617 ; John
 Erasmus, 27 172 352.
 Froissart, histor, 410 573.
 Frosch, Anna, 24.
 FUCHS, LEONARD, md, 532 534-5.
 Fuertes, Juan, pf, 3 210.
 Fugger, fam, bks, 381 411 ; Antony,
 28 ; John James, 433 450 ; Ray-
 mond, 543 ; Udalrich, st, 28.
 Fulgentius, Planciades, 486.
 Furster, Valentine, st, 27.

G

Gabbai, Rabi Jacob, 77.
 Gabler, Matthias, pf, 20 21.
 Galen, Claud, 390 517 519 521-24
 527-31 533-5 539 579 580-81.
 Galilei, Galileo, 555.
 Galius, Nicolas, pc, 483.
 Galland, Peter, pf, 598-99.
 Ganay, John de, chanc, 197.
 Gansfoort, Wessel, hm, 1, 478.
 Garcia, Diego, 408.
 Gardiner, Stephen, Bp, 17.
 Garet, Henry, md, 541 558.
 Garlandia, John de, 336.
 GATTINARA, MERCURINO Arborio
 de, Ld of Chevigny, 167 174 277
 282-86 287 288-89 295 335 343 345
 351 408 450 548 633.
 Gaugerius, Pomponius, 233.
 Gauricus, Gavere, Josse : see
 Vroeye.
 Gavere, Adrian de, 382.
 Gavere, Julian de, of Ath, dv, 252.
 Gaza, Theodore, gr, 9 117 191 336.
 Gebwiler, Jerome, lm, 448.
 Geldenhouwer, Gerard, hm, 1, 82
 85 141 194-95 348 350 616.
 Gelderland, Duke Charles of, 125
 375 461.
 Gellius, Aulus, 216 400.
 Gembloux Abbey MS, 303.
 GEMMA PHRYSIUS, Reyneri, (*Strata-
 gema*, 548), sc, md, 132 183 418
 420-21 425 440 525 535 537 538

542-65 566-67 570-71 623 ; his
 house, 562 ; his wife Barbara,
 555-56 ; — f, Reynier, 542 ; s,
 CORNELIUS, pf, md, 542 555 556
 (birth) 562-63 564 565 ; gss, Phi-
 lip, md, 564 ; RAPHAEL, 564.
 Gennep, Balenus, Andrew van, pf,
 512.
 Gennep, Gaspar von, 575.
 Georgius, D., cc, 455.
 Gerard, Cornelius, of Gouda, 202
 346.
 Gerbel, Nicolas, hm, 291.
 Gerhard, md author, 581.
 Germany : — *Univ. in, decreasing
 in studies and students*, 40 43
 264 347 ; — *censures on*, 243 414.
 Germes, Louis de, of Frasnes, 84.
 Gerson, John, dv, 291.
 Geyl, Andreas, jp, 217.
 Gheeraerds, Andrew : see Hype-
 rius.
 Ghent : *St. Peter's Abbey, Mont
 Blandin*, 147 163 185 189 567 ;
St. Bavo's, 147 464 567 : MS there,
 180 ; — Bp of, 513-4 ; — *School
 of XII Apostles, Hieronymians*,
 196.
 Ghent bl : dd, Jodoca & Livina, 468.
 Ghent, Christopher, jp, 217.
 GHERINX, PETER, Busconius, Me-
 trarius, lt, 208-09.
 Ghys, Gys : see Vorst.
 Ghiselin, Victor, lt, 235, 485.
 GIB(B)ERTI, JOHN MATTHEW, Datary,
 Bp of Verona, 64 137 248 257 267-
 68 270-71 273-77 278 279-80 281
 282 285 293 295 300-1 305-6 310
 314 316 343-45 488.
 Gilinus, Camillus, secr, 551 552.
 GILLIS, PETER, Ægidius, secr, 25
 36 66-67 81 (*and his Joannes*) 82
 88 100 113 173 195 318 497 614 ; —
 f, Nicolas, 67 ; bb, Giles, cn, &
 Francis, 67 ; ss, John, Nicolas,
 67 ; — r, Michael, imp. secr, 67.
 Glapion, John, dv, 253 294.
 GLAREANUS, HENRY, Loriti, pf, 13
 26 394 499 551.
 Glaviman, John, pf, 93.
 Gnapeus, de Volder, van de Vol-
 dersgraft, Fullonius, William,
 207 478 479 566.

- Gobelinus, Magr, st, 69.
- GOCLENIUS, CONRAD, Wackers, von Gockelen, pf, 1, 6 11 15 27 **29** (praise) 30 36 44 62 66 69 90 **91 93-98** 99 100 102 107 **109 111-14** (studies) **114-15** (teaching method) 117 123-6 133 134 137 138 140 142-7 156 161 163-64 171-75 178-80 182-83 188 193 196-97 208-9 223 226 234 240 **241-47** 258 269 289-90 295 **296** 300-3 306-7 310 316-20 324-25 328-29 333-35 339-40 342-43 345-47 (*lecture doubled*) 351-52 361-62 367 370 **377** 383-86 389 391-2 394-5 **396** 397-400 **401** 402 405-6 421 435 448 452-54 456-59 466 468-69 **483** 485 488-9 491 496 499 504 530 543 552 556-7 570 572 577 581-2 589 594-5 605-6 609-10 **611-12** 613-14 **615-21** 622-23 627 629 **632** 633-36; — *asked for Oxford, and by Danish Court*, 245 359; — *his Antwerp prebend*, 611 617-8 620; — *his servant Henry*, 69 107.
- Goes, Damian a, hm, 146 201 398 (*musician*) 399 400 402 475-77 560 584 597.
- Goes, Genoveva van der, 431.
- Goes, Joannes, 29.
- Goes, Leonor-Angela Vaz de, 395.
- Goetgebuer : see Bonvicini.
- Gogreve, Gogreff, John, chanc, 144.
- GOLDE, HENRY, dv, 607-8 **609**.
- Goltzius, Hubert, engraver, 176 426 477.
- Gomes, Pedro, st, mch, 185.
- Gomez, Alvar, 411.
- Gondeck, William le, Captain of *La Catherine*, 368.
- Gonthier, John : see Winter.
- Goossens, Goswinus, Charles, md, 516.
- Görlitz, Elizabeth of, Duchess of Luxemburg, 129.
- GORP, JOHN VAN, Goropius, Becanus, md, 484 **563**.
- Gorze Abbey, 210.
- Gossart, John, de Mabuse, pt, 438.
- Gottignies, Ant. of, Ld of Neeryssche & Mechelen-St.-Gertrude, 420.
- Göttingen Univ., 111.
- Gouda School, 178.
- Gourmont, Giles de, pr, 14.
- Gousset, John, pf, 74.
- GOUVEA, Diego de, rg, 595-96; — *n*, ANDREW, pf, 476 **595-96** 597.
- Gouverneur, Nicolas le, receiv, 130.
- Gozaus, Thomas, dv, 510.
- Grâce, Olivier de, 545.
- Gracht, Gedeon van der, Bp, Liège suffr., 345-46.
- Gracht, Ann van der, Lady of Lauwerghem & Stavele, Viscountess of Furnes, 462.
- Gracht, Sir Philip van der, Ld of Melsele, 382; — *d*, Ann, Baroness of Pamele, 382.
- GRACIAN DE ALDERETE, Gratianus, JAMES (Diego), hm, secr, 353 401 **408-12** 417; — *ss & gs*, Antonio, secr, Baltasar, Lucas Dantisco, 411.
- Gramaye, James, Antw broker, 369.
- Grammatici, *reproved by J. Secundus*, 450.
- Grammont, *Abbey of St. Adrian*, 190.
- Granvelle, Nicolas Perrenot de, secretary of State, 411 413 439 446-47 560; — *s*, Antony Perrenot, Bp of Arras, Cardinal, 159 235 393 413 415 429 477 486-87 566 567 588 591 599; *his library*, 487.
- Grapheus, Cornelius, secr, 1, 186-87 259 350 557 563.
- Grapheus, John, pr, 167 184-85 187 203 205-6 354 395 438 522 526 544-45 548 553 623.
- Grave, Bartholomew de, Gravius, pr, 139 223 513 535 562 623 626-7.
- Grave, Mary de, le Comte, 190.
- GRAVE, STEPHEN DE, Comes, Bello-cassius, secr, 1, 179 **180-81**.
- Gravius, Tilman, 389 498.
- Greek of Sparta, 321.
- Greek* : *hatred of*, 531; *considered as heresy*, 336 41; *teaching of*, 342-43; *praised*, 503-4; *pronunciation of*, 354-55 627; — *attacked in Oxford and defended by More*, 291-92.
- Gregory of Nazianze, St., 355.
- Greiffenclau zu Vollraths, Richard von, Archbp of Treves, 595; — *si*, Sophia, 595.

Gresham, Sir Thomas, 368.
 GREY, THOMAS (Greuy), 126 321
 365-67 629.
 GRIBOVAL, Greboval, FLORENT DE,
 Ld of Berquin, Plessy & Ju-
 melles, st, 155-58 159; — *f*,
 PETER, Ld of Berquin, 155-56;
gf, Louis, Ld of Bacquerode,
 156; *b*, Charles, 156; *s*, Louis,
 Ld of Jumelles and Sweveghem,
 158; *dd*, Charlotte, Jeanne &
 Liévine, 158; — *r*, John, 170.
 Grimbergen, Abbot Peter van
 Waeyenbergh, 539; — see Per-
 soens, Blioul.
 Groenenberg (Gron-) van, fam, mch,
 368; — Melchior, alderm, 368.
 Groendael Convent, 12: *Index*
Librorum, 12.
 Groesbeeck, Card. Gerard of, Bp
 of Liège, 452.
 Gronsselt, John de, pf, 536.
 'sGrooten, Antony, Abbot of Ton-
 gerloo, 220.
 'sGrooten, 'sGroots, Denys, jp, 217.
 Gropper, John, 575 599.
 GRUDIUS, NICOLAS, Nicolai, cc, lt,
 165 201 287 384 430 431 432 433-
 37 441-42 444 445-46 447-48 450
 451-52 453 475 623.
 Grunenberch, James, st, 368.
 Grutere de Lanoy, Ann de, 471.
 Gruterus, Janus, 418 563.
 Gruutere, Livinus de, 153 465; —
d, Isabella, 153 465 470; — *r*,
 Quintina, 466 469.
 Gruyères, Leonard de, 174.
 Grynæus, Simon, hm, 498.
 Gryphius, Francis, pr, 591 594 597
 599; — Sebastian, pr, 450.
 Gualteri, Guauteri, John: see
 Wouters.
 Gualterus, Stephen, pr, 428.
 Guarlacus, dv, 414.
 Guerteus, Joh.: see Servilius.
 Guevara, Antonio de, 411.
 Guicciardini, Lodovico, 184.
 GUIDACERIUS, AGATHIUS, hb; 77 78
 79-80.
 Guillard, Louis, Bp of Tournai, 127
 419.
 Guinterius, Günther, John: see
 Winter.

Guintur, Estienne (Winter), 530.
 Guise, de, fam, 583.
 Gulerius, Ferdin., st, 417.
 Gunilde, Anglo Saxon Princess,
 181.
 Gurdus, L. Charitæus (= Vives),
 401.
 Gurk, Card. of: see Peraudi.
 Gutius, John: see Cruyce.
 Guyenne College, 476.
 Gyberchies, Mary de: see Haudion.
 Gymnich, Gymnicus, John, pr, 176
 187 202-3 594-6 617.
 Gysbrechts, Anne, 149.

H

Hack, Otto, pd, 481 482.
 Hackett, John, ambass, 44 245 359.
 Hadrian, emperor, 216.
 Haemstede, Adrian, rf, 472.
 Hæmus, Francis, cn, poet, 513.
 Hagen, Gregory van der, de Hagis,
 Abbot of St. Michael's, Antwerp,
 186.
 HAGEN, JOHN LOUIS VON, Archbp of
 Treves, 593-5 599-600; — *b*,
 Wolfgang, cn, 593.
 Hagenau Diet (1540), 588 599.
 Hagenbutt, Janus: see Cornarius.
 Haghen, Dumæus, Antony vd., pr,
 187 528; — Govaert, pr, 205 478.
 Hagius, Quirinus, Erasmus' aman,
 182 469 498-99.
 Haio: see Hompen.
 Halewyn, Ld of Roosebeke, Swe-
 veghem, &c, Josse of, 158; — *d*,
 Adrienne, Ly of Sweveghem, 158.
 HALEWYN, JAMES OF, Bruges cn
 (O. L., Bruges), Ld of Maldeghem,
 Uytkerke, Lembeke, &c, 416; —
rr, James, Jacquemine, 416.
 Halifax, John of: see Sacrobosco.
 Halle, Margaret, 385.
 HALMALE, WILLIAM OF, cc, 369; —
rr, John, bk, 368; Mary, 375-76.
 Haltfast, Nicolas, receiver of Ar-
 lon, 130; — *d*, Elizabeth, 130.
 Haltfast, Nicolas, Luxemburg al-
 derm, 130.
 Halvermylen, Arnold van der,
 secr, 51.
 Ham, Blisius, Bilsemensis Guer-

- ricus, Guiricus de, vice-curatus, 501.
- Hammonius, John Antony, of Fontanet, jp, 474.
- Hane, Mary de, 155, — fam, 155.
- Haneron, Antony, cc, provost, 1, 61.
- Haneron, Nicaise, cn, 179.
- Haneton, John, prov of Deventer, 375.
- Haneton, Philip, cc, 213.
- Hannaerts, Gabriel, cn, 58.
- Hanseatic League*, 168.
- Hanya, Ida, 145.
- Hargen, Splinter van, 443 476.
- Harlemus, Gulielmus, mk, 616.
- Haro, Francisca de, 441.
- Haro, M. Antonius de, st, 417.
- Harpfield, Nicolas, Archdeac., 486.
- HARST, CHARLES, cc, **142-45**, 172 245 267 359 615 629; — ss, Charles, pp, cn, 145; Conrad, 145.
- Harvey, Gabriel, lt, 563 590.
- Hasenfuss, Peter Dasypodius, lm, 187.
- HASSELIUS, JOHN, Leonardi van der Eycken, dv, 197 **218-20** 290 505.
- Hasselt & Ophasselt*, 189 190.
- Haudion de Gyberchies, Mary, 470.
- HAVPÉ, Havrech, JULIANUS OF, Aurelius, lt, **198** 447 476; — d, Margaret, *béguine*, 198.
- Hay, of Dalkeith, John, Jesuit, 588.
- Hayen, Laurence, pr, 189.
- HAZE, JOHN DE, jp, 146 **148-49** 215 560; — s, Arnold, secr, 149; d, Barbara, 149.
- Hazebroek, James of: *see* Castere.
- H. B. P., Medicus, Lyons 'scholias-ten', 523.
- Heath, Nicolas, Archdeac. of Staf-ford, 17.
- HEDA, William, Prov of Arnhem, histor., 234 **617**.
- HEEMS, JOHN, of Armentières, md, rg, **83** 256 426 516.
- HEEMS, NICOLAS, de Capella, de Bruxellis, jp, 146 **148-49** 560.
- Heemstede, John van, Carthus., 495 615 621.
- Heetvelde, Adrian van den, 176.
- Heetvelde, Stephen van, prior, Red Monastery, 281-82.
- Hegensdorff, Christopher, pf, 326.
- Heidelberg Univ.*, 43 347 (*decline*).
- Heigerlin, John: *see* Faber.
- Hejerd, James, lm, 483.
- HELD, MATTHIAS, Imp. Vice-Chanc, **591**.
- Helding, Michael, Mayence suf-frag., 415.
- Helfault, Francis d', Abbot of Mont Blandin, 147.
- HELIÄ, Hellisszen, Helgesen, POUELL, Powell, **20-21** 135.
- Helius: *see* Hessus.
- Hembyze, John d', 472.
- Henckel, John, st, 70 173.
- Herama: *see* Herema.
- Herberstein, Sigismund of, cc, 392.
- Herbouts, Adrian, pension., 110 167.
- Herco, Erco, Hergius, Nicolas, of Florennes, Florenas, md, 1, 373 445.
- Herema, Herama, Gerard of, cc, 164 457-59; — s, *prob.*, Theophi-lus, papal ct, 164 457.
- Heresbach, Conrad von, cc, 13 15 144 389 590.
- Hermann, George, of Augsburg, 26; — s, Matthew, st, 27 114.
- Hermonymus, of Sparta, George, 337.
- Herodian, histor., 117.
- Hertford, Earl of, 483.
- Hertogenbosch*: — *School*, 189; — *Bishop*, 511; *Lutherans at*, 289.
- Herwagen, John, pr, 111 335 458.
- Herzeele, Adrienne of, 158.
- Hesiod, 191.
- Hesse, Landgraf Philip of, 575.
- HESSLS, Hessele, JAMES, Ld of Ter Caemere, procur-gener., Ghent, **471-72**.
- Hessels, John, dv, 510 512-13.
- Hessels, Francis, cc, 472.
- HESSUS, EOANUS, Coci Helius, 31 **32-37** 38 66 287 327 391.
- Hesychius, 484-85.
- Heureux, Macarius, John l', cn, 236.
- Heyden, Barbara van der, 433.
- Heyden, a Myrica, Jasper van der, Engraver, 550 566.
- Heyden, John van der, de Myrica, jp, 73.
- Heymbach, Bern., lm, 236.

- Heyme, Rochus, supprior of St. Martin's, 290.
- HEZIUS, THIERRY, Ariaans van Heeze, secr, cn, **267** 268 **269** 270-71 **272** 273-83 295 344 613 636.
- Hillen, Michael, pr, 68 73 111 113 146 176 187 194 203 221 263 328 407 463-64 478-79 502 623.
- Hillesheim, Louis, mayor, 599.
- Hippocrates, 517 523-24 526 529 531 533-35 539-40 565.
- Hispanus, Petrus, 67.
- History : historical facts to be judged according to period and circumstances*, 450.
- Hoeckaert, Eligius, Eucharius, lm, 179 512.
- Hoeven, Judocus van der, 3rd Pres., 103-4 232 245 298 364 377 379 385 580 612 636.
- Hoffmeister, John, Austin Prov-inc., 413.
- Holbein, Hans, pt, 500.
- Holland, William, Count of, 201.
- HOL(L)ONIUS, LAMBERTUS, hm, **24** ; — *n*, Gregory, lm, 24.
- Hollywood, John of : *see* Sacro-bosco.
- Homer, 9 116 117 118 125 185 485 586.
- HOMPEN, HAIO, Herman Ubbena, Phrysius, hm, **1**, **13-15** 26 164 166 257 454 456-59 ; *his mother*, Eiske Homenp, 13.
- Hondelange, Bernard de, 130 (cp. *LuChaV*, v, 436).
- Hondius, Josse, of Ghent, geogr., 569.
- Hondt, John de, 172 ; — Peter, *see* Canisius.
- Honnecourt, Toussaint, Abbot of, 210.
- Hoogstraeten, James of, inquis-itor, **1**, 2 89 342 (+).
- Hoorn, Philip of Montmorency, Count of, 471.
- Hoorn, James Theodorici of : *see* Dierckx, — *also* Ceratinus.
- Hoorn, Menard of, hm, 24.
- Hopper, Joachim, jp, mn, 159-60 183 207 217 352 420 433 460.
- Horace, 6 11 177 198 387 422 443 586.
- Horoscopes*, 556-57.
- Horst, Gisbert van, md, 208.
- HORTENSIUS, LAMBERT, van den Hove, Hofmans, lm, histor., 529 563 **570-72** ; — *s*, Augustine, 571.
- Hos(s)EY, TOUSSAINT, Panagius, Hocedius, Bp of Toul, 86 **210**.
- Hosius, Card. Stanislas, 486.
- Houterlee, Henry de, cn, 505 507.
- Houwer, Francis de, Hoverius, lm, 223 437 444 577.
- Hove, John van, not, 74 228.
- Hove, John van, Hovius, aman, 137 321 466.
- HOWARD, THOMAS II, Earl of Sur-rey, Duke of Norfolk, **483-84**.
- HOXVIRIUS, HECTOR Hoxwyer, cc, 15 154 **163-6** 422 453-55 457 460 ; — *f*, Aesgon, Ld of Mantgum, 163 ; — *b*, Aesgon, AUSONIUS, 163-66 **453-55** 459 ; — *nn*, Ausonius, 455 ; Catherine, 454.
- Hoytema, Jetzia de, 472.
- Hubert, John, pf, 595.
- Huberti, magr. Nicolas, pc, 382.
- Hué, William, cn, 43.
- Hugo, Guigo, Angelus, dv, 288 (cp. Franklin, 282).
- Hulsen, Gertrude, 579.
- Hulst, Francis van der, inquisitor, 92.
- Hulst, Mary van der, 182.
- Humanism : H. and Scripture*, 41 ; *Gospel of H. (More's letter to Dorp)*, 502 ; *all-civifying spirit of H.*, 440-41 ; *opposition to H.*, 604 ; *shortlived Protestant H.*, 590.
- HUNE, MARTIN, of Gittelde, md, **327**.
- Hungary : King Louis II, 298 ; Queen Mary, 70 121 127 132 138 156 159 160 169 175 178 187 191 209 308 384 399 427 446 469 495 535 548 551 554 567 618.
- Hunnæus, Augustine, dv, 513.
- Huss, John, 326.
- Hutten, Ulrich von, **1**, 19 291 326.
- HYPERIUS, ANDREW, Gheeraerds, Gerardi, pf, **194-95** 597.

I

Immaculate Conception, contro-versy about the, 505.

Immeloet, John, 190; — *d*, Mary, 190.
 Immerseel, Gertrude of, 538.
 Inchy, John, de Vallibus, md, 520.
 Ingenwinckel, John, secr, 63 375.
Ingolstadt, Univ., 147 149 235.
 Innis, Nicolas, 131.
Institutes, 98 149-50 216 423.
Interim (1548), 390 393 415.
 Isaac, John, 235.
 Isbrand, Antony, Ysebrand, pension, 74 110.
 Isenburg, Antony & Salentin, sts, 387; — *f*, Count Salentin I of Isenburg, 387-88; *gf*, Count Gerlacus II, 387.
 Isenburg, John of, Treves Abp, 600.
 Isocrates, 116 117 410.
 Italicus, Sylvius, 233.
Itineraria : by *Justus Jonas*, 32, *sq*; by *J. Secundus* : 441 443 445 447; by *P. Vorstius* : 374.

J

Jacobs, Dirk, pt, 142.
 Jannandus, Claud, 392.
 JANSENIUS, CORNELIUS Jansen, of Hulst, Bp of Ghent, 510 512-14 516.
Jena Univ., 217.
 Jepsen, Jacob, of Kindholm, 22; — *s*, Christopher : see Ravensberg.
 Jerome, St., 1, 41 180 353 363 506.
 Jespersen, James, secr, 138 169 170 191 355 398 452 477 629 635.
Jesuits : admission into the Netherlands, 554; *J. & Sturm*, 589.
Joannis Calvaria (viz., the skull of John, — or Peter, or Henry, — as Death is often called in the Netherlands), 492.
 JOANNIUS HONORATUS, Bp of Osma, 335 404-8 412-13 446; — *f*, CASPAR, 405.
 Joannis, houinuitus, st, 417.
 JOANNIS, RENIER Jans, Janssen, of Enkhuysen, Provost of Walcourt, jp, 127 420-21 425.
 Jode, Gerard de, geogr., 367.
 Joannis, William : see Vianen.
 John, St., 449.

Johannis de Melfordia, Johannes Nicolai, st, 22.
 Joigny-de Pamele, Frances, 156.
 JONAS, JUSTUS, Koch, dv, 32 34-37.
 Joncheere, Catherine de, 190.
 Jonghe, Peter de, mayor of Hoorn, 483; — *s*, Adrian : see Junius.
 Jonghelinck, James, 148.
 Jo(e)rdens, Lambert, land-surveyor, 231 232 237 238.
 Josel, Adrian, exec, 1, 74 227 230 240.
 Josephus, Flavius, 354.
 Jovius, Paul, wr, 169 575.
 Jülich, Dukes of : see Cleves.
 Julius III, 65.
 JUNIUS, ADRIAN de Jonghe, md, wr, 481 483-87 516 (cp. *Adagia*, 408, *a*); — Junius & Sartorius, 481; — *s*, Peter, md, 484-5.
 Junius Goudanus, Henry, 479-80.
Juris Ars, 216.
 Justinian, 150 180 216.
 Juvenal, 112 207 440.

K

Kamen, Kammen, — Kan, &c : see Camen, Canne.
 Kastele, James vanden : see Castere (526).
 Kembach, Helias, jp, 217.
 Kemnitz : see Chemnitz.
 Kempen, Cornelius van, Campensis, 262.
 KEMPF, ANNE DE, or Keymich, 129.
 Kempo, of Texel, lm, 1, 177.
 Kepler, John, sc, 557.
 KEYMICH, ANNE DE, or Kempf, 129.
 Keyser, Martin de, Cæsar, pr, 185 205 437 478; — widow, 176 187.
 Keysere, Robert de, lm, 1, 179 349; — Peter, pr, 180-81.
 K(h)ieueringe, misreading of Künring.
 Khreutter, John, secr of Mary of Hungary, 554.
 Kiel, Louis, Beromünster cn, 26.
 Kiel, L. : see Carinus.
 Kimchi, David, 119.
 Kluppel, Conrad, secr, 593.
 Knaep, Knapius, J. : see Servilius.
 Knobbelsdorf, Eustace of, Allio-

pagus, poet, 559 599.
Königstein, Anne of, 133.
Konings, Polyphemus, Felix, 27
140 392 457.
KÜNRING, Coenrink, Chünring,
BALASAR DE, of Vienna, st, jp,
320 **383-85** 443 475 598; — f,
John V von, 383.

L

Lacerna, Peter de, st, 417.
Lachner, Gertrude, 96.
Lactantius, 409.
Ladeuze, Mgr Paulin : *his plan
about the Tril. College*, 59.
LAET, JASPER (de), of Borchloon,
md, **545**; — John de L., pr, 429.
Lalaing, Antony of, govern of
Mechlin, 382; — Ann, 382.
LALAING, COUNT CHARLES II de, Ld
of Brakel, Chief of Finances,
539; — f, Charles I, 539.
Lallemand, John Alemannus, secr,
247-8 255 258 260 264 265 282 288.
Lambinus, Denis, 472.
Lampsonius, Dominicus, 453.
Landry, Peter, pr, 514.
Lang, Abp of Salzburg, Cardinal
Matthew, 489 543.
LANG(E), JOHN, dv, 32 **35** 37 39 (cp.
ErasEm., 342).
Langhe, John de, secr, 93.
*Languages and Literature : their
advantage to all studies, espec.
to theology*, 258-9 512; *the Tres
Linguae sanctified on the Cross*,
177 363 512; — *they are mixed
up with heresy, hated and at-
tacked by theologians*, 279 288
291-93 (*controversy in Cologne
and Oxford*) 295-96 335 341-44. —
'Ubi regnat Luther, Literæ mo-
riuntur', 39 347 **556 605**.
Lannoy, John de, 227.
LAPPEN, GISEBERT VAN DER, Lappius,
van Waveren, md, **563** 571; —
gs, Gisbert, histor., 571; — Lap-
pius, John, 571.
Lascaris, Constantine, rs, 118 186.
Lascaris, Andrew, John (Janus),
rs, 1, 43 440.
Lasdenus (= Sledanus), Baptista,

573. .
Laski, John a, Lasco, 263 350 394
466 470 590.
Latimer, William, hm, 357.
Latinus, Latinus (Latino Latini),
rs, 219.
LATOMUS, BARTHOLOMEW, Heinrici,
Mas(s)on, Lapidida, pf, cc, 292
351 383-4 415 443 475 529 572 590
591-602; — *position to Luther
and Reform*, 600; s, John, 599.
LATOMUS JAMES, dv, 1, 2 5 199 208
221 222 244 250 (γωλός, Hephes-
tion, Vulcanus), **250-53** 254 257
261 263 267 272-74 276 282-85 **286**
287 289-90 344 366 **414** 503 507
511 560 606 626; — *his knowledge
of Latin*, 221 626; *cause of Eras-
mus' trouble*, 251-3; — n, James,
of Cambron, 2.
Lauchen, George von : *see* Rhæ-
ticus.
LAURIN, MARK, Dean, 1, 14 **68** 81
82 136 138 179 181 251 253 491 592
615; f, JEROME, Ld of Water-
vliet and Poortvliet, **67-8**; —
bb, Mathias, Ld of Watervliet,
68; PETER, Ld of Leeskens, **68**
167 385; James, 68; CHARLES, **67-
68**; niece and nephews, Cath-
arine, 385; Mark & Guy, antiqua-
rians, 68; — fam, 169.
Laus, John, 622.
Lauwereyns, Josse, Pres. Mechl.
Counc., 253-54 285 436.
Lava, Francis, dv, 219.
Leclerc, Peter, Clericus, poet, 437
441.
Lee, Edward, dv, 1, 4-5 38 85 252
260 616.
Leeu, Gerard, pr, 7.
Leeuwe, Walter de, of Beek, jp, 1,
9 44-48 49 53 54 55 59 231 430; —
widow, 44; — s, Philip, 55.
Lefèvre, d'Etaples, Faber Stapu-
lensis, James, 197 344, 377 502.
Leipzig Univ., 43 237 325-29 347
(*decline*) 354.
Leo X, 63 77 79 278 294 298 300 309
545 618.
Leonicens, Nicolas, rs, 530.
Leoninus, Elbertus, jp, pf, 149 217.
Leplat, Josse, jp, 268 272-73.

- Lernutius, Janus, lt, 448.
 Lethmaat, Herman, vic.-gen., 92
 124 212 255 303.
 Leuze, de Fraxinis, Nicolas de,
 dv, 514.
 Levita, Elias, Eliah ben Ascher
 ha-Levi, hb, 119 120.
Leyden Univ., 183.
 Libanius, 10 630.
 Liège : Prince-Bp of, 132 300 ; see
 Marck ; — *St. Lambert's*, 345 ;
 — *School of the Hieronymites*,
 565 576 579-80 585.
 Lievens, Cornelia, 152.
Lille & French teaching, 352.
 Lily, William, gr, 358 401.
 Linacre, Thomas, md, 358 517 530.
 Lind, Adriana van der, 155.
 Lindenius, Antonides, 558.
 Lips, Martin, hm, 12 13 152 161-62
 246 281 282 290 303 306 350 351
 613 616 ; — *rr*, Judocus, jp, 161 ;
 Justus Lipsius, 59.
 Lisper, Dirk van, 488 497 ; — *f*,
 Peter, 488.
 Lister, Gerard, lm, 188.
 Livy, 216 234-35 354 499 593-4 617.
 Lobel(lius) de Bolonia, John, jp,
 73 425.
 Locher, James, lt, 20.
 LOCQUENGHIE, Lokenghem, CHAR-
 LES DE, Baron of Melsbroeck,
 382 ; — father, PETER, Lord of
 Wyhove, 382 ; brother, JOHN,
 Lord of Berchem, Melsbroeck,
 Coeckelberghe, amman of Brus-
 sels, 382-83 ; — nephews and
 nieces, Philip, Isabeau-Jane,
 Margaret, 382, Charles, Antony,
 383.
 Loëus, John, pr, 481.
 Loettre, Mgr Jerome, 56.
 Lombarts, Cardinal William : see
 Enckenvoirt.
 LOMBA(E)RTS, van Enckenvoirt,
 MICHAEL, provost, archdeac., 54
 63 64-66 69 231 ; — *b*, WILLIAM,
 54 63 64-5 69 231 ; — *nn*, GODEFRI-
 DUS, st, 65 66 ; WILLIAM, archd.,
 65 66 ; Michael, secr, 65.
 Londini (*misreading for Louanii*),
 308.
 Longlond, John, Bp, 491 494.
 Loonbeek : see Vorst.
 Loonis, Margaret, 169.
 Lopes, Petrus, st, 417.
 Lorraine, John VI, de, Bp of Thé-
 rouanne, 77.
 Lorraine, Cardinal John de, Bp of
 Metz, 210 361 595 596 610.
 Lotther, Michael, pr, 28 30.
*Louvain University : praised as
 most flourishing*, 8-9 33 122 (by
Resendius) 170 (by *Zenocarus*)
 293 396 438 (by *Resendius*) 396
 560 (by *Gemma*) ; — *with over*
3000 students, 78 79 248-49 456 ;
 — *prosperous through the Tri-*
lingue, 248-9 347-8 363 ; — *more*
glorious than Paris, 248-9 ; *its life*
compared to that of Cambridge,
 608 ; — *its monopoly of teaching*,
 351-2 ; — *Resignatio & Suppli-*
catio, 3 ; — *Chancellor*, 262 ; —
building method, 45 ; — *Cloth-*
hall, 7 45 ; — *Library*, 113 (be-
 fore 1914) 374 : 235 (MS of *Pru-*
dentius).
Louvain Univ., Faculties : Theo-
logy, 254-5, 257 261 268 271-3 283
 290-91 293 510 ; — *prosperous*
state (1530), 348 ; — *discussions*
better than those of Paris, 607-8 ;
 — *the divines and Erasmus*, 290,
 and *Aleander*, 294-95. — *Laws*,
 61 305 310 ; — *2000 law students*
under Mudæus, 215 ; *Schola*
Juris Civilis, 7 ; — *Collegium*
Baccalaureorum, 213 ; — *Med-*
icine, 305, *praised by Gemma*,
 560 ; — *lesson of Anatomy*, 560 ;
 — *medical library*, 518 ; — *les-*
son of mathematics, 560-1 ; —
astronomic studies, 545 ; — *in-*
struments built, 555 ; — *geo-*
graphical and astronomical
globes, 546 550-1 566 ; — *Calen-*
dars and prognostication books
prohibited, 245 527 545 ; — *Arts*,
 60 114 (*criticism : few professors*
of 'Letters'), 305-6 308-11 ; —
importance of bonæ literæ ac-
knowledgeed (1530), 607 ; — *better*
Latin used in lectures, 605-7 ; —
orthodox teaching, 606 ; — *books*
ordered to be printed, 11 ; —

Quodlibeticæ (1525), 146 211-12; Capella Clericorum, 83; — the Faculty and the Lily, 426; — Privilegium Nominationum, 64 93 213 344; its approval and extension, 278 293 300 304-6 **309-11** 617-8 635.

Louvain Univ. : Pedagogies : Castle, 44 45 (Cacabus); — Porc, 2 8 13 45; — Lily, 13 30 34 45 57 61 75 80 83 (property) 84-5 (Greek lecture) **86 88** 100 151 210 256 (Erasmus honoured) 257 380 426 (property) 518 526; Erasmus' room : see Erasmus; — Falcon, 45 282. — Colleges : Adrian VI, 511-12; — Arras, 104 512; its MS of Lily, 234; — Baccalaureorum, 87; — Bay, 45; — Beghards, 146; — Carmelites, 340; — Drieux, 45 422 518; — H. Ghost, 2 45 82; — Houterlee, 222 505 507; — Regium, 273; — St. Donatian's, 60-2 80 99 104 225-6; — St. Hilary, 239; — St. Jerome, 178 479; — St. Yves, 82 426-7; — Standonck (& Vroende), 8 286; — H. Trinity Gramm. Sch., 2; — Viglius, 45 147.

Louvain, Coll. Trilingue : Organization : Erasmus' impulse, **91** 123; — lessons in Augustines Convent, 15 16 19 63 71; — lecture of Hebrew, 78; — of Greek, 100; — of French suggested, 352; — Building : fine edifice, praised by Erasmus, 51 60 78-9; — Wendelsteen, 49 51-2 57 59 224; — Chapel, 54-5; Schola, 236-38; — Rescius' room, 330-1 376 383 385; — Library & MSS, 53 55 107 111 232-36; — Founder's arms used as ornament, 377; — Issues : in Ship Street, 44 48-9 52 54 57 59; neighb : Goudbloeme, 48; Waghe, 48-9; — on Fish Market, 57 59; neighb : Handt, 54 71; — in Shrine Street, 44 49 57 422; the house in Shr. Str., Three Cups, 45 49 56-7; August. Str. issue, 44 57; — Ormendael estate, 57-58; — Spiritual favour obtained from Rome, 279 315-16.

Louvain, Coll. Trilingue : Aim of School, 295; — its spirit, 122 322 628 630 sq 637; — Christian, or moral pagan, authors, 312-3 **315** 630 633; — teaching of virtue and religion, **315** 348-49 630-31 637; — opposition for fear of loss, 602; — sermons in St. Peter's against Greek, 339-40; — opposition by divines, 249-59 314; — difficulties from the condition of the professors, 102-9 322-23 349; — Mutatio, 241; — Opposition of the enemies vanquished by virtuous behaviour of the professors, 39 **92** 279 **313-5** 348 396-97; — their grand work to be gauged in after times, 348.

Louvain, Coll. Trilingue : spreading fame and growing number of hearers, 78 79 95; — lecture room for 300 too small, 123 **237** **249**; — increasing audience, over 600 students, 328 347; — Goclenius' lect. doubled, 347 606 621; — Tril. and German Univ., 40; — imitated by Francis I, 249; — and by Sturm, 590; — influence on the study of jurisprudence, 148 sq 211 sq; — and on the Latin in the Fac. of Arts, 605-7; — Eulogy of the Tril., 150 218 257-8 266 362-3 515; — the University praised for it, 29 **33** 248-49; — Tril., glory of the Country, 248-9. — Miserable present state of the old building, 58-60.

Louvain Town : praised for climate and inhabitants, 6 7 78 114 122 (by Resendius) 196 (by Musius) 248; — criticized for food and manners, 607-8; — defended by students (1542), 146 560; — Old Customs : Bp of St. Peter's, 72; — storks welcomed, 72-73; — Institutions : Béguinage, 342; — Carthusians, 303; — Hospital, 510; — St. Gertrude's, 421; — St. Martin's, library, 12 161; — Streets : Backelyn, 218; Fish Market, by Dyle, 44-8; Lei, 178; — Houses : Taberna Jasparris, Oak Str., 623; — Blauwen Steen,

- 547; — *Gulden Toirtse (Golden Torch)*, 7 8 622; *Hemelryk (Regnum Cælorum)*, 562 **622-3**.
 LOUVAIN, WILLIAM OF, Groenedael mk, **12 13**.
 Lovaniensis, Petrus, sv, 69.
 Loyala, Ign. of, 208 595.
 Lucan, Annæus, 113 403 487 572 623.
 Lucanus, Ocellus, 235.
 Luceus, Antony, of Evora, 532.
 Lucian, 9 10 14 113 116 117 185 326 437 621 625.
 Lullius, Raymond, 337.
 Lumey, William, 201.
Lunenburg Johanneum, 30.
 Lunge, Vincent, st, 21 22.
 Lupianus, Franc., st, 417.
 LUPSET, THOMAS, hm, 13 26 **43 263 358 359 365**.
 Luschus, Antony, 453.
 Luscinius, Ottmar Nachtigall, hm, 495-97.
 Lusitanus, Andreas, 233.
 Luther, Martin, 1, 5-6 13 16 21 23 30 32 34 37 39 43 135 162 250 252-54 258 263 267-68 270 274 279-80 283-84 286 290 (*influence on Netherlands*) 293-95 303 326 341 344 347 356 398-99 556 (*opposed to Science*) 574 575 (*marriage*) 576 584 600; — *Danish Luther*, 135.
 Luxemburg, Yolande of, 381.
 Luxemburg, Antony of, secr, 87.
 Lycosthenes, Wolfhard Michaelis Foppinga, bl, 142 207.
 Lyere, Lier, Arnold van, mayor, 25 524-25.
 Lyra, Lierre, Gummarus, Molle de, dv, Carmel., 73.
 Lyranus, Nicolas, dv, 288.
 Lysias, 630.
 Lysippus, the Younger, medallist, 438.
- M**
- Mabuse, John de : see Gossart.
 Macarius, John : see Heureux.
 Macchiavelli, Niccolo, 21.
 Macket, John, syndic, 1, 420.
 MACROPEDIUS, GEORGE Langhevelt, hm, 206-7 **565-66**.
 Magelhães, Fernão de, nav, 551.
 Magnus, John Store, Bp of Vesterås, Abp of Lund, 22; — *b*, Olaus Magnus, 22.
 Maire, John le, lt, 376.
 Maire, J., pr, 194.
 Major, George, rf, 414.
 Maldonatus, John, hm, 174 335 491 633.
 Maler, Matthew, pr, 35.
 MALVENDA, PETER, dv, 405-6 **411-15**.
 Mamez, Antoinette de, 386.
 Man, Meinard, Abbot of Egmond, 1, 488 499 503.
 Manardus, John, md, 519 520.
Manchester Grammar School, 356.
 Manderscheid - Blankenheim, Ld of Blankenheim and Schleiden, Thierry Count of, 572 579 581; — *s*, Francis, 572.
 Manerik, Alphontius, st, 417.
 Mannaert, Ann, 370.
 Manrique, Archbp Alonso, 598; — *n*, Rodrigo, st, 598 : cp. 417.
 Manuel, Don Juan, 409.
 Manutius, Aldus, pr, 118 186.
 MARBACH, JOHN, rf, 576 587 **588 601**.
Marburg Univ., 12 195 361.
Marcellinus, Comes (MS of), 180.
 Marcellus, Nonius, 486.
 Marchenelles, Isabella de, 158.
 MARCK, ERARD DE LA, Card. Bp of Liège, 1, 14 **64 66 79 124 132 166 199 275 276-77 278 282 283** (*his changes*) 300 305-6 309-11 341 375 463 613 636.
 MARIN, JAMES, of Weert, hm, **189**.
 Marinerius, Vincent, poet, 410.
 Marineus Siculus, L., 409.
 MARIUS, HADRIANUS Nicolai, cc, lt, 156 198 398 430 **432-34 435-37 440 442 444-48 452-53**.
 Marliano, Raymond de, jp, 1, 536.
 Marot, Clement, poet, 292.
 MARTENS, THIERRY, pr, 1, 3 **7-8 9 11 25 36 43 66 99 110 111 113 116 117 118-19** (*Hebrew & Greek printing*) 120 121 223 306 350 355 358 379 444 508 581 615 **621-22 623-4**; — *s*, PETER, **621**; *d*, BARBARA, **622**.

- Martial(is), Valerius, 113 233 315 443 484 486.
- Martiano, Sperato, 402.
- Martin, Robert, dv, 424.
- Martini, William, secr, 477.
- Martyr, Peter Vermiglio, rf, 576.
- Marullus, Michael Tarchaniota, 443-44.
- Marville, Nicolas de : *see* Wary ; — Nicolas of, st, 70 299.
- Mascarenhas, Pero, Portug. ambass, 399 402.
- Masius, Andrew, hm, 86 144 425.
- Masius, Ludovicus, lt, 200.
- Mass : *High & side-mass*, 109.
- Masschereel, Masscheriel, Baltasar, st, dean, 131 ; — n, John, st, 131.
- Masseeuw, Massieu, Christian, bCL, r, 196.
- Mas(s)on, Henri, 591.
- Mastaing, Francis de, Ld of Massines, 190 191.
- Matthæi, Melchior : *see* Vianden.
- Matthew, land-surveyor, 52.
- Mauch, Daniel, hm, 550 555-56.
- Maulde, Francis de, hm, 563.
- Maurus, M. Maximilian, 413.
- Mayence, Peter, canon of, 70.
- Mechelmans, Paul, steward, 57 228.
- Mechlin : — *St. Rombaut's, Church & Chapter*, 227 364 ; — *St. John's parish*, 233 ; — *explosion of Zandpoort*, 469.
- Mecklenburg, Duke Henry of, 578 ; — Duke Ulric, 578.
- Medardus (Merdardus), 250.
- Medici, Julius de', 278.
- Medina Celi, Juan Duke of, 183.
- Medmann, Peter, lm, 387 389.
- Meer, Catherine van der, 199.
- Meersel (*Meerle*), *estate of*, 228.
- Mees, Jac., pr, 205.
- MEIBOM, HENRI, pf, 29 30.
- Meitzenhusen, John von, Treves Provost & Abp, 593 595.
- Mela, Pomponius, 586 607.
- MELANCHTHON, PHILIP, 5 16 27 30 40 133 134 135 161 168 173 247 251 258 341 363 374 393 394 408 414 473 496 556 (*opposed to science*) 572 575 583-84 (*attempts to retrieve him*) 591 596 598-99 601.
- Melanellus, Matthew Theodore, md, 528.
- Melun, Francis of, Bp of Théroutanne, 77.
- Mendes de Vasconcellos, Diego, 395 402-3.
- Mendoza, Don Francisco de, Bp of Zamora, († 1536) 353 409 ; — Card. Francis de M., Bp of Burgos († 1566), 183 ; — Card. Inigo Lopez de M., Bp of Burgos († 1535), 491.
- Menesius, Fr., 616.
- Meppen, Alexander of, 84.
- Mera, Cornelius de, Abbot of St. Michael's, Antwerp, 557.
- MERCATOR, GERARD, de Cremer, 550 553 564 565-69 ; — M's *projection*, 568 ; — ss, Bartholomew, 566, Rombaut, 569.
- Mercklin, Balt., 392.
- Merode, Joanna de, 375 ; — fam. de M., 144.
- Merula, Paul, 254 307.
- Mervellius, 517.
- Mestdagh (Mesdagh), Lodovicus, cc, 192.
- Metrarius, Peter : *see* Gherinx.
- Mets, Laurent de, Dean, 509.
- Metsys, Quentin, pt, 432 525.
- MEULEN, RENERUS VAN DER, Molanus, st, 13.
- Meurs, Walburgis van, 124.
- Meyere, James de, historian, 181.
- Meyner, Matthias, mn, 39.
- Meyt, Conrad, pt, 438.
- Micyllus, James, pf, 1, 27.
- Middelburg, Abbot of, 464.
- Middelburg, Nicolas of : *see* Everaerts.
- MIDDELBURG, PAUL OF, Bp of Fos-sombrone, sc, 373 545.
- Mierbecanus John : *see* Stercke.
- Mierbeke, Stephen, rf, 71.
- Mierop, Cornelius, 501.
- Miggerode, John van, 622.
- Milan, Duke of, 551.
- Moerbeek, Peter van, Morbecanus, md, 522-23.
- Moerbeke, William of, dv, 517.
- Mola, Giles a, 146.
- Molanus, John van der Molen, lm, 183 569 ; — Renerus : *see* Meulen.

- Molanus, John, dv, historian, 48.
 Moldavia, Vaivod of, 401.
 Molembaix, John de, cc, 369.
 MOLENDINO, JOHN DE, Molinaris, Molinus, Dumoulin, cn, 497.
 Molendinus, Simon, pr, 525.
 Molin, Molinæus, Charles du, rf, 509.
 Molinæus, Joannes, jp, 217.
 Molinius, Francis, 263 330.
 Molle, de Lyra, Lierre, Gummarus, dv, Carmel., 73.
 Monicx, Isabella, 472.
 Monnikendam, Rudolph of, 263.
 MONTANUS, PHILIP de la Montaigne, 466 ; — Bened. : see Arias.
 Montfoert ab Hoeff, James, mayor, 496 ; — s, Peter, 496.
 Montpellier Univ., medical school, 517 531.
 Montzima, Bucho de, dv, 147.
 Moons, Anna, 317-18 321-23 328 330-34 611.
 MORE, THOMAS, 5 14 17 18 43 66 95 96 97 110 **113** 140 233 251 261 286 **292** 297 337 357 358 367 392 **442** 448 **451** 489-90 492-93 498 (*on widows*) 502 602 632.
 Morelius, Eligius, md, 533 536.
 Morillon, Guy, secr, hm, 235 283 614 ; — ss, Antony, 487 ; Maximilian, Prov. of Aire, vic.-gen., 487 510.
 MORIN, JOHN, pf, 597.
 MORINCK, GERARD, wr, dv, 146 200 246 252 290 348 373 491 **504-5**.
 Morone, Card. Giovanni, nunc, 599.
 Morsing, Christiern Torkilsøn, st, 21.
 Mortaigne, Gerard, rf, 471.
 Morus, Philip, cn, 487.
 Moscheron, John-Louis de, arch-deac., cc, 233.
 Mosellanus, Peter, hm, 1, 2 39 185 251 283 325-26 390-91 393.
Mos Italicus, 212 215.
 Mostinck, John, secr, 57.
 Mouffet, Thomas Moffett, md, 540.
 Mount, Christopher, ambass., 18.
 Mountjoy, William Blount, Lord, 84 182 366 462 490-91 493 498 ; — s, Charles : see Blount.
 Moysius, Fabius, 446 ; — d, Joanna, 446.
 MUDÆUS, GABRIEL van der Muyden, 86 **209-18 418** 426 428 560 ; — f, Leonard van der Muyden, 210-11 ; — s, Jerome, jp, 217 ; — d, Barbara, 217.
 MULAERT, Mulert, GERARD, cc, 124 **439-40** (cp. *LuChæV*, v, 486-87).
 Munday, Antony, lt, 20.
 Munich, Lucas, Abbot of Middelburg, 464.
 Münster, Bp of, 157.
 Munster, Sebastian, hb, 119 120 122 367.
 Munter, John de, lm, 444.
 MURMELLIUS, JOHN, lm, 28 29 84 **188**.
 MUSIUS, CORNELIUS Joannis Petri Muys, 136 142 **196-202** 205 377-78 447 453 476 481 **482** 500 **515** ; — r, Cornelius Sebastiani, 202.
 Mussey, Isabelle de, Busleyden's mother, 299.
 Muth, MUTIANUS RUFUS, Conrad, hm, **32** 35 36 353.
 Muyden : see Mudæus.
 Muys, Cornelius : see Musius.
 Mylius, Crato, pr, 594 597.
 Myrica : see Heyden.
 Mys, Nicolas, st, 64.
- N**
- Naarden, John of, lm, 196.
 Naen, Peter de, 49.
 Namur, Abbot of Our Lady's, 299.
 NANNIUS, PETER Nanning, lm, lt, 96 113 **150 177-9** 183 201 234-36 416 421 426 435 451 476 479 482-83 **557**.
 Nannonis, Nanno, filius Petri, 177 ; — also Peter, pp, 177.
 Nassau-Dillenburg & Vianden, Count of, Ld of Breda, Geertruydenberg, Sichem, Diest & Catzenellebogen, 388 : — Count John, 110 ; — ss, Henry, 110 and William, 110.
 Natter, Nattherus, Leonard, lm, 576.
 NATURELLI, PHILIBERT, Naturel, Preudhomme, cc, 61.

Naturelli, John, dean, 551.
 Nausea, Frederic, dv, 25.
 NAVES (Nauves, Naives), NICOLAS, of
 Marville, Pres. Lux. Council,
 130.
 Nazorolla, Countess of, 219.
 Neæra, 444 416.
 Neander, Im, 576.
 Nebrissensis, Antonio, hm, 395.
 Nectarius, Patriarch of Constan-
 tinople, 219.
 Negroni, Termo, of Genua, 578; —
 d, Frances, 578.
 Nélis, Hubert, 323.
 Nesen, William, pc, i, 13 14 23-27
 114 172 366 582.
 Neuburg, John of, Im, 572 579.
 Neuenahr, Count Herman of (*one of*
the Three Kings), hm, i, 353-54
 389 491 495 527.
 Neuzen, Sebastian, pf, i, 12 162.
 NEVE JOHN DE, Nævius, rg, hm, i,
 61 74 80 81 82 83 84 85 87 88 89
 90 256 526 620.
 Neville George, Bp of Exeter, 337.
 Nicholson, John Lambert, rf, 17.
 NICOLAI, EVERARD, pres, cc, 431 436
 444-45 451-53; — *bb*, Adrian,
see Marius; PETER JEROME, 431
 436 450; — *sis*, Catherine, 453;
 ELIZABETH (Isabella), nun at
 Delft, 201 453; Helen, 453.
 Nicolai, Nicolas, mch, 369.
 Nicolai, Bero (Finland), st, 22.
 Nicolaij, de ripis, Christianus Ma-
 thie, st, 22.
 Nicolas, Gerard, pr, 178 260.
 Niedbruck, Jola von, 575.
 Nieuwenhoven, Antony van, Abb
 of St. Gertrude's, 618.
 Nieuwenhove, Lady of Coeckel-
 berghe, Mary de, 382.
 Nieuwenhuyse, Mary of, 182.
 Nieuwlande, Francis van den, Im,
 i, 239 (Coll.).
 Nigro, Negro, Thomas, Bp of Scar-
 dona, Nunc, 297.
 NISPEN, NICOLAS DE, exec, i, 13 52
 56 57 74 103 104 105 106 107 108
 227-28 229 230 239 364 636.
 Niveldius, William, 478.
 Nivelles, Abbess of St. Gertrude's,
 299.

Nivelles, John Stephani de, pf, i,
 149.
 Nivenius, Martinus, Rector, 205-6.
*Noble Families, protecting learn-
 ing & erudites*, 464.
 Nohac, Peter de, 448.
 Noortich, Gerrit van, 378.
 Noot(s), ARNOLD, of Halle, pf, md,
 516 519 520-23 536 537-38 561.
 Noot, Jerome van der, Brab.
 Chanc., 254; — *s* & successor
 Adolphus, 127; — *gd*, Philippote,
 127.
 Norfolk, Thomas Duke of : *see*
 Howard.
 Norman, Jerome le, dv, 71.
 Northoff, Christian and Henry, sts,
 365 366.
 Noves, Laura de, 449.
Novum Testamentum Erasmi, 41
 85 263 282.
 Nutius, Mart., pr, 539.

O

Obernburger, John, Imp. secr, 550.
 Obrecht, William, Delfinus, pr, 68.
 Occo, Adolphus, md, 14; — *r*, Pom-
 peius, 14.
 Ocoche, Isabella de, 370.
 Ocolampadius, John Hausschein,
 140 141 263 267 275 312 356 360.
 Olah, Nicolas, mn, 12 70 121 137
 138 168 175 177-78 191 440 446 469
 495-97 533 548 551-52.
 Oldham, Hugh, Bp of Exeter, 356.
 Olisleger Bars, Henry, pf, jp,
 chanc. Cleves, 594.
 Olivàn, Hieronyma, 415.
 OLIVARIUS, PETER JOHN, hm, 198-
 99 447.
 ONCHE, ANN ISABELLA d', (Eliza-
 beth) 68 167 168 169 170 385; —
f, Peter, 168 385.
 Ongnies, Guilbert d', Bp of Tour-
 nai, 424.
 Onderberg, Submontanus, Peter
 van, Abbot of the Downs, 181.
 OOM (OEM) VAN WYNGAERDEN, Flo-
 rent, cc, jp, i, 259-60 335 345-46;
 — *ss*, JOHN, i, 246 260 335 345-6;
 Cornelius, 335 346; — *r*, Gysber-
 tus, st, 346.

Oosterom, Alexander of, 201.
 Opentæ (*mistake for Oxford*), 308.
 Ophasselt : *see* Edingen.
 Ophem, Anna of, 372.
 Opmeer, Peter, historian, 142 201
 207 480 482 492 498 500; — *ss*,
 Peter, 498; Lucas, 202 476.
 Oporinus, J., *pr*, 180 529.
 Orange, William of Nassau, Prince
 of, 126 159 201 424 477 500.
 Ordoñez, Roderic, 239.
 Orelli, J. C, *rs*, 111.
 Oribasius, 527 529.
 ORIDRYUS, ARNOLD Bartolomei, of
 Bergheyck, *lm*, 189-92 467.
 Oridryus, John, 189.
 Orley, Philip of, *bl*, 381.
 Ormendael, *estate*, 229-30.
 Oroscius, *Chr*, 523.
 Ortelius, Abraham, 367 418 569.
 Ortiz, Blasius, 269.
 Oudaert, Jane, 171.
 Oudtshoorn (Autshoren) van Son-
 nevelde, Cornelia, 369 370.
 Outers, Leo, *rg*, 1, 57 81 87.
 Ovid, 315 400 434 443 487.
 Oxford University : 291-92 (*Troj-
 ans v Grecians*), 308 337 357
 359 (*Royal visit*); — *Colleges*,
 45; *Corpus Christi*, 42-3 233-4 245
 (*lectures*) 291 356-7 (*not a tril.*)
 358-60 611; *Cardinal C.*, 42 357-
 60.
 Oxyrius : *see* Hoxwyer.
 Oye, James van, 386.

P

Pace, Richard, *ambass*, 5 304 404
 489-90 492 495.
 Padua Univ., 149 157.
 PAESSCHEN, Paschasius, JOHN VAN,
 de Pasca, 1, 92 93 338 339-42 343
 504 603-4 606; — *f*, Arnold, 339.
 Palæphatus, 167 185.
 Palatine Electors : Philip, 43 601;
 Frederic III, 601; Louis VI, 588.
 Pallant, Gerard, baron of P., and
 of Culembourg, &c, 382; — *d*,
 Mary Magdalen, 382.
 Palmyrenus, Laurence, *pf*, 407
 408.
 Paludanus, de Palude, John, *hm*,
pf, 1, 60 61 62 74 80 85 93 210 364
 570.
 Paludanus, Padua *st*, 476.
 Pamele, Frances de : *see* Joigny.
 Panagathus, Livinus : *see* Algoet.
 Pantaleon, Henry, 203 591.
 Pantin, William, *md*, 541.
 Papinianus, 221.
 PAPPUS, JOHN, teacher of relig.,
 588.
 Paquot, John-Noel, 236 341 441 478.
 Paracelsus, 530.
 Parentibus, Lazarus *a*, 25 26.
 Paris : — *Univ.*, 3 8 78 217 248 249
 (*studia frigent*) 292 (*contest v*
Human.) 597 (*id*) 602 (*id*); —
Theologians, 254-5 (*v the Collo-
 quia*), 362 412 (*theologia rixosa*)
 607-8 (*rowdy discussions*); —
Schola Linguarum Regia, 43 243
 292 330 360-2 415-6 564 596. —
Colleges : Beauvais, 192; *Calvi*,
 194; *Lemoine*, 497; *Lisieux*, 360
 475 477 577 582; *Montaigu*, 286;
St. Barbara, 595; *Sorbonne*,
 292.
 Parma, Margaret of, 147 426.
 Parnell : *see* Paynell.
 Parthenius, Tranquillus : *see* An-
 dronicus.
 Pasca, Paschasius : *see* Paesschen.
 Passageriis, Rolandinus de, Bo-
 noniensis, 439.
 Pathius, Rutger, *treas*, 178.
 Patius, John, *pr*, 452-53.
 Paul, *St.*, 16 18 219 220 281 502-3.
 Paul III, 65 268 278 373 375 583 602.
 Paul IV, 128 371.
 Paungartner, John, *Imp. cc*, 384;
 — *ss*, John, *page*, David, 384.
 PAYNELL, THOMAS, 16-20; — *Lin-
 colnsh. priest*, 18; *Roy. off. Bos-
 ton*, 18; *Merton cn*, 18-19; *Au-
 stin friar*, 17-20.
 Peck, Peter, *jp*, 217.
 Pedaert Jacqueline, 68.
 Pedanius : *see* Dioscorides.
 Pedersen, Geble, *st*, 22.
 Peetersen, of Middelburg, Henry,
pr, 521.
 Pellicanus, Conrad, *hb*, 120 141
 275.
 Pels, Cornelia, 528.

- Pembroke, Agnes, Countess of, 367.
 Pensart, William, secr, 451.
 Pensis, Chr. de, pr, 233.
 Peraudi, Card. Raymond, Bp of Gurk, 326.
 Perezius, Gondisalvus, 411.
 Persoeil, Thomas, vic.-gen., 501.
 Persoens, Arnold, Abbot of Grimbergen, 539.
 Petershem, Lord of, 375.
 Petit, William, Bp of Troyes, 362.
 Petrarch, Francesco, 1, 449.
 Petreus, H., pr, 402.
 Petreus, Joannes, poet, 410.
 Petri, Cunerus, Bp of Leeuwarden, 512.
 PETRI, SUFFRIDUS Peetersz, pf, 215 541 **563**.
 Peutinger, Conrad, 66-67 443.
 PFLUG, JULIUS VON, Bp of Naumburg, cc, 391 **393** 415.
 Phaellus, J. B., pr, 438.
 Phaliesen, Peter van der, Phalesius, pr, 554.
Philalethes civis Utopiensis, 354.
 Philolphus : see Filelfo.
 Philippi, John, pr, 110.
 Phocylides, 10.
 Phornutus, 185.
 Photius, 336.
 Phrysus, Gerard, 494.
 Phrysus, Haio : see Cammingha, and Hompen.
 Phrysus, Joannes, aman., 81.
 Picquot, Pycquot, John, cn, 339 ; — a, Catherine, 339.
 PIGHIUS, ALBERT Pigg(h)e, hm, 2 **268** 271-74 **275** 276-77 279 **297** 373 (will) **545** ; — n, Stephen, 486.
 Pins, Jean de, Bp of Rieux, 577 578.
 PINTAFLOUR, Pintaflorius, PETER Thindari, **423-425**.
 Pirkheimer, Bilibald, 140 141 173 215 247 255 257-58 263 272 274 277 284-85 326-27 329 361 363 380.
 Pison, Jane, Ponderia, 582.
 Pistorius, Simon, chanc, 173 327 391-92.
 Pius IV, 513.
 Plaine, de, fam, 61.
 Plantin, Christopher, pr, 219 235 475 484 86 562 568 599.
 Planudes, Maximus, 440 443.
 PLATEANUS, PETER de la Rue, lm, **576** 577.
 Plato, 117 337 627.
 PLATZ, LOUIS, pf, **38** 39.
 Plautus, 16 178 207 486 590.
 Pliny, the Younger, 11 623.
 Plutarch, 19 116 176 186 400 410 476 479 486.
Poetry : Church Hymns, 336 ; *morality in poems*, 400.
 Poggio Bracciolini, G. F., secr, 391.
Poitiers Univ., 476.
 Poitiers, William of, archdeac, 65.
 Poland : Sigismond, King of, 401 548 556 559.
 Pole, Card. Reginald, 278 281 358 498.
 POLITES, Borgher(s), Burgher(s), JOACHIM, secr, 198 383-84 443 447 **475-77** 504 554 563 577 597-98.
 Poliziano, Angelo, rs, 41 144 443.
Policy : humanistic p. of de Schep- per for international under- standing and protection of learning, 171 ; — *religious p., aiming at the return of Prot- estants to the Unity of Faith*, 393.
 Polybus, 534.
 Polyphemus, Felix : see Konings.
 Ponce de Leon, Pedro, Bp of Placencia, 411.
 Pontanus, Roverus, 575.
 Porphyrius, 117.
 Portinari, Beatrice, 449.
 Portugal : King Emmanuel I, 381 ; John III, 201 399 (*first son*) 402 506 596 ; — Card. Infante Hen- rique, 403 474 ; Don Manuel, 382.
 Portugal, st of, in Louvain : see Vieira.
 Pory, Louis, of Aire, jp, cc, 217.
 Postel, William, pf, 80.
 Posthouwer, Rombaut, poet, 565.
 Poth, Cornelia, 440.
 Pourbus, Peter, pt, 428.
 Praet, Louis of Flanders, Ld of, 149 156-57 181 491 540 562 (cp. *Cran.*, 150, a-d).
 Pratensis, Jaso, md, 463.
prediction of a deluge shown false by de Schepper, 171 ; cp. 562.

Priccard, Leonard, cn, 230.
Princenhage, Alinger Hoeve, 228.
 Proclus, 586.
Prodigal Son Plays, 566.
 Proost, James, Præpositus, prior,
 1, 251.
 Propertius, 440.
 Prudentius, 10 235.
 Prudentius, Gulielmus, poet, 526.
 Prussia, Albert, Duke of, 32.
 Ptolemæus, Claud, of Alexandria,
 543-44 551-52 563 566 569.
*Public Utility, works of: merchant
 fleets, canal*, 171.
 Puteanus, Claud, *Tril.* professor of
 French, 352.
 Puteo, de (du Puys, van de Put),
 Desiderius, st, 376.
 Putte, Peter van den, neighb, 54
 231-32 238.
 Puttenham, George, 448
 Puys, Remi du, lt, 376 (cp. Nij-
 Kron., 1, 745).
 Pynson, Richard, pr, 20.
 Pyrrhus, Didacus, Lusitanus, 557
 563.
 Pythagoras, 10 416.

Q

Quatrinius, Andreas, 398.
 Quenen, of Meuwen, John, 239.
 Quentell, P., pr, 360.
 Querceus, Erasmus, pr, 428.
 Quercu, Leodegar a, st, 416.
 Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, 112.
Quirinus (= Pope), 304 306 310 489.

R

Rabelais, 545.
 Rack, Rhagius, John : *see* Æsti-
 campianus.
 Ram, P. F.-X. de, as editor, 374.
 Rampart, John, Prior Red Mon-
 astery, 281.
 Ramsay, John, Merton prior, 18.
 Ramus, John Tack, jp, pf, 217 219.
 Raphelengius, Franc., pr, 541.
 Rastell, William, wt, 18.
 Rataller, George, cc, 477.
Ratio Veræ Theologiæ, 85.
Ratishon, diets and meetings at,

(1541-1557), 413-15 588 600.
 Ravenna, Peter Tomasi of, 1, 291.
 RAVENSBERG, CHRISTOPHER, Jepsen,
 pf, 21 22.
 RAVESTEYN, JUDOCUS, of Thielt, Til-
 etanus, provost of Walcourt, dv,
 86 508-10 511.
 Ravestein, Coracopetræus, Henry,
 81.
 Rau, G., pr, 28.
 Rechterghem, Nicolas van, mch,
 474; — d, Mary, 474.
Red Monastery in 'Sonia Sylva',
 281.
 Regius, Gilbert, pf, 184.
 REIF(F)ENSTEIN, JOHN, st, 133-4; —
 f, William, mayor of Bommers-
 heim, 133; — b, WILLIAM, ste-
 ward, secr, 133 134; — nn, Al-
 bert, John, 133; Thierry, st, 134.
 Reinigheer, Reinger, Richard,
 Pres. Fland., 465.
*Renascence: Lack of Morality in
 in Italian R.*, 92 (example: An-
 drelini).
 Resch, Conrad, pr, 121.
 RESCIUS, RUTGER, pf, 1, 4 6 7 14 15
 24 31 62 70 81 91 93-94 96 98 99-
 101 102 104 108 115 116 118 137
 140 146 150 161 166 189 193 196
 223 226 241 296 316-17 (wish of
 resigning, 1522) 317 318 (removal
 from College & marriage) 319
 (absence) 320 (taciturnitas: eru-
 dition & success) 321-24 325 328
 330-34 (332, frequens audito-
 rium; 333-4, greed) 362 378 (suit)
 389-90 396 399 401 456 459 466
 474-5 508 529 533 543 570 572 577
 580 581-82 (greed) 583 589 605-6
 611 614 621 631; — his room in
 the Trilingue, 318 320 330-1; his
 servant, 69 107. The same Res-
 cius as printer, 14 115 139 150
 200 208 209 223 318 336 401 506
 508 522 535 567 582 616 623-28.
 RESENDE, ANGELUS DE, Resendius,
 Andrew Lucius, lt, 122 395-403
 435 438 497.
 Reuchlin, Capnio, John, hb, 1, 2 6
 32 40 119 120 178 291 355.
 Rex, of Ghent, Livinus, st, 140;
 — *see* Konings.

- Reygersberch, John, histor., 463.
 Reyvaert, James, jp, 217.
 RHETICUS, GEORGE, Joachim von
 Lauchen, pf, 559 563.
 RHEIDT, JOHN OF, Rhetius, mayor,
 193 353 355 391.
 Rhein, Margaret von, 23.
 Rhenanus, Beatus, hm, i, 4 7 10 23
 24 26 27 35 210 388 499 590 614.
 Rhetius, William, Prior St. Mi-
 chael's, Antw, 557; — see Rheidt.
 Rhodes, Master of, 296-97.
 Richard, Th., pr, 545; — John, pr,
 545 567.
 Richer, md, pf, 517.
 Rihel brothers, prs, 573; — Josias,
 586-7, Wendelin, 598.
 Rillaer, John van, pt, 54-56.
 Rinck, John, 496.
 RINGELBERG, JOACHIM Sterck, For-
 tius, of, hm, 141 192-95 435 439
 570.
 RIQUINUS, SIMON, Rychwyn, Dythe-
 mius, of Montabaur, st, md,
 387-89 390 493 495 527.
 Riquinus, Nicolas, *alias* Monster-
 man, pp, 389.
 Rivieren, Eustace van der, a
 Sichein, a Fine, *Stentor*, dv, 257
 271-72 397 495 615.
 Rivius, John, 391.
 RIVO, PETER DE, van der Beken,
 dv, plebanus, i, 545.
 Rivo, Rivulo : see Beken.
 Rizæus van Hardenberg, Albert,
 rf, 471.
 Robbius, James, sv, 468.
 Robbroeck, fam, 436.
 Robbyns, John, dean, i, 51 103 240
 242-45 248-49 251 307 339 361 363.
 Roce, Denis, pr, 110.
 Rochefoucauld, John de la, Bp of
 Mende, 577.
 Rode, Catherine van, neighb, 237.
 Roelant(s), James, Mechl. cc, 217;
 — st, 364.
 ROELANTS, Rolandus, Roelant,
 JOACHIM, Mechl. md, 440 528; —
 f, Cornelius, Court md, 528; —
 s, James, jp, 215 217 528; —
 Louis, Brab. chanc, 372.
 Roels, Paul, md, pf, 516 535-36.
 Roerda, Goffa, 459; — Sibrand, cc,
 455.
 Roest, Walter, dv, 73.
 Rogers, J. D., 568.
 Rollay, Roelley, Rullegius, mk,
 Afflighem (Michael, of Wavre),
 dv, 73.
 Rome : *Curia*, 128 297 309 371; —
Sta. Maria dell' Anima, 63 128
 371; — *Sacco*, 80 278 373 408; —
Commiss. for Reform, 278.
 Rommers, Rommerus, James, sv,
 304.
 Ronss, Ronssæus, Baldwin, md,
 541-42.
 Roode, Mary de, 427.
 Rooden, John van, mch, 369.
 Roothoof, Reyer, pp, 501.
 Roper, Margaret, 493.
 Rosa, Pepin, Bp of Salubrium,
 suffrag. of Mechlin, 513.
 Roschelle, Jane de, 578.
 Rosemond, Godschalk, dv, i, 86
 251 257 261 289 290 318.
 ROSEVELD, LAMBERT, Haarlem
 pens. & martyr, 500 501; — f,
 James, pt, 501.
 Roskilde Univ., 22.
 Rossem, Martin van, army leader,
 146 187 369 371 560.
 Rosset, Pierre, poet, 197.
 Rostock Univ., 578.
 Rotarius, Martin, pr, 444.
 Roth, Stephen, lm, 576.
 Rouge, G. Le, pr, 110.
 Roussel, Gerard, 166 597.
 Rovere, Francis Mary de la, Duke
 of Urbino, 545.
 Roxas, Juan de, geogr., 564.
 Rubeanus, Joh. Crotus, hm, 291.
 Rue, Peter de la : see Plateanus.
 Ruellius, of Soissons, Johannes,
 md, 406 523.
 Ruffault, Jerome, Abbot of St.
 Adrian's, Grammont, 190 191;
 — si, Frances, 68 (*Cran.*, 41, b).
 Ruffinus, adversary of St. Jerome,
 363.
 Ruistre, Ruterius, Nicolas le, Bp
 of Arras, i, 10 235 591.
 Ruys, of Grave, Walter, 262.
 RUYSIUS, TAXANDER, Godefridus or
 Guillelmus, 260-62 282.
 RYM, GERARD, Rimus, fisc. adv.,

160-62 163 190 192 469 471; — *f*, Philip, Ld of Eeckenbeke, 160-61; — *bb*, Philip, 163 Francis, Ld of Hundelghem, Livinus, 162; — *si*, Margaret, 162; *s*, CHARLES, Ld of Bellem & Scheurveld, 161 162 163 382; — *gs*, Gerard, Abbot of Mont Blandin, 163.
 Ryneveld, Josse de : *see* Voocht.
 Rysele, John van, Brab cc, 213.
 Rythoven, Martin Valcks van, Bp of Ypres, 424 509-11.

S

SACROBOSCO, Sacrobusto, JOHN DE, of Holywood, of Halifax, 543 544 566.
 SADOLETO, JACOPO, Bp of Carpentras, 278 330 361 578 584.
 Safræen, Peter, 202; — *s*, Cornelius : *see* Crocus.
 St. Aldegonde, Sir John of, Ld of Celles, 160.
 St. Amand's Abbey, near Tournai, in Pabula (Abbot George of Egmont), 124 200 299.
 SAINTE-ARAGON, JAMES DE, Sanctaragundus, 196 197 200-1; — *b*, John, 197.
 Saint-Gelais, Francis de, Dean of Angoulême, 523.
 St. Genois, Arnould de, Ld of la Deuse & Hembiese, 465.
 St. Omer, St. Bertin MS, 180.
 Salamanca Univ., 474-75.
 Salerno School, 517.
 Salinas, Jerome, 407.
 Salinis, *al de* Mendosa, Mgr Joannes, st, 417.
 Sallust, 19 20 216.
 Salome, Jane, 159.
 Salomlach, 209.
 Sam, Konrad, 543.
 Sanctaragundus : *see* Ste.-Aragon.
 Sandelin, Adrian, Holland cc, 378.
 Sandelyn, Peter Adriaensz, 434; — *d*, Lutgardis, 434.
 SANDERS, CORNELIA, Sandria, 67.
 Sanga, 399.
 Sapidus, Joannes, 448.
 Sappho, 337.
 SARTORIUS, JOHN Snyders, hm, 205

477-83 516; — *d*, Joanna, 479-81.
 Sartorius, rf, 478.
 SASBOUT, ADAM, dv, 219-20.
 SASBOUT, JOSSE, Ld of Spal(l)ant. Holl. cc, 199-200 498; — *s*, Arnold, Holl. cc, 108 199 320 378; — *r*, Godefridus, st, 200.
 Sassen, Belleken, John van, 623.
 Sassenus : *see* Zassenus.
 Sauvage, John le, Ld of Schoubeke (Scaubeke), Great Chancellor, 287 444.
 Sauvage, brothers, sts, 320.
 Savoy, Queen Louisa of, 214; — Prince of, 564.
 Saxony: — Duke Albert, 97; — elector Augustus, 393; — Frederic, 36-7; elector John-Frederic, 576; — Duke George, 39 68 97 163 173 325-27 390-93; — elector Maurice, 390 393.
 Sbrulius, Richard, 26.
 Schafmenen, Wouter van, 48.
 SCHALBE, Schwalbe, GASPAR, pf, 36 37.
 Schauenburg, John, Lord of, 581 619; — *ss*, Bernard & Christopher of S., 581 619; — William : *see* Snouckaert.
 Schellekens, Barbette, 566.
 Schenck, of Tautenburg, George, pres. Friesl., 165 439 455.
 Schenk, Erasmus, Bp of Strassburg, 28.
 SCHEPPER, CORNELIUS DE, de Dobbeler, Duplicius, Lord of Eecke, ambass, 68 136-38 166-71 175 185 246 288 370 383 385 386 408 411 437 446 459 460 463 469 548 550 556-57 559 562 609-10 615; — *s*, Cornelius, 169 385; — *d*, Anne, Ly of Eecke, 169 385; — *r*, Cornelius, st, 169.
 Schets, Erasmus, bk, 15 67 173 457-58 466 468 489 491-94 497 614.
 Schietere, John de, 428.
 Schlagheck, Thierry, mn, 21.
 Schmalkalden League, 373-74 573 574 583.
 Schmiedlin, James Andreae, Tübingen chanc, 601.
 SCHOONHOVEN, Sconhove, ANTONY DE, cn, 179-81 182; — *f*, Corne-

- lius, cc, 179; — u, GISEBERT, CN, 179; — Cornelius Pauli, st, 179.
- SCHOORL, Scorelus, JOHN VAN, CN, pt, poet, 441 445 **447** 485.
- Schore, Antony de, of Hoogstraeten, pf, 586; — s, Henry, pc, 586.
- Schore, Louis de, jp, Presid. of Privy Council, 127 147 419 431 460 465 623.
- Schore, Jeanne van, 386.
- Schott, John, pr, 519 520.
- Schriesheimer, Peter : *see* Siderander.
- Schürer, Lazarus, pr, 3.
- Schwalbe : *see* Schalbe.
- Schydlowyetz, Christopher of, 394.
- Scorelius, Joannes Jordani, 447.
- Scotus, Duns, 288 292 348.
- Scriverius, Peter, 301 307 448.
- Secerius, J., pr, 133.
- Seclin, Provost of St. Peter's, 299.
- SECUNDUS, JANUS Nicolai, 124 146 154 195 **198** 199 287 384 **398** 407 430 431 **432-35** 436-37 **438-451** 452-53 475-76 528 **544** 598; — *his vitality praised*, **442**; — Julia, 384 437 **439** **441** 443 449; — *interference of poetry with his health*, 449-50.
- Sedulius, Coelius, 189.
- Segwaert, Seguerdus, Nicolas van, 196.
- Selve, George de, Bp of Lavour, 416.
- Semperius, Andreas, pf, 408.
- Senarclæus, Claud, secr, 414.
- Seneca, 14 27 112 486 616.
- Sententiarum Magister*, 503 509.
- Sepulveda, Juan Gines, 408.
- Serapion, 519.
- Seripandi, Jerome, dv, 507.
- Serooskercke, Jerome de 't, 352.
- Sertorius, 403.
- SERVILIUS, Knaep, JOHN, Guerteus, lm, 176 184 **186-88**.
- Sessa, Duke of, ambass, 310.
- Seværinus, J., pr, 195.
- Shakespeare, William, 568.
- Shirwood, Bp of Durham, and his books, 233-34.
- Shirwood, Robert, hb, 1, 121 608.
- Sichem, Eust. of : *see* Rivieren.
- Sickingen, Francis von, 593.
- SIDERANDER, PETER, Schriesheimer, lm, **596**.
- Silvius, G., pr, 452.
- Simeon, Rabbi, 122.
- Simons, Peter, of Thielt, archpr. Ghent, Bp of Ypres, 513 514.
- Sinte Peter, Peter van, secr, 453.
- Sixtus IV, 309.
- tSlaes, Merken, 57.
- SLAP a Dambrowska, MARTIN, jp, archdeac., **393-95** 457.
- SLRIDAN, Sleidanus, JOHN, Philipsohn, histor., 29 393 410 **572-76** 577 582 591 598 603; — f, 572.
- Smeect, Peter de, mch, 369.
- Smenius, John, st, 483.
- Smet, Peter de : *see* Vulcanius.
- Smyrna, Quintus of, 186.
- Snaphanus*, 96.
- SNOUCKAERT, Zenocarus, WILLIAM, Ld of Schau(en)burg, **170** 563; — b, Martin, Ld of Somerghem, 170; — n, William, st, 170.
- SOBBE, Sobius, JAMES (*one of the Three Kings*), pf, 40 **353-54** 355.
- Solenander, Renier, md, 562 569.
- Solomon, 199.
- Solyman, Tyrant of the Turks, 174.
- Someren, William Henrici de Zoemeren, de Endovia, 69.
- Sonck, Francis, jp, 73.
- Sonnevelde, Cornelia van : *see* Oudtshoorn.
- SONNIUS, FRANCIS Gillis van den Velde, Ægidii, de Campo, of Son, dv, Bp of Hertogenbosch, 509 **510-11** 513.
- Sophocles, 477.
- Soter, John, pr, 142 235 354 387 389 495 527 572 594.
- Soto, Pedro de, 415.
- Souastre, Charles, st, 320.
- Spain : King James I, 407; Charles I(V), 181; Isabella, empress, 353 474; Philip II, 147 160 162 352 369 381 407 511 513-14 554 555 (and of England); — Infante Don Carlos, 407.
- Spain, humanism in : professors of languages protected*, 288; *Victory of Erasmus*, 290-91 335 346.
- Spalatinus, George Burchard, of

- Spalt, secr, 1, 37 43 168.
 Speyer, George, Bp of : see Bavaria.
Speyer, Diet of, 373 601.
 SPIERINCK, JOHN, md, pf, 422, **517-18**.
 Spiring, Cornelius, md, 540.
 Spondanus, 575.
Sponheim Abbey, 433.
 Spouter, John de, gr, 1, 28 146 180 350 497 508.
 Spyridipæus, W., pr, 192.
 STADIUS, JOHN van Staeyen, pf, 558 561 **564**.
 Staes, Elizabeth, 214 217.
 Stakenburg, Louise van, 427.
 STALBERGER, Stalburg, NICOLAS the Rich, Frf Mayor, **23-24** 25 ; — ss, NICOLAS, cc, **23** 26 ; CRATO, **23-25** 26 ; Christopher, st, 23.
 Stammler, Johann, jp, 217.
 STANDISH, HENRY, Bp of St. Asaph, **5**.
 Standish, John, Whittington Coll, 17.
Stations of the Cross, 342.
 Statius Papinius, P., 113.
 Stavelot, Abbot of, 129.
 Steenland, Steeland, Philip van, Lord of Marckeghem, 190 382 466 473.
 Steels, J, pr, 176 186-87 205 206 220 522 545-46 555 562 565.
 Steen, William van den, Lapidanus, 547.
 Steenstraete, Peronne of, 182.
 Stella : see Estoile.
 Stephani, Cornelius, pf, md, 516.
 Stephani, John : see Nivelles.
 Stephanus, Henry, pr, 26.
 STERCK, GODEFROID, st, prætor urbanus, **368-70** ; — f, Godefroid, Ant. amman, 369 ; — u, GERARD, receiver general, **368** 69 ; — ss, Godefroid, Andrew, Cornelius, 370 ; d, Joanna, 370 ; — gs, Gerard, 370 ; — rr, Laurent, controller, Henry, Imp. cc, John, courtier, James Stephen, Brussels governor, Nicolas, 369-70.
 Sterck, Joachim : see Ringelberg.
 STERCKE VAN MEERBEKE, Mierbecanus, JOHN, President, 1, 60 **61-62** 63-4 69 71 73 74 75 91 **93** 95 100 103 104 **105** (*letter*) 108 123 126 131 132 135 **225** 226 **229** 236-37 **238-41** 296 **297-98** 311 317 319 321 361 368 430 605 612 615 628 635-36.
 STEYNEMOLEN, ROMBAUT, secr, **433-35** 437 ; — f, William, 433.
 Steyner, Henry, pr, 443.
 Stibarus, Daniel, 466 520.
 Stöffler, John, mathemat., 519.
 Stolberg, Duke of, 133.
 Store : see Magnus.
 Strabant, Mary, 68.
 Stralenberg, Dorothy von, 24.
 STRASELIUS, Stracelius, JOHN, of Strazeele, pf, 406 412 **415-16** 529 597 ; — Robert, st, 416.
Strassburg School, 584-90 ; *attempt at Univ.*, 587.
 Strébée, James Louis, 597.
 STREYTERS, ARNOLD, Abbot of Tongerlo, 1, **220-21** 513.
 Strirode, Stiroy, Godfried, of Diest, 262.
 Strödel, Laurent, lm, 576.
 STROMER, HENRY, of Auerbach, cc, md, pf, 237 249 **326** 328.
 Stuart, Queen Mary, 477.
Studies : politiora studia preconized by Erasmus against his adversaries, 288 ; — *adapting what is good in old matter into the new*, 423 ; — *studies made answerable for the way of living*, 314.
Stultifera Navis, 20.
 Stunica, James Lopez, Zuñiga, 41 291.
 STURM, JAMES, of Sturmbeck, Strassburg Stettmeister, **573** 574.
 STURM, JOHN, pd, 115 187 223 318 529 571-73 576 577 **579-90** 591 596 598-99 603 624-27 ; — f, William, 579.
 Sturz, George, pf, md, 327.
 STUVE, HERMAN, Stuvius, Stuveus, of Vechta, lm, 29 30 **84-85** 98 **188-89**.
 SUCKET, ANTONY, exec, cc, 1, 75 92 105 107 150-52 154 230 239 240 265-66 ; — b, JOHN, Mechl. cc, 79 151 154 249 258 **265** 266 ; — n,

Mary, 265; — *ss*, JOHN, 75 88 151; CHARLES, *jp*, *pf* in Bologna, 141 150-54 155 158-9 190 435 443 457 496; ANTONY, *advoc.*, 151 153 154-55; Francis, 151; — *gs*, Antony, *cc*, *Ld* of Sevenplancken, Craeyenhoven, &c, 155; — *gd*, Jossyne, 155; — *ggs*, Antony, S. J., 155; — *fam*, 155 465.
Sudor Anglicus (Britannicus), *Sweating Sickness*, 389 406-7 441 495 496 524-28 547 594 619.
 Suetonius, 216 608.
 Suidas, 114.
 Surius, Laurence, 109 575.
 Surrey, Henry, Earl of, poet, 483; — Thomas : *see* Howard.
 Sutor, Peter, 286 362.
 Suys, Suse, Susius, CORNELIUS, *Pres. Holl.*, *Ld* of Ryswyck, 108 201 237 320 376-78 383 385; — *f*, Vincent, 376.
 Suys, Peter, *st*, 376 378.
 Swarte, Mary de, 421.
 Swerts, John, sculptor, 384 443 475 598.
 Sylvius, Andrew, of Bruges, 183 563.
 Sylvius, Dominicus, *pf*, 192 467; — John, *md*, 530; — *see* Ægranus.
 Sylvius, P., *pr*, 195.
 Symmachus, 235.
 Symons, John, medallist, 477.

T

Tack, Ramus, John, *jp*, *pf*, 217 219.
 TALESIIUS, QUIRINUS Dircksz. van Lisper, *aman.*, 138 142 204 304 306 310 457 465 468 488-501 520 (*Mulus Marianus*) 527 629; — *s*, HENRY, *pp* of Spaarwoude, 500 501; *dd*, Maria, Ursula, 500 501.
 TAPPER, RUARD, *dv*, I, 86 197 239 252 257 290 378 414 422 473 511.
 Tartas, John de, Tartesius, *pf*, 193-94 476-77 577.
 Tassis, Taxis, J. B. de, 369; — Antonio, 411; Margaret, 159.
 TAUSEN, Tavsen, Thausen, HANS, *dv*, 135.
 Tautenburg, George of : *see* Schenck.

Tavera, Card., Abp of Toledo, 446 450.
 Taxander : *see* Ruysius.
 Tayspil, Daniel, Bp of Gibel, Abbot of Voormezeele, 51 77 78 79 237 248; — *bb*, Peter, *presid.* of Fland., 77 439; George & John, *cns*, 77.
 Tegnagel, Renerus, *jp*, *pf*, 215 217.
 Terence, 16 178 206-7 220 301 332 566 576 580 590 595 601 616 627.
 Tertullianus, 614.
 Tetz, Joh., de Dacia, *st*, 135.
 Textor, Ravisius, *hm*, 485.
 Textoris, of Windesheim, Judocus, *hm*, 32.
 Teyng, J. of Hoorn : *see* Ceratinus.
 Thale, William, 6 7 248 404.
 Thebanus, Colutus, 186.
 Theocrites, 10 116 117.
 Theodorici : *see* Dierckx, Hoorn.
 Theodoricus, *st* of Lily, 87.
 Theophilus : *see* Institutes.
 Thielman, Antony, *st*, 128 371.
 Thibault, Odoard, 545.
 Thielt, Mary van, 159; — Jane, 372.
 Thienen, August van, *tm*, 52.
 Thindari : *see* Pintaflour.
 Thiverius, Lovan. (*prob a mistake for Thri*), Jeremias, *st*, 541.
 Thorius, Francis, 183 416.
 Thorne, Dorne, John, *bs*, 43.
 THRIVERUS, JEREMY de Drivere, Brachelius, *md*, *pf*, 516 532-42 544 560 561-62 623; — *ss*, Denys, *md*, 541, Jeremias, 541; — *dd*, Philippine & Elizabeth, 541.
 Thucydides, 410.
 Thuengen, Conrad of, Bp of Würzburg, 39.
 Thulden, Nicolas van, *jp*, 430.
 Thymo, Gerard de, *neighb*, 231.
 Thysbaert, Francis John, *pf*, 273.
 Tibbon, Rabbi Aben, 235.
 Tibullus, 400 434 440 443 449 586.
 Tiletanus : *see* Ravesteyn.
 TISNAC(Q), CHARLES DE, 153 157 158-60; — *f*, Simon, 159; — *s*, Charles, *Kt*; *d*, Catherine, 160.
 TITELMANS, FRANCIS, *dv*, I, 73 190 286 508-9 616; — *b*, Peter, 509.
 Tjaerdo, Syds, *Fris. cc*, 455.
 Toledo, Mary of, Vice-Queen of

India, 474.
 Toledo, Abp of (Alonso de Fonseca : Dec. 31, 1523† Feb. 5, 1531: Allen, vi, 1748, *pr* ; *MonHL.*, 442), 417.
 Tomiczi, Peter, Bp of Cracow, 394.
 Tongerlo Abbey, 220-21 513.
 Toornenburg, Mary Jansz, 488.
 Torkilsøn, Chr. : *see* Morsing.
 Torrentius, Lævinus, lt, 187-88.
 Tournai : — *See*, 64 ; — *Chapter School*, 126 127 419 ; — *School of Languages*, 239 288 292 328-29 349-52 602.
 Tournon, Francis of, Abp of Bourges, 442.
 TRANSYLVANUS, MAXIMILIAN, imp. secr., 172 255 258 263-65 284 289-90 408 437 **441** 550.
 Transylvania, Vaivod of, 297.
 TRAZEGNIES, JOHN, BARON OF, Baron of Silly, Lord of Irchonwelz, **379-81** ; — *ss*, 3 squires, sts, 72 379 **381-82**, one being CHARLES, Baron of Traz. & Silly, **381-82** ; — *gs*, Charles, marquis of Traz., 382.
 Trent, Council of, 218-19 373 (Mantua) 375 416 424 426 507 509 511 512 573.
 Tres Fratres Belgæ, 453.
 Treves, Abp of, 388 389 ; *Univ.*, 593-95 (*decay*).
 Tribonian, jp, 216.
 Triest, Ld of Ruddershove, Loven-deghem, &c, Antony, 158 ; — Josse, Charles, Lds of Buusere, 470.
 TRITHEIM, JOHN, Abbot of Sponeheim, **433**.
 Trofino, Trophinus, Bp Felix of Chieti, pap. secr, 266-67 321.
 Trompes, Jeanne des, 156.
 Tübingen Univ., 40 217.
 TUCHER, LAZARUS, mch, **368-69** ; — *f*, Bartholomew, 368 ; *s*, Ambrose, aldm, 369 ; — *fam*, 381.
 TULKEN, HERMAN, Tulike, Tulich(i)us, poet, **28-30** 189.
 Tunstall, Cuthbert, ambass, 81 251 361 494.
 Turin Univ., 153 154.
 Turkey, Sultan, 442 ; Turks, 243.
 Turnebus, Adrian, pf, 472.

Turnhout, Turnotus, (208) : *see* Driedo ; — T. Castle, 175.
 Tutor, James : *see* Vocht.
 Tyndale, William, 292.
 Tzyarda, Sixtus, Fris. cc, 455.

U

Ubbels, Peter, of Wormer, pf, 40 354.
 Ubbena, Haio : *f* of Hernian Hompen, 13 ; — *r*, William, Ubbinus, Fries. Chanc., 14.
 Ulsenius, Thierry, 14.
 Ursel, Lancelot (Ladislaus) d', mayor, 186 187.
 Utopia, 66.
 Utrecht : — *St. Salvator's Chapter*, 375 ; — *temporal power of diocese*, 372.
 UTENHOVE, NICOLAS VAN, Ld of Marckeghem, Pres. Fland., 192 **465** 466 **467** 470 ; — *gf*, Richard, 465 ; — *f*, Nicolas, 153 465 470 ; — *si*, Barbara, 190 466 ; — *s*, Nicolas, 465 466 469 ; — *dd*, Catherine, 465 : Jodoca, 465 468.
 UTENHOVE, CHARLES OF, son of Nicolas, Ld of Marckeghem, 138 **152** 153 154 156 190 191 192 **465-73** 488-89 497 499 520 549 ; — *ss*, CHARLES, K. Οἰκονομῆτος, poet, 469 **472** ; James, 162 469 ; John, Nicolas, Richard, 469.
 Utenhove, Antony of, Provost of Ypres, brother of President Nicolas, 146 465 470 ; — *ss*, Judocus, st, 146 465 470 ; Nicolas, Mechl. cc, 465 470 ; — *dd*, Ann, Antoinette, 470.
 UTENHOVE, JACOB SZ, JOHN VAN, rf, **470-71** 472 ; — *bb*, Francis, Nicolas, 470.

V

Valareus, Valasco : *see* Vel.
 Valdaura, Margaret (Vives' wife), 406-7 ; — *b*, Nicolas, 405-7 412 415 417.
 VALDES, JUAN DE, 174 **408-9**.
 VALDES, ALONSO DE, secret, 174 289-90 **408-9** 410 445 496.

- Vale, Valus : *see* Waele.
 Valencia, Abp of, 132.
 Valerius, Cornelius : *see* Auwater.
 Valkendorf, Thomas Absalonis, Nyköbing, st, 22.
 Valla, Lorenzo, rs, 41 67 202 346 391 407.
 Valperganus, Bernardinus, Court md, 535.
 Vandenkastele, James : *see* Castere (526).
 Vanderopanus, Nicolas, Borbo-nius, lt, 27.
 Varent, Agnes van der, 465 467 470.
 Varnbühler, Nicolas, jp, pf, 217.
 VAS.EUS, JOHN WAS, hm, 398 402 415 **474-5** 623 ; — s, Agostin 475.
 Vasconcellos, Diego de : *see* Men-des.
 Vascosanus, Michael, pr, 359 481.
 Vaylle (del Vaglio), Francesco de, mch, 474 ; — s, Prior of Sala-manca, 474.
 Veer, Paul van, Veriensis, mes-senger, 455.
 VEKENSTYL, HENRY Baers, sc, **546-47**.
 VELAREUS, VALAREUS, Huyghens, Verrebrocanus, JUDOCUS, lm, 176 **184-86** 188 516.
 VELASCO, DE LUCENA, Valasco, **60-61**.
 Velde, J. F. van de, pf, 268 272-73.
 Velius, Ursinus, hm, 14 36.
 Vendekaabe, Pouell, 21.
 Vendeville, John, Bp of Tournai, jp, 217.
 Venerilla, 446.
 Ver(re)brocanus : *see* Velareus.
 Verburch, Cornelius, dv, 220.
 Verdun(eus), Verdunius, Verduyn, Adam, st, 69.
 Vergara, John & Francis, hms, 174 408 413 495 614 634.
 Vergerio, Pietro Paolo, nunc & rf, 373 574.
 Vergil(ius), Polydore, hm, 6 233-34 248 614.
 Verlenius, Verlensis, Jerome, lm, 189.
 VERMAND, JEROME OF, Viromandus, secr, **132-33**.
 Vermeulen, a Mola, Giles, 146 432.
 Vermolanus, de Gravia, Henry, dv, 71.
 Vernulæus, Nicolas, I, 236 540.
 Verreecken, Erasmus, pr, 181.
 Vesalius, Andrew, 125 126 405 521 523 528-30 535 537-38 541.
 VESSEM, BARTHOLOMEW VAN, cn, exec, I, 45 **47** 48 51-3 55-7 60 62-3 74 103 104 105 106 107 225-29 231-32 234 236-37 299 364 613 635-6.
 VIANDEN, MELCHIOR Matthæi OF, Viandulus, Trevir, hm, 98 100 **350-51** 602.
 Vianen, William Joannis Lamberti of, pf, plebanus St. Pet., 83 230 257 261 290.
 Vicente, Gil, lt, 399 (cp. Altamira, II, 527).
 Vida, Jerome, 451.
 Vidame, Guido, 545.
 Vieira, Christopher, of St. Thomas, Portugal, D. STh., 73.
 Viemeel, John, 622.
 Vienna : — Univ. : *St. Nicolas Coll. for languages*, 355-56.
 Vienna, Jerome de, st, 378 ; — *see* Künring.
 Vienne Council, 1311 : 40 337 357.
 Vieximontius, Claudius, dv, 205.
 VIGLIUS OF AYTTA, of Zuichem, jp, statesman, 14 15 26 27 67 **98** 114 **115** 124 136 141 **145-50** 151-52 **153** 154-56 **157** 158-59 **160** 162-67 352 376 **378** 392 420 422-23 426 429 432 **433-35** 440 442 444-48 **449-50** 451-59 463-64 467 472-73 496 510 591 600.
 Vileers, Nicolas Der-, jp, official, 217.
 Villa-Dei, Alexander de, gr, 188.
 Villagagnon, Nicolas, wr, 169.
 Villani, Gerard, 196.
 Villavicentius, Laurentius, 510.
 Villers, Abbot of, 61 ; *see* Zeven-donc.
 VILLINGER, CHARLES, Baron of Seyfriedsberg, Imp. cc, **597** ; — f, James, Imp treas., 476 597.
 Vincx, Catherine, 538.
 Virgil, 7 396 440 572 586.
 VIRULI, NICOLAS, I, **57** ; — f, Charles, I, 57 81 ; — b, Robert, 460 462.
 Vissenaken, Damianus, md, 138.

- VITERIUS, PETER Viter, Vitre, pf, **366**.
- VIVES, JOHN LOUIS, hm, i, 3 6 10 11 14 19 20 26 42 43 44 92 112 181-82 190 210 211 **212** 221 244-46 248 250-52 261 283 286 289 303 **308** 359 **400-07** 408 411 **412-13** 415 417-18 491 498 504 **519 522 525** 529 570 585 598 607 (*praise of*) 608 611 615 **616** 621; — *called* L. Chariteus Gurdus, 401; — *his school in Oppendorp Street with the Duo Fontes*, 404; — *his moralizing instruction*, 315.
- Vladeracus, Christ., 566.
- VLATTEN, JOHN VON, chanc, **144** 172 174 247 282 391 489 493 496-97.
- VOCHT, VOECHT, TUTOR, JAMES DE, pens., 11 **110** (*nil Erasmicum ignoret*) 111; — s, James, gauger, 477.
- Voirt, Mary van der, 57.
- VOLCAERD, JAMES, pc, **145-46** 376 432 **433-35** 436 458.
- Volz, Paul, 380.
- Voocht of Rynevelt, Josse de, 239.
- Voormezele, Abbot of, 77.
- VORÉ, BARNABAS DE, Ld of la Fosse, ambass, **583**.
- VORST, JAMES VAN DER, st, *Eques Auratus*, Brab. cc, 127 **371-76**; — *gf*, Walther Ghys, Gys, Antw. cc, 371; *f*, JOHN GHEYS, Gys v. d. V., Ld of Loonbeek, Austruweel & Vroenhoven, Brab. Chanc., **371-2**; — *hb*, Engelbert, Ld of Loonbeek, 372; Walter, Cambrai cn, 372; John, dean St. Mary's Utrecht, 372-3 375; PETER, Bp of Acqui, legate, **372-75**.
- Vorst, John Vranckx van der, md (John Sucket's son-in-law), 88 265.
- Vorsterman, William, pr, 25 127 271 419 478.
- Vos, Adrienne de, Ly of Ydewalle, 190.
- Vos, Henry, 339.
- Vosmeer, Michael, 220.
- Vossius, G. J., 81.
- Voulté, John, lt, 597.
- VRIENDT, PETER DE, *Amicus*, jp, pf, **126-27** 156 418 **419-20** 422 426 560; — s, JOHN, minorite, **127**.
- Vrients, Maximilian, poet, 513 565.
- VROEYE, JOSSE, Lætus, of Gavere, hm, jp, i, **82** 83 87 88 127 345 419-20 431 526.
- VULCANIUS, PETER de Smet, lm, cc, **182-84** 563; — s, BONAVENTURA, **183-84** 453 472.
- Vulgate, its authority, 41 503 506-7.
- Vulpes, Francis, st, 181.
- Vullinck, John, Univ. secr, i, 345.
- Vulsken, Volscius, John, of Lünen, dean of Arts, Cologne, 354.

W

- Wackers, Conrad : *see* Goclenius, 635.
- WAELE, WILLIAM DE, Wale, Walle, Vale, *Valus*, Ld of Axpoele and Hansbeke, cc, 154, **190** 192 469 491; — *f*, Peter de Waele, cc, 190; *ga*, Catherine van de Waele, Walle, d'Axpoele, 153, 465; *a*, Isabeila de Waele, &c, d'Axpoele, 150 153-4; — *fam.* Waele d'Axpoele, 155.
- Waes, Was, John van, 474.
- WAEYENBERGH, PETER VAN, Abbot of Grimbergen, **539**.
- Wain, Gervasius, pf, 210.
- Wakefeld, Robert, Wakfelde, hb, pf, i, 40 121 357-58 608 609.
- Walebeke, Barbara of : *see* Claisone.
- Wale, Walle : *see* Waele.
- Walle, John van de, 385; — *d*, Catherine, 168 385.
- Wallop, Giles, 404.
- Walravens, Walrant, Ann, 536 541.
- Wames, John, Wamesius, pf, jp, 127 217 318 420 426.
- Warham, Abp William, 404 490-92 609; — *r*, Richard Warham, 404.
- WARY, OF MARVILLE, NICOLAS, (Warry), President, 70 71 131 244 248 278 293 296-97 **298-301 304** 305 306 **308 310-12 314-16** 319 320-22 330-31 344 346 348 364 367 371 387 403 430 477 579-80 602-3 604 (*outspokenness*) 605 611 613 621 629-34 **635-36**.
- Wary, Nicolas, st : *see* Marville.

- 70 299.
 Was, John : *see* Vasæus.
 Was, Abbot Peter, of St. Gertrude's, 421 618.
Watergeuzen, 159.
 Watzelrode, Lucas, Bp of Ermland, 558.
 Wauringen, Jacques de, mch, 56.
 Waveren, Gisbert van : *see* Lappen.
 Wechel, Christ., pr, 121 180 192 485 610.
 Weerdt, Cornelius de, 231.
 Welle, Jer., pr, 342.
 Weiler, Gaspar, bk, 411.
 Weldam, nobleman, 571.
 Weldanck, Peter, 490 492.
 Wellemans, Cornelia, 217.
 Welser, fam, bks, 381.
 Wendius, John, Boneffe frater, md, 521.
 Werchin, Isabeau de, Ly of Liestres and Merlemont, 381 ; — *f*, Nicolas, Ld of Liestres, &c, 381.
 Werdenberg, Magdalen Countess of, 124 ; — *f*, Count George, 124.
 WERTER, JOHN VON, hm, 32-33 35.
Wesel School, 350.
 Wesembeek, Matthias van, jp, pf, 212 215 217 418.
 West, Nicolas, Bp of Ely, 358.
 West, Wuest, John, de Lyra, rg, 512.
Westerloo estate, 375.
Westphalia : 96 (etym) ; — John of W., pr, 1, 7 ; — Herman of : *see* Stuve.
 Weyden, Roger van der, pt, 525.
 Weze, John de, Abp of Lund, 411 591 599 ; — *n*, Henry up ten Haitzhovel de Weze, 451.
 Wichmans, Augustine, Abbot of Tongerlo, 514.
 Wichmans, Peter, cn, 88 143 246.
 Widmanstadt, John Albert, 559.
 Wied, Herman de, Abp of Cologne, 471 590 599.
 WIELANT, PHILIP, Ld of Everbeke, cc, 190 429.
 Wierius, John, 562.
 Wildenauer : *see* Ægranus.
 WILLEMAERS, LEONARD, md, pf, 516 520 523 536 537-38 561.
 Wimpfeling, James, hm, 1, 573.
 Winckele, John de, pf, 1, 230.
 Wineel, Nicasius, de Casleto, 421.
 Wingfield, Sir Richard, 'ambass, 133 245.
 WINGHE, HERMES DE, of Renaix, jp, pf, 127 214 420 ; — *s*, John, & *d*, Jane, 420.
 Winghe, Nicolas van, mk of St. Martin's, 290 351.
 WINTER, JOHN, Winther, Guinterius, Günther, Gonthier, of Andernach, 529-30 570 571 582.
 Winter, Thomas, st, 137.
 Winter, Robert, pr, 521 523.
 Wisschel, Everard van, 228.
 Wittaert, Nicolas, 227.
 Witte, Francis de, mayor, 496.
 Witte, Egenhardt, Roman agent, 309.
 Wittebroet, James, Bruges, 377.
Wittenberg Univ., 30 40 217.
 Wocht, James de (110) : *see* Vocht.
 Woestyne, Jossyne van de, 465.
 Wolfaert Sterck, John, st, 370.
 Wolfius, Jerome, lt, 28.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 16 42 43 44 137 245 253 338 357-60 381 483 490 495 (*full*) 607 611 632.
Worms : Diets (1540, 1545), 413 588 ; — *Colloquium*, 509 511 601.
 WOTTON, SIR EDWARD, ambass, 359-60 ; — *b*, Nicolas, ambass, 210 404.
 WOUTERS, JOHN, Ld of Vinderhoute and Meerendre, Fland. cc, 181-82 190 192 ; — *ss*, Cornelius, cn, lt, 181-2 470-71 ; John, alderm. ; Livinus, Imp. treas., Ld of Broecke ; Francis, 182.
 Wouters, Robert, pr, 181.
 WREDE, ARNOLD DE Wree, builder, 1, 47 49 50-1 52 230 237.
 WRIGHT, EDWARD, geogr., 568.
 Wullenwever, Jürgen, 168.
Würzburg, St. James's Cono., 433.
 Wygaerden, Gysbertus Oom de, st, 346.
 Wyngaerden, van : *see* Oom.

X

Xenophon, 115 116 117 410 581 624-26.

XIMENES, CARDINAL Gonsalez Francis de Cisneros, 41-42 353.
Ximenus, Peter, md, pf, 405.

Y

York, Duchess Margaret of, 60.
Ysebrant, Antony, pens, 74 110.
Ysselstein, Frederic of, 125.
Ysselstein, Lds of : *see* Egmont.

Z

Zaghere, William de, Friesl. cc,
1, 443 459.
Zamora, Bp Francisco of : *see* Mendoza.
Zanchi, Jerome, rf, 576 588.
Zande, L. v. d. : *see* Ammonius.
Zangrius, Tiletanus, Peter, pr, 509
510 514.
ZASIUS, ULRICH Siguardus Zäsi,
pf, jp, 149 152 215 356 384 592
593 610.
Zassen, Servatius van, pf, priest,
622.
ZASSEN, SERVATIUS VAN, Zassenus,
Sassen(us), pr, 113 174 234-35 444

448 451 533 535 539 545 562 622-
23 ; — d, Barbara, 622 623 ; s,
Andrew ; gss, Servatius, rg ;
Francis, md, pf, 623.
Zebrzydowski, Andrew, Bp of Cra-
cow, Zebridovius, 394 460 467.
ZEGERSCAPELLE, CORNELIUS OF, st,
168 320 385-86 ; — f, Christian
of, 168 385 ; si, Jacqueline of,
168 385-86.
Zenocarus : *see* Snouckaert.
Zevendone, Denys, Abbot of Vil-
lers, 533-34.
Zieglein, Anna, of Andernach, 599.
Zierikzee, Amand de, dv, 121.
Zoemerens : *see* Someren.
Zoete, Erasmus de, cc, 155.
Zomeren, Wilhelmus de Fine de,
69.
Zoutterius, Pascal, of Hondschoote,
Cynopagita, 181.
Zuetpene, Peter, jd, cc of Adolphus
of Burgundy, 461 464.
Zuñiga : *see* Stunica.
Zwingli, 356 543 586.
Zwolle School, 188.
ZWYNGHEDAU, HENRY, of Bailleul,
official, 83 87 213.

CONTENTS

Preface	pp v
-------------------	------

CHAPTER VIII. — THE BEGINNING OF COLLEGE LIFE

1. ACTIVITY IN THE FIRST YEARS	
A. Organization under Difficulties	1
B. The Authors Explained (1517-1520)	7
C. The First Audience	12
a. Auditors from the Netherlands	12
b. English Auditors	15
c. Scandinavian Students	20
d. German Students	23
2. SPREADING FAME	
A. High Esteem among Humanists	28
B. Foreign Visitors	31
C. The Example Followed	40
3. PREMISES AND EQUIPMENT	
A. The Building	44
B. The Furnishing	54
C. The Funds	56
4. THE INSTALLING IN THE BUILDING	
A. President and Professors	60
B. The First Inmates	63
C. Bursars	70
5. COLLEGE LIFE	
A. Work and Recreation	71
B. Feasts and Visits	73
C. First and Favourable Report	76
6. ERASMUS AND THE TRILINGUE	
A. Attachment to the Lily	80
B. His Room in the Trilingue	88
C. His Solitude and Protection	91

STERCKE'S PRESIDENCY

(CHAPTER IX). — I. LECTURES AND STUDIES

1. THE PROFESSORS' STATUS	
A. Unadequate Retribution	95
B. Solution of 1522	103
DE MUTATIONIBUS ET MODERATIONIBUS CIRCA FUNDATIONEM COLLEGII	104
C. Its Significance	108

2. THE TEACHING AND LECTURING	
A. The Latin Lecture	109
B. The Greek Lessons	115
C. Hebrew Teaching	118
3. AFFLUENCE OF STUDENTS	
A. Noblemen and Friends	122
B. Boarders and Foreigners	130
C. Erasmus' Amanuenses	136
4. JURISPRUDENTS & STATESMEN	
A. Lawyers	145
B. Councillors	155
C. Ambassadors	166
5. LINGUISTS AND LITERATORS	
A. Erudites	176
B. Teachers	184
C. Poets	195
6. PIONEERS	
A. Gabriel Mudæus	209
B. John Leonardi Hasselius	218
C. Nicolaus Beken Glenardus	220

(CHAPTER X) II. MANAGEMENT

1. FINANCES	
A. Advances	225
B. Investments	226
C. Accounts	229
2. EQUIPMENT	
A. Adaptation	231
B. Library	232
C. Lecture Room	236
3. THE STAFF AT WORK	
A. President Stercke	238
B. Goclenius	241
C. Scheme Realized	247
4. OPPOSITION	
A. James Latomus	249
B. Nicolas Egmondanus	253
C. Banned Manuals	255
5. APPEAL TO ROME	
A. Underhand Attacks	259
B. Hezius' Move	269
C. Giberti's Elusiveness	277
6. IMPERIAL INTERFERENCE	
A. A Severe Edict	281
B. Gattinara's Letters	287
C. The Meaning of the Struggle	289

WARY'S PRESIDENCY

(CHAPTER XI) — I. HOME AFFAIRS

1. THE NEW PRESIDENT	
A. Stercke's Demission	297
B. Nicolas Wary of Marville	299
C. His Mission in Rome	301
2. WARY'S MERITS	
A. Appreciation of the Faculty	308
B. Erasmus' Esteem and Advice	311
C. A Papal Favour	315
3. DIFFICULTIES WITH RESCIUS	
A. Rescius' Marriage	316
B. James Ceratinus	323
C. The Paris Offer	330
4. OPPOSITION	
A. Greek Revival!	334
B. John Paschasius	339
C. Patientia Victrix	342
5. THE 'TRILINGUE' IMITATED	
A. Schools in Charles V's Estates	349
B. The Oxford Colleges	356
C. The 'Collège de France'	360
6. THE BOARDERS	
A. The Oldest Set	364
B. First Arrivals under Wary.	371
C. Later Arrivals	379

(CHAPTER XII) — II. THE STUDENTS

1. FOREIGN STUDENTS	
A. Riquinus and Cornarius	387
B. Carlowitz and Dambrowska	390
C. Andrew de Resende	395
2. VIVES' PUPILS AND COUNTRYMEN	
A. Joannius and Alderete	403
B. Malvenda	411
C. Further Pupils	415
3. JURISPRUDENTS	
A. Quadruplicate Promotion	418
B. Pintaflour and Bernaert	422
C. Josse de Damhouder	427
4. COUNCILLORS AND DIPLOMATISTS	
A. The 'Tres Fratres Belgæ'	430
B. Friends of Viglius	453
C. Friends of Erasmus	460
5. SECRETARIES AND ERUDITES	
A. Friends of Clenardus	473
B. Sartorius and Junius	477
C. Quirinus Talesius	488

6. THEOLOGIANS

A. Dorp and Driedo	502
B. Tiletanus and Sonnius	508
C. Aerdt and Jansenius	512

(CHAPTER XIII) — III. STUDIES AND MASTERS

1. MEDICINE

A. Hubert Barlandus	516
B. Practice and Theory	524
C. Jeremy Thriverus	531

2. EXACT SCIENCE

A. Gemma Cosmographer	542
B. Gemma Geographer & Mathematician	550
C. Gerard Mercator	565

3. PHILOLOGY

A. Linguists and Historians	569
B. Pedagogue & Dogmatist (<i>J. Sturm</i>)	579
C. Latinist and Controversialist (<i>Barth. Latomus</i>)	591

4. STATE OF COLLEGE

A. Peaceful Work	602
B. Beneficent Radiation	605
C. Affluence of Visitors	607

5. SITUATION OF THE PROFESSORS

A. Wages and Praises	610
B. Goclenius the Faithful	615
C. Rescius Printer	621

6. RETROSPECTIVE

A. Erasmus' Solicitude	628
B. Gratitude	631
C. Reaching the Aim	633

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	638
---------------------------------	-----

LIST OF PERSONAGES	652
------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS	691
--------------------	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Jerome de Busleyden	<i>facing title</i>
Ground-plan of the <i>Trilingue</i>	pp 46
View of the College (<i>reconstruction</i>)	50
Ormendael and neighbourhood	58
<i>The Three Cups</i> and College entrance	94
Nicolas Cannius	139
Corridor leading to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	224
<i>Wendelsteen</i>	296
Entrance to <i>Wendelsteen</i>	386
Door-way to Lecture Room	515
The Founder's Crest and Device	637

CORRIGENDA & ADDENDA

On p 85, nn, l 1,	please read	1560	instead of	1540
» 92, n 5, l 1,	» »	ortum	» »	ortium
» 137, l 7,	» »	messages ⁴⁾ .	» »	messages.
» 166, n 4,	add : Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 217, sq.			
» 166, nn, last l but one,	read	⁵⁾	instead of	⁶⁾
» 269, l 18,	»	1530	» »	1529
» 323, l 12,	»	B	» »	E
» 358, n 6, l 7,	»	<i>PolE</i> Fr	» »	PolE
» 359, n 6, l 1,	»	Wotton	» »	Wotten
» 403, l 1,	»	dus,	» »	dus ⁷⁾ ,
» 517, l 27,	»	Thomas	» »	William
» 636, l 16, & n 6, l 3,	»	Josse	» »	John



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